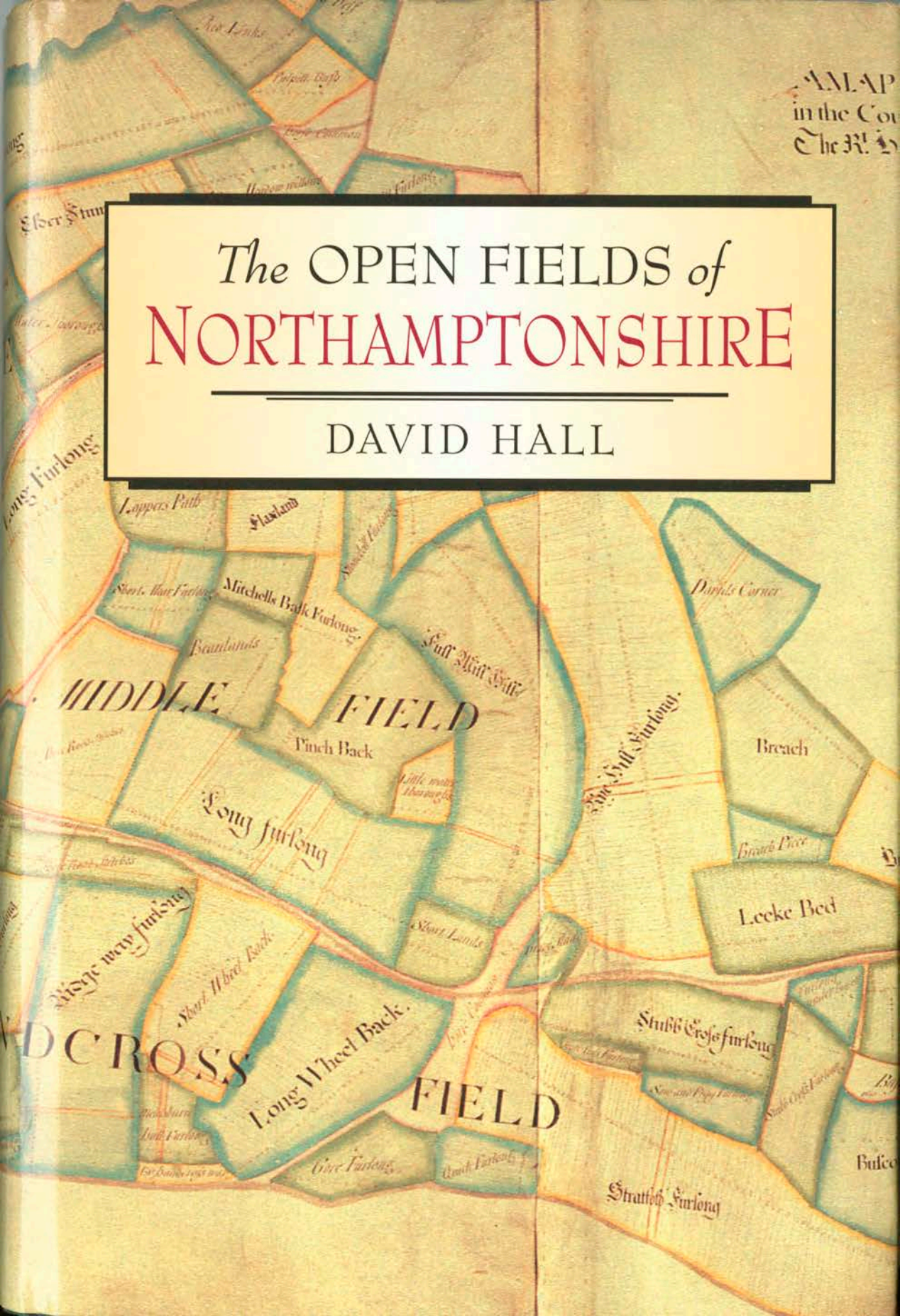
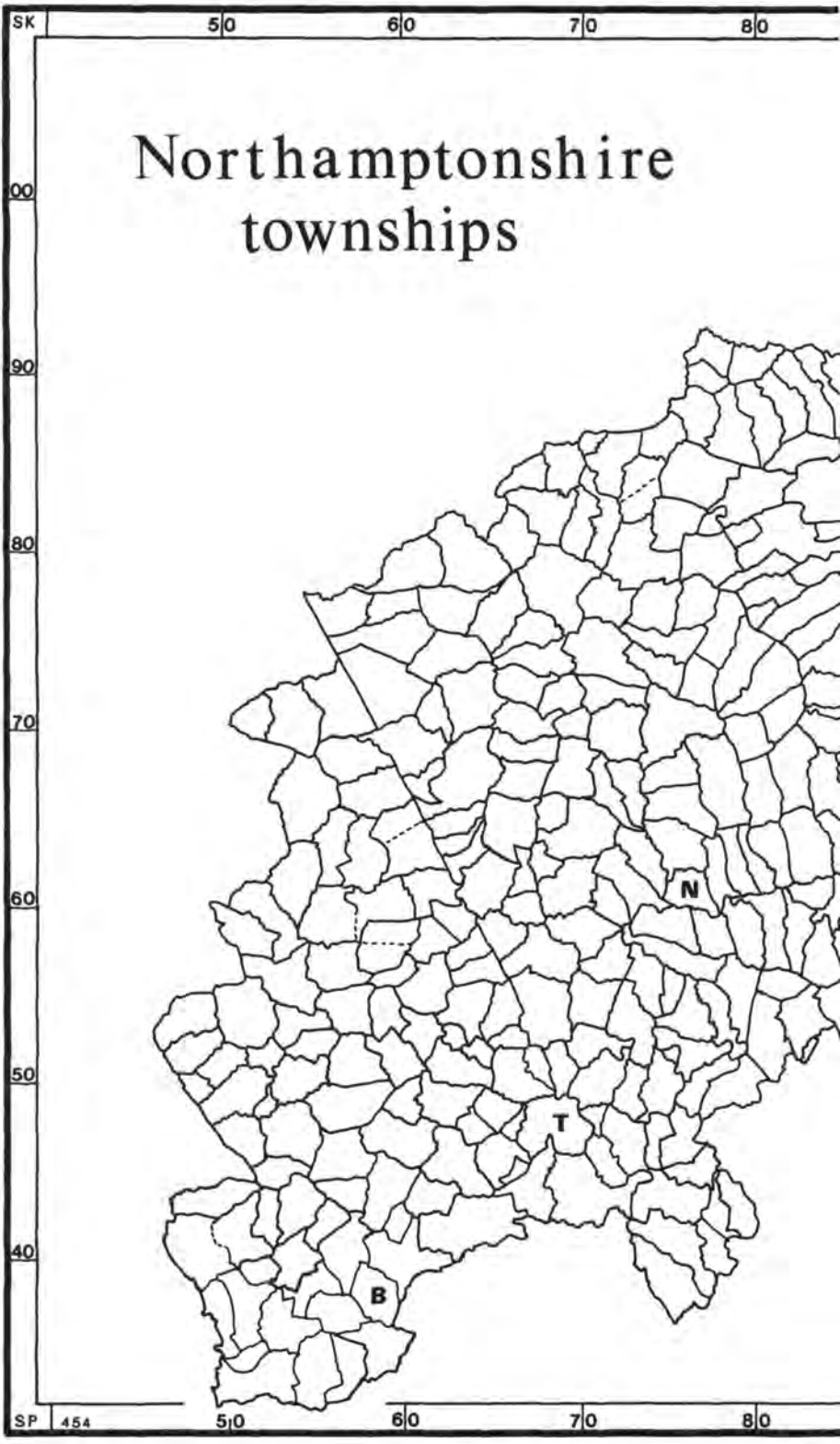
The OPEN FIELDS *of* NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

DAVID HALL



Northamptonshire townships



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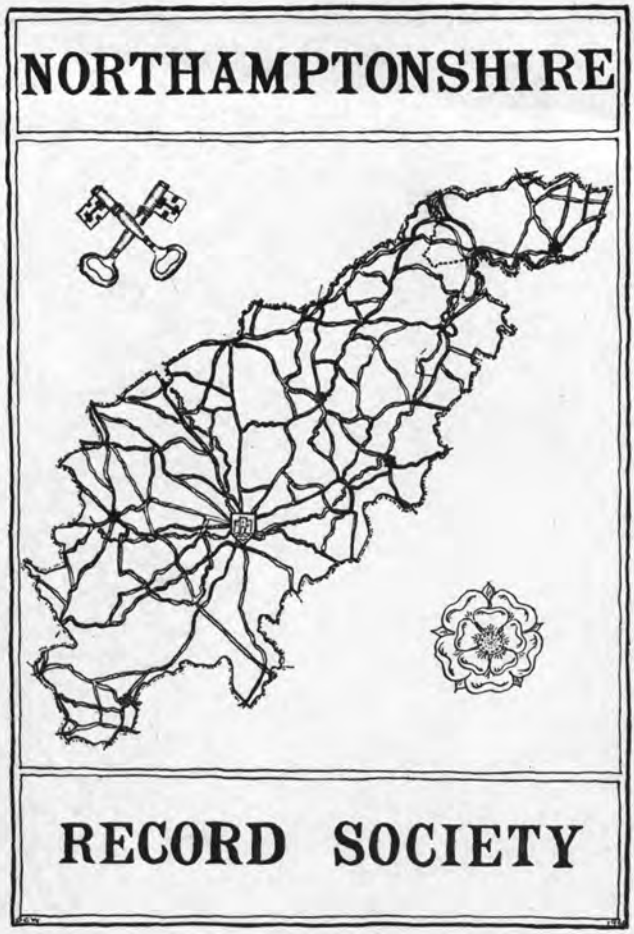

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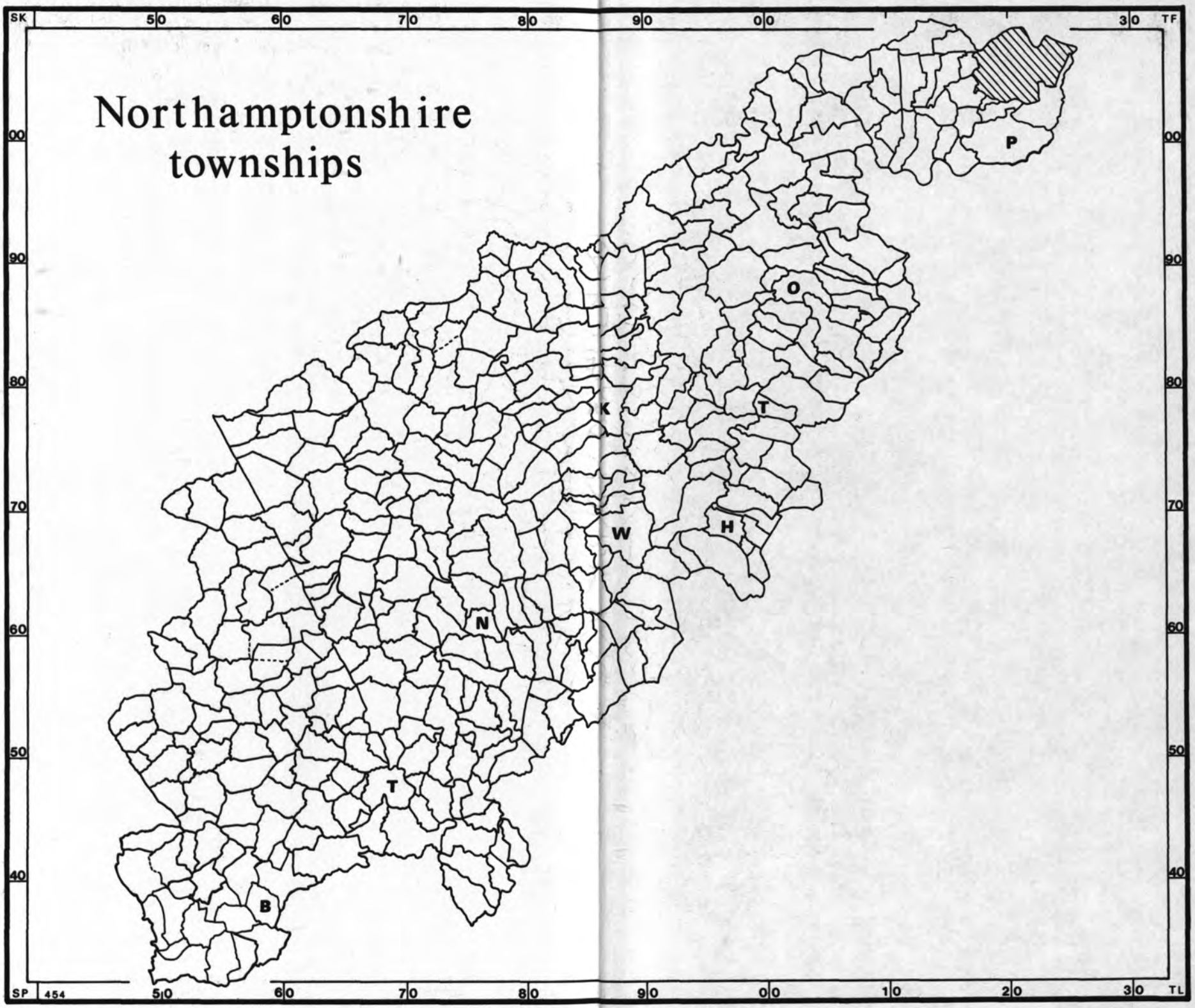

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THE OPEN FIELDS OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

David Hall

NORTHAMPTON
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FOREWORD

Open fields, spanning the Middle Ages and early modern period, have been studied by local and national historians for many years. This book attempts to explain fully the nature of the open fields of Northamptonshire before they were enclosed to form the 'modern' landscape of hedged fields. It begins with a description of the appearance and operation of the fields and follows with a discussion of the many types of information that are revealed by further study, ending with evidence for their origin. A chronological approach to the subject would make it more difficult to explain, as much information throwing light on the origin of the fields is contained in complex tenurial and fiscal records and in the physical structure of the fields themselves.

The county of Northampton is taken as it was before changes were made in 1888, before which it had remained unaltered since the twelfth century.

These studies bring together and revise articles and other work published over the last 25 years as well as introducing much evidence hitherto unpublished. I should be grateful for any information to add to the Gazetteer from those who have made detailed studies of a parish or region of the county. I may be contacted through the Northamptonshire Record Society or Northamptonshire Record Office.

David Hall Hargrave 1995

INTRODUCTION

Northamptonshire is part of the south-eastern Midlands, running from the edge of the Cotswolds near Banbury to the fens at Peterborough. The River Nene and its valley form a prominant feature dividing the county lengthways from Badby to Warmington, after which it forms the southern boundary against Huntingdonshire. The River Welland and its steep valley sides mark the northern county boundary from Market Harborough (Little Bowden) to Easton on the Hill, falling to gravel terrace at Maxey and continuing through fen ground to Crowland.

In the Middle Ages the fen of Peterborough covered more than 9,000 acres, and, with the extensive gravel terraces of the Nene and Welland overlooked by a backbone of stone and dry heathland, the Soke of Peterborough forms a distinctive region. Farther west lie three large areas of wooded country, the forests of Rockingham, Salcey and Whittlewood. Although covering many thousands of acres these woods were much disected by tongues of arable and had villages all around them. The villages often had much less than half their area under the plough, and the forest settlements are another regional type with good resources of grazing and fuel.

The most striking feature of the county was its open-field land, stretching almost unbroken over the uplands and along the Nene Valley. Within this region nearly all the ground was cultivated, having very little woodland, heath or pasture.

The historical studies described below have been made in parallel with fieldwork mapping of each parish. Surveys take place in winter, recording ridge and furrow and archaeological sites. The work began in 1961 and to date 249 of the 315 parishes in the county have been surveyed field by field (79 percent), the results being presented as parish maps at the scale of six-inch to the mile (1:10560).

Physical survival of ridge and furrow is good at the west of the county where undulating clay terrain has favoured animal rearing rather than arable. Much destruction of pasture ridge and furrow fields has occurred during the course of the survey, caused partly by expanding towns and quarries, but mostly by conversion of grass into arable for corn production. There was ploughing of much pasture during the 1939–45 war, and measurement of the destructon rates show that since 1940 a general county-wide reduction of ridge and furrow to between 8 and 21 percent of what survived in 1940 has occurred. In the east this means that many places have only a single field of ridge and furrow remaining. In the parishes of Strixton and Wollaston there were 73 fields in 1940, 42 in 1947, 15 in 1970 and only 10 in 1990. It is hoped that some of the surviving ridge and furrow will be preserved.

Northamptonshire is fortunate in that it is rich in documents detailing land holding. Many land-owning families settled in the county during the 16th to 18th centuries and their records remain intact. Archives of estates established in the 16th century (such as those of the Fitzwilliams, Cecils, Montagus and Spencers) contain medieval and later material, some of monastic origin, collected partly as title deeds and partly accumulating in the course of estate management. Among the copious surviving records, the

most useful and comprehensive sources are detailed surveys of every single strip, called field books (of which 44 have so far been identified). The quantitiative information provided by field books and Parliamentary enclosure 'quality books' has been used to identify fields, furlongs and meadows on the surveyed plans. It is then possible to study the field structure, the type of demesne, how the tenants' lands were laid out and many other matters. As well as field books, the archives contain charters, account rolls, court rolls, surveys, rentals, deeds and other records dating from the 13th century onwards.

Although the detailed evidence presented here is from Northamptonshire, its open-field parishes and large 'nucleated' villages are typical of all the Midland region. It serves as a model for much of lowland England, expecially the central belt that runs from Dorset to north Yorkshire. The studies have thrown light on several aspects of open fields that have long been debated nationally, and some old controversies have been resolved now that a large body of evidence has been examined.

The layout of great fields and changes made over time have revealed considerable complexity; in a sample of 157 parishes that were still open-field in the eighteenth century with a single settlement, only 39 had one simple three-field system. It has been assumed that Midland field systems were run on a three-fold cultivation (sometimes two-fold) and have not changed much. The Northamptonshire evidence shows that townships were mainly two-field in the thirteenth century, changing continuously until almost all villages operated a three-course system by the eighteenth century. There is no evidence for a widespread change from two to three fields during 1250–1350 in response to population pressure, as suggested by Gray in 1915. The number of fields was greater than three in some places after 1500, although they were usually grouped into three blocks for cropping. Multiple fields occurred in many of the forest townships, probably caused by assarting.

As well as the widespread change from two to three fields within one township, there are examples of amalgamation of separate sytems. Weedon Bec had two two-field systems united into one three-field arrangement in 1583, and Barnack absorbed the fields of the neighbouring hamlet of Pilsgate during the 15th century, giving rise to multiple fields. Raunds and Ringstead shared between them the fields of the deserted Cottons, and Higham Ferrers and Newton Bromswold divided the fields of deserted Buscott.

Manorial demesnes, the home farms, long the subject of debate, are found to occur in two types, either as compact blocks of land, or with lands dispersed throughout the fields. There were probably always these two forms; no evidence has been found for the conversion of one into the other, with the implication that one type was an original layout. It is possible that block demesnes, such as those for Higham Ferrers and Watford, are characteristic of local central manors. Block demesnes were often enclosed in the sixteenth century, before, and independent of, the remaining open fields.

The medieval farm, the yardland, was a holding of strips scattered throughout the fields. Its size varied and has been found to relate to the topographical location, small yardlands being characteristic of regions of good soil in the Nene Valley and large yardlands being found in areas where there was once woodland or heath. The large ones are are attributed to intakes of marginal land made after an initial fixed-sized yardland allocation; a larger size being preferred rather than adding to the number of yardlands which would lead to increased taxation.

Regular ordering of lands occurred in many field systems. A 32-yardland estate at the East End Fields of Hardingstone had a repeating cycle of 32 names throughout its

furlongs; one land of the cycle representing one yardland. Analysis of terriers and field books shows that probably all townships had their lands laid out in a regular manner. An ordered structure seems to have been created before the thirteenth century, since the older the record the more likely it is to show tenurial regularity. The number of yardlands in many cases directly relates to the Domesday assessment of 1086. Field systems are often physically laid out in relation to the tenurial cycle (a furlong being one or more cycles), so, remarkably, the physical layout of the fields reflects eleventh-century fiscal returns. Even more remarkably, Domesday returns often reveal a uniform artificiality, first demonstrated by Round, and this must have been assigned to the vills when the fields were laid out, well before 1086.

Archaeological information, much of it discovered in Northamptonshire, shows that strip fields are no older than the Saxon period, since they overlie many settlement sites of the period 450-*c.*750. The historical evidence shows directly that named furlongs existed in the twelfth century, and analysis of relationships between yardlands and the Domesday fiscal returns shows that medieval farms were in existence at that time. It seems, therefore that field systems were created before 1066 according to the yardland data, and after *c.*750 AD from the archaeological findings. Strips were laid out on a large scale initially, with long lands that later (before the mid-twelfth century) became divided into small Midland furlongs.

Archaeological fieldwork has shown that the settlement pattern is more complicated than it seems, and this is further confirmed by the field systems. It is not unexpected that parishes having more then one vill frequently have more than one field system, usually one for each settlement. It was unexpected to find that apparently straightforward nucleated, single-parish, settlements, such as Braddon and East Haddon, had two separate field systems. In none of these cases does the manorial history since 1066 account for such a complexity, and its origin is likely to be in the Saxon period.

At the township level, a few 'lost' estates can be identified from their morphology, long boundaries easily being identified in a furlong pattern, as at Silsworth in Watford. Other townships have been identified from the detailed tenurial and topographical evidence provided by field books, the two field-systems of Raunds serving as an example.

At the regional-estate level some eleventh-century holdings revealed in 1066 and 1086 by the Domesday Survey could be interpreted as 'multiple estates'. In such an arrangement each component township specialised in a particular type of produce, fish and hay being provided by places with river and meadow, and timber and fuel coming from townships having woodland. The concept can be tested viewed from the layout of fields and settlements. For the Higham Ferrers Hundred the new evidence from the disposition and shape of townships shows that although such estates may well have functioned during the eleventh century there is doubt about their early creation from large tracts of land. The observed result is more likely to have been achieved by purchase and aggregation.

This book consists of two parts; the first is a series of essays providing detailed evidence on particular topics, and the second part is a detailed gazetteer describing each individual parish and township.

Chapter 1

OPEN FIELDS AND THEIR RECORDS

Open fields have attracted the attention of historians since the first studies of Seebohm, Vinogradoff and Maitland a century ago (see the Bibliography for a list of their works). Before enclosure the significance of fields as major sources of historical information, covering a wide range of economic, topographic and manorial themes, was unappreciated. Much comment had been made about the political and social effects of enclosures made in the late fifteenth century and subsequently, but little was said about the open fields themselves. Bridges, the county historian, collecting data and visiting every village in Northamptonshire during the years 1718 to 1722, makes little reference to fields, although more than half of the county was then still unenclosed.

Since 1948 there has been considerable interest in open fields, about their physical nature and extent, their origins, and many other aspects. How did such an extraordinary system develop and how did a largely illiterate population operate it? These recent studies will be examined later along with the earlier work. The purpose of this volume is to look in some detail at the evidence from Northamptonshire, and see what significance there is in the data and what conclusions can be drawn about the nature of the fields.

At the outset it is important to be clear about the meanings of the terms vill, township, manor and parish. Since at many places in the county a village consisted of one settlement, one field system, one manor, and one parish with a church located in the village, the four terms are now often used loosely to mean the same thing. The term ***vill*** will be used for a settlement that was in existence in the Middle Ages, irrespective of its status as a village or hamlet. A ***township*** was a field system that formed a complete, self-contained farming regime. The term is no longer used locally, although common in the north of England; it was used in this sense in Northamptonshire before enclosure. The ***manor*** was a political and administrative unit that had rights over tenants and the fields; there could be one or more per vill. A ***parish*** was, and is, the territory presided over by a church, originally being the area from which the church received a proportion of the produce in kind, the tithe. Most commonly a parish was a block of land coterminous with one or more townships, but not always so (see Chapter 8).

Description of open fields

Some old pasture fields of Northamptonshire have a 'corrugated' appearance, with the ground lying in regular patterns of parallel ridge-and-furrow (Plates 1 and 2). Such fields are now less common than they used to be in the east of the county, where they have been destroyed by modern agricultural practise, but there is still an abundance of them in the west. Good examples can be see at Brockhall, Fawsley, Winwick, and in the parkland of many of the county's great houses. The ridges correspond closely to the

strips that were used before agriculture was based on a 'modern' system of farms with hedged fields.[1]

In the Middle Ages a farm, called a ***yardland***, consisted of about 25 acres of land (the amount varied greatly from village to village), lying not in a block, but scattered in strips throughout the township, no two strips lying together. The long narrow strips were called ***lands*** by those who worked them. They were probably once set out as a quarter or half an acre, but later they often had average dimensions of about 8 yards by 200 yards, which is near to a third of an acre. Groups of lands lying parallel to each other were called ***furlongs***, and were identified by names. Early in the Middle Ages most of the available ground in a parish was ploughed in a complex array of furlongs; only river meadows liable to flooding, wet areas along the side of brooks where springs emerged, and areas with steep and rough ground, were left unploughed.

Across the county variations are apparent in furlong patterns. On the gravel terraces of the Welland Valley lands are wider than those described, being up to 22 yards in width and making, therefore, one-acre strips. The pattern of furlongs in that region is of mainly rectangular blocks. On the gentle slopes of the central Nene Valley, such as Irthlingborough or Raunds, furlongs can be over a mile long, made up of hundreds of lands lying side by side. In contrast, the high undulating ground of the west of the county can have very complex patterns of small furlongs, with lands lying in many directions. In all cases the objective of the ploughman was the same, – to cultivate as much ground as possible, given the constraints that the land must drain naturally, that is, the furrows had to be aligned down hill, across the contours. Where gradients change rapidly furlongs varied and changed correspondingly.

Lands became ridged up by ploughing. Medieval ploughs had just one share that made a single furrow and turned soil towards the right as the ploughteam moved forward. Lands were ploughed clockwise, beginning in the middle and going round and round until the outside was reached. The centre would have two cuts piled against each other, and the two final outer cuts would leave furrows, so in section the action of the plough was to make the soil move towards the centre as if on a conveyor belt.[2] Repeated ploughing resulted in the formation of the familiar corrugated lands.

For the purposes of cropping, furlongs were grouped together in large open areas called ***fields***. Typically there would be two or three fields in a township, and one or two of them would be cropped leaving the other one fallow; each became fallow in turn in succeeding years, so forming an arrangement known as the two-, or three-field system. It is for this reason that a single holding had to be scattered uniformly throughout the arable lands; if it were not then all or most of the land might lie in the fallow field in one year and there would be no produce for the farmer to live on. The fallow field, although producing no crop, was valuable as rough grazing for the village animals. It was essential to have a large block of land to keep the common herd together and prevent it wandering over the cultivated area.

Records relating to open fields

Until recently land was the chief form of wealth, and so records relating to it are numerous and date over many centuries. The earliest records are late Anglo-Saxon

1 Proof of this statement will be given at the beginning of Chapter 3.
2 For a diagram see D. Hall, 'Modern Surveys' 1972, Fig.2.

charters, of which there are 20 for Northamptonshire. They are concerned with the grants of townships or groups of townships and information about individual fields and furlongs is slight and incidental. Charters usually refer to the amount of land granted, assessed as *hides*, and several of them describe the boundaries of the estate being granted. The topography of the boundary decriptions has been described in detail.[3] There are no charters earlier than the tenth century for Northamptonshire. De Gray Birch published all known Saxon charters in 1885–93,[4] and they have been reconsidered more recently by Sawyer[5] and Hart.[6]

Charters granting churches, manors, tenements, yardlands or individual lands, survive in small numbers from the twelfth century being more abundant in the thirteenth century. By the sixteenth century such documents are generally called 'deeds' and occur in very large numbers for most parishes.

Often charters and deeds give no detail about the property involved, however, between 5 and 10 percent list the names of furlongs in which the lands lie and often give topographical information and name the owners of neighbouring strips. Some deeds have separate schedules, called ***terriers***, that describe open-field holdings. Terriers of church lands, the glebe, made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are a fruitful source of late open-field data. Examples of terriers are given below.

A charter dated between 1154 and 1169[7] granted 4 acres in the fields of Cranford (St John) lying as follows:

3.5 roods in *Wudeforddale*
1.5 roods in Bricsisti
1 rood in *Sortebrokilhil*
3 roods in *Langfurlonge*
1 rood next to the headland of Gilbert son of Brikeston
2 roods in Hepehil next to the land that Hosse held
1 rood in Caldewell, in the eastern part
1 rood in Sortlundale
1 rood in *Barlifurlong*
1 rood in *Nonishil* next to Gilbert son of Brikeston

The items in italic can be identified as furlongs on a map made in 1748.[8]

At Hemington, a charter dated 1257[9] describes:

0.5 acre on Abbewelle between the land of Wymark, widow of Robert-at-the-church, on the east, and Simon-at-the- church on the west
0.5 acre on Midelfurlong between the land of Robert Wymark, formerly belonging to Robert-at-the-church, north, and the land of Roger Sparwe once vicar of Hemington, south
0.5 acre on Blakethorn between the land of Robert son of Lettice, north, and the land of Beringer le Moine, south

3 Gover et al. in the *PNN*, and for more recent work see A. E. Brown, T. R. Key and C. Orr, 'Some Anglo-Saxon estates' *Northants. Archaeol.* 12, 1977, 155–176; A.E. Brown, Margaret Gelling and C. Orr., 'The details of the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: Badby revisited', *NPP* viii (1990–1) no. 2 pp. 95–103.
4 W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* 3 vols. (1885–93).
5 Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* 1968.
6 Hart, 1970, pp. 31–7.
7 Stenton 1930, NRS 4, p. 94.
8 NRO Map 2648.
9 NRO Buccleuch 25–1, A34, in Box X8676.

Later terriers can be very detailed. A survey of Duchy of Lancaster lands at Chelveston and Caldecott in 1789[10] gives topographical detail for the situation of each furlong and the number of the lands that belonged to the Duchy, for example:

> Round head furlong Butts [on] old leys east, little hill furlong west: begin at the balk north, end at wateris furlong south; [the Duchy has the] 2nd to 8th lands

Grants of land made to religious houses, sometimes collected together in cartularies, contain charters that have open-field information. There may be other important related material such as agreements and disputes about field regulation, or terriers of the property. Monastic records have the advantage of being earlier than most secular estate records.

The cartulary of Pipewell abbey describes the structure of Cold Ashby township and its land there in several ways. First it gives the total number of yardlands, relating them to each of the twelfth-century fees to which they belonged. It goes on to explain the composition of the abbey holding, which consisted of grants from several of the fees, and then it describes the actual grants and confirmations made by various donors.[11]

Manorial and estate records also provide field information. At the death of important or weathly people a survey or schedule of their estate, called an **extent**, was made. Although primarily concerned with the demesne (the manorial home farm), rents and services, extents often state how many yardlands belonged to the manor, and sometimes refer to what proportion of the demesne was fallow. Such records exist for the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries.

A 1327 extent of Stowe Nine Churches lists the items as given below, showing that there was a manor house in a park with a large demesne of 400 acres and various pieces of pasture (Table 1). The work-service once used to farm the demesne and its value as rent are given. In all there were 3,381 days of work due annually, of which 840 days were spent ploughing the demesne. Or, expressed as work per villein (per yardland), there were 40 days of ploughing and 121 days doing other unspecified work, 161 days in all. The third item on the list makes it clear that a two-field system operated, only half of the demesne being cultivated in one year.

Estate records frequently have terriers and detailed rentals that name meadows and pasture and state the size and number of yardlands. There may also be specific open-field agreements, or other documents relating to the administration of the fields. Court rolls contain regulations (by-laws) made to help run the fields efficiently; the courts also dealt with offenders who broke regulations. Property transactions recorded in the rolls sometimes give furlong names and a brief note about the buildings, but field details usually cease by about 1600.

The most complete and important records of the open fields are **field books** or parish terriers. These list every strip in a parish or township, grouped by fields and give details of furlongs and lands, one by one. Usually the quantity of land and name of the owner are stated; sometimes there is more information such as the type of tenure, the name of the tenant, and less frequently, the precise measurement of the lands. Some

10 NRO Map 1140.
11 NRO FH 145 ff.125–8 from BL Cott. Calig. A xii.

Table 1 Extent of Stowe IX Churches, 1327

Item	*Annual value* £	*s*	*d*
A chief messuage with herbage worth		6	8
A mill worth		4	0
Demesne 400 acres of which 200 could be sown and 200 were fallow and in common with the tenants; 8d per acre	[11]	13	4
100 acres pasture, 2s per acre	10	0	0
Diverse pieces of pasture	1	1	0
Pasture called haliwellebrok	1	3	0
A park inclosed with an adjacent wood, underwood and herbage	1	6	8
A separate fishery		6	8
Prior of Okeburn, assize rent at All Saints		12	0
[for rent of meadow let to Weedon Bec]			
2 free tenants paying at Easter 1/6d, Michaelmas 2s		3	6
3 free tenants paying at Christmas, 3lb pepper		3	0
21 villeins paying for 21 yardlands, assize rent at Easter and Christmas, 16d each	1	8	0
from Michaelmas to 26th May			
work on Mondays and Tuesdays except at the festivals of Easter and Christmas, per work 0.5d [40.5d per yardland]	3	11	0
for the same time on Thursdays plough 1 rood [18.25d per yardland]	1	12	0
from 26th May to Michaelmas except the festivals, one man-day worth 1.5d [60d per yardland]	5	5	0
at Christmas 2 pullets and 2 hens worth 1d were given [4d per yardland]		7	0
for auxiliary work [76d per yardland]	6	13	4
2 cottars paid rent at Easter and Michaelmas		3	6
Profits of the manorial court		6	8
From PRO C135 1 (12) m.4.			

field books refer to maps and have summary tables listing tenants' names and various details about individual holdings.

The beginning of a fieldbook of Brockhall dated 1606 is given in Table 2.

The field book gives a very precise survey of each land which shows rood portions were intended, although they begin at about 0.7 of a rood and do not reach a rood until the 35th land. There are significant variations that cannot be accidental. The lord gets a preferential larger area in lands 2–9 and 15–16. His lands 25–7, as well as those belonging to the parson at position 24, are of double area. The furlong could have been laid out, ensuring that each land was a rood in area, by varying the land widths to allow for the shortfall in the required 40-pole length (1 pole by 40 poles make a rood), but there is no evidence that any attempt was made to do this.

A fieldbook of Geddington, made in 1716,[12] gives numbered holdings, the number of lands in each holding, the name of the owner and initials of the tenants' names, the width of the holding at each end and its total length. These are all in links, although the manuscript does not say so (but a terrier of Luddington made by the same surveyor, John Booth, in the same year does state that similar measurements are in links).[13] The area is then given in acres, roods and poles.

12 NRO Buccleuch 10–52 in Box X354.
13 NRO Buccleuch terriers.

Table 2 Part of Brockhall field book, 1606

Flexlond furlong

1	*2*	*3*		*4*	*5*		*6*
Land	*Owner*	*Width*		*Length*		*Area*	
no.		*poles*	*ft.*	*poles*	*poles*		*roods*
1	Common						
2–9	Lord	11	7	30	343		8.575
10	Smith		15	30	29	1	0.703
11	Smith		15	30	29	1	0.703
12	Fulks	1	0.5	30	29	8	0.773
13	Darnell	1	5	30	39	6*	0.984
	B(alk?)	1	11	30	50	10*	1.262
14	Darnell		15	30	29	1	0.703
15	Lord	2	10	31	84		2.034
16	do						
17	Wright		15	32.25	30	3	0.756
19	Lord	1	7.5	33	49	7	1.140
20	Godfre		14.5	33.5	30	6	0.759
21	White		14	34	29	12*	0.744
22	Smith		14.5	35	31	11[.5]	0.793
23	Wright	1	11	35.5	59	14[.5]	1.498
24	Parson	1	15.5	36	70	14*	1.772
25–7	Lord	5	1.5	37.5	190	15	4.775
28–9	Wright	1	11	39	65	15	1.645
30	Darnell		12.5	38.75	30	4	0.757
31–3	Lord	3		38	114*		2.850
34	Darnell	1	3	37.75	44	12	1.120
35	Smith	1	1	37.5	39	13	0.996
36	Darnell	1		37.25	37	4*	0.931
39–40	Wright	2	7	37	85	7	2.255
41	Smith	1		37	37		0.925
42	Darnell	1	2	37	41	10	1.041
43–4	Lord	2		36.5	73		1.825
45	Smith	1	2	36.25	67	1	1.020

From NRO Thornton Collection, uncatalogued box 6.

The missing numbers of the first column are as in the original (there are 42 lands not 45). In the width (3rd column) the half feet are expressed as 1/32 in the original, meaning 1/32 of a pole not foot. The lengths (column 4) are given in fractions not decimals. Column 6 does not appear in the original.

Analysis of the figures shows that the 5th column is the area in (square) poles (and 1/16ths) and that a 16 foot pole was used; a few of the stated areas are not quite correct, there often being slight mistakes in the totals (correct calculations are marked with and asterisk). The manuscript is filled with calculations (which without decimals and calculators were extremely tedious). The 6th column has been added to show the area in roods.

West Field Glendon Balk Furlong

Plot no.	*No. of lands*	*Owner*	*Tenant*	*Widths E*	*W*	*[Av.]*	*Length*	*Area A*	*R*	*P*
1	1	Glendon balk	LK	38	44	41	1610		2	26
2	2	Montagu	TA	61	70	65	1700	1	0	19
17	13	Maydwell								
		1 ley, 12 lands	—	380	388	384	1080	4	0	28

The average width of the lands in the examples shown is 6.5–9 yards, which is normal, although in this particular furlong the lengths are larger than usual at 238–354 yards.

The importance of field books cannot be over emphasized. They afford a complete view of a township which can be 'moved' forwards or backwards over many centuries by following the descent of individual estates and farms within it. Field-system structure and furlong sizes can be established, along with details of land size, yardland size, land use, topography, tenure, and the spatial arrangement of the demesne and other estates. Details of the analytical methods used to provide such information will be explained in later chapters.

It is probable that all parishes had field books at an early date, references often being made to 'the old town book', showing the existence of a complete survey. Few medieval field books now survive. St Martins Without (Stamford) has one datable to *c.*1410,[14] and the 1433 field book of Muscott (Plate 3), a township in Brockhall parish, is discussed more fully in the Gazetteer. There are many field books for the sixteenth century and later (Kingsthorpe in Polebrook 1509, Apethorpe 1551, Higham Ferrers 1567), and all those known are listed in the Gazetteer.

A record of equal importance to the field book is the large-scale parish open-field or 'pre-enclosure' map. Furlongs and fields are usually identified; many plans have the owners' names written on each strip, or are accompanied by a terrier or field book related to the map by a numbered or coloured key. The plan of Lois Weedon, 1594, made for All Souls College, Oxford, is a fine example of such an estate map.[15] Another early example is a 1595 copy of a 1583 map of Strixton.[16] Detailed maps of the eighteenth century are commoner, such as that for Higham Ferrers, 1737, reproduced on the jacket of this volume (and Plate 7).[17]

14 Exeter Muniments, Burghley House, Stamford, 53/35.

15 Published in *The Field* 1949, by M. W. Beresford, and also used by R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, Map V (1912).

16 NRO Maps 2993, 3076; published in Hall, 'Modern Surveys', 1972, plates 3 and 4; a small part around the village is shown in Hall *Medieval Fields*, 1982, p. 16.

17 NRO Map 1004, dated 1737.

Chapter 2

OPEN FIELD OPERATION

A single farm, called the yardland, consisted of many strips distributed fairly uniformly over the furlongs of the township, as shown for a yardland at Brixworth in 1422 (Fig. 1)[1]. The information comes from full terriers of ten yardlands that paid tithes to St Andrew's Priory, Northampton in 1422[2]. From this partial plot it is nevertheless clear that the lands always laid separate from each other and were distributed uniformly between three fields called Shotunwell, Demswell and Whaddon.

All the other peasant farms in Brixworth (except demesne land tenanted out) were similarly dispersed, farming being a communal business, with the fallow used for grazing after harvest. Under such a regime it was impossible for one farmer to have a land cropped and the next farmer to have an adjacent land fallow with animals ranging over it, or the crop would be eaten. The problem was solved by forming a communal arrangement with one of the large fields having all its furlongs fallow at the same time; the herd of the whole village wandered about grazing, making it relatively easy for herdsmen to keep animals off the crops of the neighbouring fields.

Contemporary evidence that fields were used in this way comes from such examples as the 1327 Stowe extent, printed in Chapter 1 (Table 1), where half the demesne was fallow ('waste') and laid in common with the tenants. It was worth nothing in terms of crops produced. Although lying in common when fallow, its ownership and occupancy remained fixed.

The three great fields of Brixworth represent the main cropping units, one being planted with wheat and barley, another with peas and beans and the third left fallow. Each field was cropped in turn so making a three-year cycle. The arrangement also necessitated that the lands of each farm be uniformly distributed so an equal proportion of them (two-thirds in this case) was under cultivation in each year.

Every yardland needed animals for the sustenance of the farm family as well as draught beasts for ploughing and carting. These were regulated by having a fixed number of cows and sheep for each yardland, as agreed at Cold Ashby in *c.* 1230[3], where the number of animals in the common pasture of the whole village was limited so that each yardland had 4 great beast (cattle and horses), 4 pigs and 20 sheep. The number of yardlands was 60 so there would be 240 great beast, 240 pigs and 1,200 sheep in the village flocks.

Early records do not usually refer to horses, doubtless because oxen were used for

1 The plan has 34 lands marked on it; there were 58 in all, but the missing ones cannot now be located because of changes in furlong names made between 1422 and those marked on a map of 1688 (NRO Map 1555).

2 BL Cott. Vesp. E xvii f. 83–4.

3 BL Cott. Calig. A xiii f. 127d.

pulling ploughs, as stated in surveys made of Peterborough abbey manors in *c.* 1130[4]. As the use of horses became more widespread by the thirteenth century they were allowed to replace cows in the yardland allowance, sometimes stated specifically, or sometimes allowed to be freely interchangable with cows in the number of 'great beast' that could be kept. The 8 horses allowed to a yardland at Dodford in 1464 (below) were presumably intended to be an alternative to 8 kine. At Maidford, in 1568, 6 beast or horses went with a yardland, and in 1624 the yardland allowance was stated to be 6 beast, horses, calves or rolks[5]. One horse replaced 2 cow commons at Preston Capes in 1650[6]. A late example of free interchange is found at Walgrave in 1776[7].

Open-field regulations

With farms scattered in strips and animals allowed to graze on meadow and fallow in a hedgeless open landscape, the potential for trespass and crop damage was great. Animals were controlled by collecting them together in a herd; they were kept out of standing crops by rounding up with a hayward helped by boys. Farmers sometimes failed to put their animals in the common herd, but let them trespass in corn. The animals were then impounded by the field officers and the owners had to pay a fine before they were released.

There were many other kinds of offences possible in the open fields, a common one being the ploughing by a tenant of a piece of his neighbour's land. Such misdemeanours were controlled by the manorial courts held in each village, the offenders being fined. Specific orders were made by courts at various dates and written down in court rolls. Below are collected instances of orders from different parts of the county.

1377 Broughton

An order was made that no one should have foals following the mare or young bullocks wandering in the fields after 1st August; fine 12d for the lord and 12d for the church if the order was broken[8].

1381 Geddington

It was ordered that the whole homage should not glean beans except from their own land[9].

1400 Raunds

Beasts not grazing with the common herd were to be tied up to stop them wandering on to crops.

Common ground was not to be ploughed.

Hay for mowing was to be marked out beforehand[10].

4 Society of Antiquaries, London, MS 60 ff. 7–29; *Chronicon Petroburgensi* ed. T. Stapleton, Camden Society 47 (1849), pp. 157–66.
5 NRO EB 233 m.9; NRO EB 236 m.24.
6 NRO K 154.
7 NRO D2817.
8 NRO Buccleuch 17–155, court roll 1 Ric II in Box X386.
9 *Id.* 5 Ric II in X351.
10 NRO Duchy of Lancaster court roll 2 Hen IV in X705.

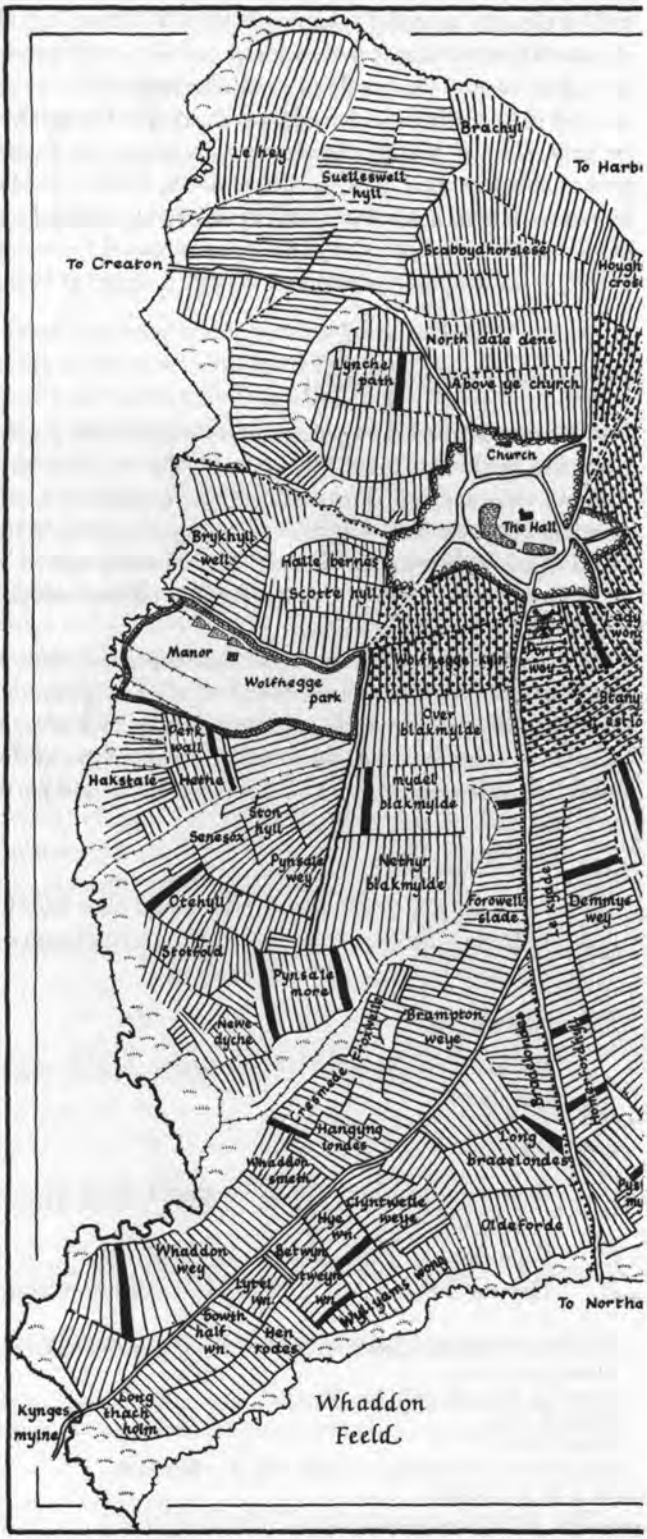


Figure 1, Brixworth fields and furlongs in 1422. The block demesne (stippled) lies next to the village and a manorial park lies to the south-west.

BRIXWORTH
Open Fields
1422
Schotunwell Feeld
Scaldewell mere
Nether estlong
Over eselong
Wrongdondes
Apultre Furlong
Scaldewell broke
Schotonwell
Borogadale
Watur Farlong
Benchewong
Flexlondes
Coppudmor
Ewrewell
Over asschewey
To Holcot
Waldegrave brugge
Nether asschewey
Maysters wong
Sleyghtbarowe
Brakendarne
Hetlywell hylt
Stanywade
Le longe
Church path
Holcote brugge
Estre long hylt
Ore hylt
Le breche
Demmys hede
Bathpole
Grene berwe
Ringwell
Lang furlongus
Demmyswell Feeld
Swannes nesse
Furlongs
Field Boundaries
Roger Page's Land
Yards
500
Metres

1403 Broughton

The whole village should not have foals with mares tied in corn, wheat and barley from 21st June until such time as the corn was removed from each furlong in the fields [11].

1428 Bozeat

Pullets were at large contrary to the common order[12].

1443 Several people broke the order about horses being tied [in the fields] and William Serich and John Koo had beast trespassing in corn.

1434 Brampton Ash

There was a regular series of numbered orders, actually called 'bylaws' before 1434, when John Ruston, shepherd broke, 'the bylaw . . . in the neats' pasture . . . and broke bylaw number 9'[13]. An order made in 1440 was that 'each tenant must keep his horses with foals and other beast out of the separate fields and pasture or be fined 12d'.

1437 Preston Capes

An order was made that no one should put geese in the corn of the lord's tenant unless they were tied up after 1st August; defaulters to pay 4d to the lord and 4d to the church[14].

1456 No [animals] were to trespass in the sown fields against the order[15].

1466 Ordered that no one was to put ewes in the common ways for pasturing until Whitsun[16].

1447 Broughton

No one was to have a foal following the mother during ploughing unless the mare was in milk.

No one should place cows, sheep, or calves in the common pasture out of custody[17].

1458 No one should put any pig in the fields unless it was with a herdsman, fine 12d.

1459 The lord should repair the common fold or the animals will trespass on the sown fields.

1463–4 Dodford

An order was made that

> all lands, leys and hadons in the fields that had been converted from tillage to grass during the previous 20 years should be reconverted to tillage and used to increase the amount of corn.

11 NRO Buccleuch 17–175 court roll 12 Hen 4, in X386.
12 NRO Duchy of Lancaster court roll in X708.
13 NRO FH 346 m.2; m.4d.
14 NRO Knightley court rolls (KCR) A.iv.18..
15 NRO KCR A.iv.12.
16 NRO KCR A.iv.21.
17 NRO Buccleuch court rolls 17–175 in X386.

General Dodford orders at that date were:

No one should keep less than 140 sheep in a flock between Holyrood and Martinmas (*fine* 6/8d).

All should mend gaps between Oldfeld gate and Lyngwell gate (12d).

Cottagers could have no more than 1 cow and 1 breeder (3/4d).

Bays should be tied on their own ground until Lammas (3/4d).

There were to be no more than 4 horses per half yardland from Lammas to Holyrood (6/8d).

No beast were to be driven over grass before Holyrood (3/4d).

No one was to tie or keep horses on the fallow field from holyrood until the end of harvest (3/4d)[18].

Irchester

1423 No one should pasture sheep in le Netepasture before autumn 40d[19].

1428 William Bot broke the common order[20].

1439 No one should to have pigs, sheep or other beast out of lawful custody 6d[21].

1440 No one should tie beast on the pasture[22].

1442 No one should leave ewes out overnight in the corn.

1443 No beast were to be tied in the separate pasture between the bounds and stones of Irchester and Knuston.

Everyone should repair the watercourse at smalmedebrok.

Everyone should take a load of 'pibles' to staples bridge.

1446 All were to carry stone, mortar and other things necessary to repair staples bridge [at Wellingborough]; and labour there as well.

1479 Rushden

No horses were to graze freely before 29th June, fine 40d, half paid to the lord and half to the church.

No foals were to be allowed in the neats pasture[23].

1482 No sonder [separate private] herds to be kept in the pastures of *mores, bencroft* and *park leys*.

The above are examples where an order is mentioned. More common are individual cases of misdemeanours without an order being referred to.

1300 Weedon Bec

Thomas de Gayton ploughed a road to the prejudice of the village; he also encroached on a balk over the king's highway. Simon Smith ploughed the highway at the end of his property and John de Brochole did the same[24].

18 NRO KCR A.ii.3–4.
19 NRO Duchy of Lancaster court roll 1 Hen VI, in X708.
20 *Id.* 7 Hen VI.
21 *Id.* 17 Hen VI.
22 *Id.* 19 Hen VI.
23 *Id.* 18–19 Edw IV in X702.
24 Eton College Records 27–166 m.3.

1342 Barnwell
Roger de Reve and Robert Hiche and other villeins kept sheep outside the lord's fold.

1346 John le Mazoun trespassed in the lord's corn.
William Balle had animals trespassing in the lord's meadow[25].

1333 Easton Maudit
The lord's plough had encroached in Wodecroft[26].

1336 Several people trespassed in the lord's pasture and 2 calves did the same in 1346[27].

1388 Geddington
John Wotton of Brigstock had a cart in the lord's corn.
Richard Champeyneys took 4 sheaves of barley.
John Honde trespassed with beast in the meadow.
William Champeyney broke the common order[28].

1444 Preston Capes
Robert Colles and William Berly allowed their beast to trespass in the wood and Thomas Kecht ploughed up the balks on the lord's ground and the court was to inspect the damage[29].

1451 Robert Colles had beast and sheep trespassing in the fields[30].
1449 Robert Colles's sheep trespassed in the common pasture called the hayn[31] and in 1450 his sheep were in the lord's pasture.

1458 Hargrave
The sheep of Thomas Daundelyn trespassed and he was fined 2d.
John Bocher encroached with his plough at the end of milneslade near the greneway.
Henry Bochar did the same on a balk at ryewonge that abutted welleslade[32].

1471 John Walley trespassed with his cows.
The prior of Chicksands should repair the pynnefold sufficiently. This was the second offence brought upon the prior for default in his capacity as a lord of the manor.

The above orders cover the main themes of control of ploughing and animals. Farmers were ordered not to plough the land of their neighbours, the roads, or the commons. Animals of various kinds were not to trespass in crops and should be kept together, except for horses and geese which could be tied up. The numbers of animals allowed for each farm (call a stint) was stated and everyone was to help maintain

25 NRO Buccleuch 18–162, Barnwell court roll 1342 in X388.
26 Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rolls Northants 13.
27 NRO LB 36, 37.
28 NRO Buccleuch court roll 11 Ric II in X251.
29 NRO KCR A.iv.10.
30 NRO KCR A.iv.16.
31 NRO KCR A.iv.11.
32 NRO Duchy of Lancaster court roll 37 Hen VI in X706.

watercourses and drains. Other items would depend on the locality; trespass in woods occurred in the forest villages, and Irchester tenants had to help maintain Wellingborough Bridge, which was on a major route linking Kettering and Wellingborough with London. The lord of the manor had to provide a bull and a boar for the common flock and maintain a pound. These responsibilties were often devolved as a condition of tenancy.

A benefit of having animals grazing on fallow was the deposition of manure. The lord sometimes demanded prefential treatment, as shown by the 1342 Barnwell case where villeins were brought to court for having their sheep outside of the lord's fold. By insisting on the overnight folding of all the villeins' sheep, a large quantity of manure would be obtained for use by the lord on his demesne arable. A similar case is recorded at Clopton in *c.* 1250 where the smallholders, but not the yardlanders, were obliged to keep sheep in the lord's fold when they were not grazing[33].

Court rolls and furlong names often refer to animal folds, such as *dunestales slade* (Dunne's stall) at Wollaston, in 1370[34]. They were normally flimsy structures of wood that leave no remains, but two substantial circular, ramparted enclosures occur at Harringworth Park. Two large sheepfolds were said to lie in the park in 1273[35], which are likely to be these enclosures. A plan of the smaller one, 100 yards in diameter, has been published[36]. A large sheepfold was made at Great Oakley in the thirteenth century when four acres of land were given for its construction in a close on the north of the village[37].

Early regulations dating from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been published in a very thorough survey by Ault[38]. Those for Buckinghamshire are very comprehensive. As with Northamptonshire, in the early centuries orders were only occasionally spelled out, but there are references to bylaws and officers, proving that they existed. The published regulations do not differ much from those abundantly available in Northamptonshire and elsewhere from the sixteenth century onwards (see below).

Cropping

The crops grown on the fields cannot be studied in detail for any individual peasant farmer, but are clear enough for whole manors in the returns of produce carried to monasteries from their distant granges, and from the accounts of manorial demesnes (home farms) when they were farmed 'in hand' as at the Crowland abbey manors of Addington, Elmington and Wellingborough during the thirteenth century[39].

33 King *Miscellany* 1983, p. 24.

34 Hall *Wollaston* 1977, p. 142, from the de Wolaston manorial register, *c.* 1475, Leicester Record Office ID50/xii/28, f. 38.

35 NRO TB2.

36 *Archaeological Sites in North-East Northamptonshire* RCHM, 1975, p. 49, where the enclosures are claimed to be prehistoric, without any evidence. Sited on boulder clay they would not be earlier than the Iron Age, and if of that date would leave occupation remains containing sherds. Fieldwork on the enclosures shows them to be quite barren, consistent with their being sheepfolds.

37 NRO FH 147 f. 29.

38 Ault, 'Open-field Husbandry' 1965.

39 F. M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey* (1934) for 1257; Cambridge University Library, Queen's College records Boxes 1 and 2, for later years.

The details of the amounts of seed sown and crops obtained are given under Wellingborough in the Gazetteer. Wheat and barley gave yields of 3 to 4 during the years 1280–3. Oats were lower at slightly less than 3, and peas and beans varied from 7 to 20. Details are available for Peterborough abbey demesne manors[40].

The demesne farm of Raunds was described in the last half of the fourteenth century when it was farmed directly by the Lancaster estate. Four of the annual account rolls survive for the years 1355–6, 1369–70, 1374–5 and 1381–2[41]. The farm was run by 8 permanent staff, a carter, two ploughmen, two pinnards, one shepherd, a hayward and a clerk, all receiving annual wages of around 7 shillings. Other short-term labour, needed for instance at harvest time, was hired as the seasons required. Operation of the farm by work-service had ceased, the villeins paid a rent in lieu of this by 1314[42] and probably long before. No expenses are recorded for ploughing and sowing during 1356–82, so these tasks were presumably done by the staff. Hired work of about 100 days was made for weeding corn in the spring, and 600 days' work were needed to reap and tie into sheaves the corn and beans from 140 acres. In 1375 carting required 14 man days, pitching and loading carts 20 days, stacking corn 24 days and stacking peas and beans 4 days. In 1356 there was expenditure for 36.5 quarters of wheat, 166.5 quarters of barley, 9.5 peas and beans, and 12.5 of oats, as well as winnowing 225 bushels of all kinds of corn.

The farm consisted of about 400 acres in all, there being 291 acres in hand. Some of these laid in a single block of land next to the manor house but most of the demesne was dispersed throughout the open fields in parcels of 3–10 strips[43]. The remaining 97 acres were let out, and were also dispersed (described in the roll of 1356).

The annual grain tallies of the accounts give some information about the crops grown, which were wheat, drage, beans, peas and oats. The acreage of each crop varied from year to year and the amounts of seed sown ranged from 2.5 bushels per acre for wheat to 4 bushels per acre for barley and oats. No precise yields can be calculated because no accounts for consecutive years survive, but putting together the data of the four years and taking the average it is evident that the yields range from 1.2 to 3.0 of winnowed grain over the amount sown. This is a low value, even for the period. There were not many animals on the Raunds farm; about 4 cart horses and between 3 and 11 other horses, 9 steers, one bull, and 1–3 cows. In 1356, 193 sheep had been washed and sheared, and by the end of the year there were 85 sheep left, after consumption, sales, and mortalities.

Elsewhere, surviving monastic records give information about the precise cropping of the demesne. At Wistow, Hunts., the abbot of Ramsey kept very detailed accounts of crop yields; furlongs and even parts of furlongs had record kept of the amounts of grain sown and the yield[44].

Special crops needed in small quantities were worked in with the main ones. Rye and flax prefer light gravelly soils[45] and a suitable area was chosen and often became named after the crop, as with the *flexlond* furlong at Muscott in *c.* 1230[46]. The furlong was the

40 King *Peterborough Abbey* 1973; see Kettering and Stanwick, in the Gazetteer.
41 PRO DL 29 324/5292; /5297; /5301; 5305.
42 Kerr *Higham Ferrers* 1925, p. 51 from PRO DL 29 1/3 m.19.
43 Illustrated in Hall et al. *Raunds*, p. 63.
44 M. Patricia Hogan, 'Clays, Culturae and their cultivation at Wistow', *Ag. Hist. Rev.* 36 (1988) pp. 117–131.
45 Morton, p. 485, notes that it was sown on red land (ironstone) in 1712.
46 NRO Spencer 1009.

minimum cropping unit within a field[47]; this was because most furlongs had within them a land belonging to everyone in the township, and so all had a share of the crop[48]. Rye was grown at Irthingborough and Maidwell, on ironstone soils, during the fourteenth century, in greater quantity than at clayland manors.

Walter of Henley gives a general description of farming techniques in *c.* 1280[49]. It is not proven that he worked in Northamptonshire, but as he refers to two-field and three-field systems[50] it is believed that he was writing about a Midland county. His methods were intended to instruct a bailiff working the demesne of a large estate for profit, but no doubt much of what he described was widely applicable. He reckoned that 0.75–1.0 acre could be ploughed in a day (c30), and that oxen were cheaper to operate than a 2-horse plough team (c36–8). Fallow was ploughed in April and 'stirred' in midsummer (p. 321, c.42). When ready for sowing the ground was ploughed with small furrows and after seed was cast over, it was protected by being harrowed in. He referred to the ridging of lands (c47) and recommended that corn should be weeded after midsummer, to prevent such weeds as thistles growing even more vigorously. The yields needed to be greater than three-fold for the farming to be profitable, except in years when grain was very expensive. Seed should be exchanged with that of neighbours to increase the yield. Stubble was not removed from the ground unless required for thatching. Hoeing 'stubble' probably meant the cleaning of upstanding corn that was to be cut short and used for thatching, which needed very clean straw to prevent weed seeds taking root on roofs.

Crops and agricultural techniques after 1600 are described at the end of this chapter.

Work service

The lord's demesne was worked by villeins in the early Middle Ages, as illustrated by the following examples. At Barnwell in, *c.* 1266, the work-services of the villeins were described in detail, and seem more exacting than those on secular manors[51].

The work-service description for one yardland begins:

> From Michaelmas until hay time in the lord's meadow, he works 1 whole day per week.
> At the first day of cutting the lord's meadow he works for 1 day and receives 12d, [the work] is shared with the men of the lord's household, and he works the next day on his own meadow.
> He carries from the lord's meadow for 0.5 day and makes hay with the help of cottars. From the first day of hay time until 1st August he works 1.5 days per week.
> From 1st August until 8th September he works for 1.5 days per week.
> He ought to cut 0.75 acres of corn, 1 rood each on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, and he provides 1 man without food. The next week, if the lord pleases, he has one meal with all the men and women of the household, being bread, herring and water, the third week is without food, and in the fourth week he has bread, meat and ale, and comes with one cup for drink while he feasts, and he can have a gallon, but if he has more he is out of favour with the lord.
> If the lord has provided two meals, he sets up (sheaves), and ties a half-acre of corn, and carries one cartload of corn.
> From 8th September until Michaelmas he works one day each week, and for the 3 Thursdays between those festivals he carries one cartload of wood or instead ploughs 1 rood.

47 R. H. Hilton in *VCH* Leics ii, 1954, p. 159; ed. W. G. Hoskins.

48 In a late example of crop flexibility, making use of soil variability, a single land at Cold Higham had rye at one end, wheat at the other, and maslin in the middle (Morton 1712, p. 35).

49 D. Oschinksy, *Walter of Henley* 1971 (Oxford).

50 *Idem* p. 314, *c.* 23–40.

51 *Cart. Rams.* i 49–50; see N. Neilson, *Economic Conditions on the Manors of Ramsey Abbey* (1898) for a full account of the work service on other Ramsey abbey manors. It was shown that work service increased between 1150 and 1250.

He makes one measure of malt, being 12 bushels, and winnows until St Martin, and after then owes reaping, and if the lord needs, makes more malt, and winnows. He makes 2 lots of malt one year and one lot the next.

He owes a halfpenny in the middle of Lent for *fisshesilver*.

He owes carrying service for 10 leagues around the manor at the lord's will, either with animlas or on foot. If carrying overnight the lord provides the horses with food.

If he has a plough he owes ploughing for 0.5 acre each Thursday from Michaelmas until Christmas, or in the sowing season, harrowing.

Each plough owes work from Christmas until haytime, excepting three weeks; at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun.

In *c.* 1380[52] work-service formerly demanded at Badby and Newnham for a yardland was partly listed and partly valued. In summary the items were:

Plough and harrow 1 day each at the autumn sowing, at the Lent sowing, and when fallow. Two yardlands are equal to one plough; worth 3.5d.

Winnow, each day worth 1d.

Reap the lord's corn, mow his meadow, pitch and carry the hay; the lord sends the servants of the court (grange) to help pitch hay.

Reap, gather, tie and carry the lord's corn, the lord to carry with one cart for part of the autumn and gather for one day with one man.

Carry, at the lord's wish, to Northampton when the justicies were there, and when the lord or the cellerar [of Evesham abbey] went to the assize there or at Daventry, [and provide] for their sustenance.

They do no thrashing or other work.

The lord provides a meal in the autumn for all men and women who had worked.

Mow for a day, the lord pays 1.5d

Those who carried water to the mowers were paid.

Mow for six days following the custom.

Badby and Newnham farmers pay 10s 6d [rent] and pay frithsilver at St Mark's day 2.75d and hokeday 0.75d

By 1314 the work-services of the Lancaster estate at Raunds were commuted for rents; each yardland had once owed 3 days carriage, 1 day carriage of wood, 3 days ploughing with four animals (at Christmas, Easter and in June), 6.5 days reaping, and 8 days reaping with food provided by the lord. That is at least 17.5 days on the land[53]. These services were much less than at Barnwell because they represent a different kind of tenure, called sokage, that was less demanding.

Sokage yardlands at Rushden Lancaster estate had work specified for which a rent was paid in *c.* 1350[54]. There had been 3 days carrying, 1 day sowing, 1 day harrowing, 1 day mowing, 6 days reaping, 4 days reaping with food supplied; 16 days in all. From this and two smaller groups of tenants the lord received 884 days' work yearly to cultivate 380 acres of land.

The work services, sizes of the demesnes and number of yardlands are summarized for several manors in Table 3 below.

From the table it can be seen that there is a great deal of variation from manor to manor. To a small extent the low rent at Stowe compensates for the higher work-service dues. For Harringworth and the Lancaster villages it seems that 0.5 to 2 days' work were required for each acre of the demesne. This was very much less than that at Stowe and Barnwell, where much labour was demanded, similar to the Ramsey abbey manor of

52 NRO Th 1627, undated but earlier than Th 683 of 1388.

53 Hall et al. *Raunds*, 1988, pp. 45–6; Kerr *Higham Ferrers* 1925, 82–3; from PRO DL 29 1/4 m.20.

54 Hall and Harding *Rushden* 1985, pp. 54–9; 63–70, from PRO DL 43 8/9.

Table 3 Work service required for demesne farming 1299–1346

Place		*Demesne (acres)*	*No. of yardlands*	*Total days work service*	*Work service per yardland (days)*	*Work service per acre (days)*	*Rent*	*Aid*
Harringworth	1299	376	30.5	201	6.69	0.53	28s. 8d.	
Raunds	1314	400	34	612	18	1.53	4 4	7s. 6d.
Rushden	1350	380	59	884	15	2.32	8 3.5	2 3.5
Stowe	1327	400	21	3,381	161	8.45	1 4	6 4

[These figures are difficult to compare exactly; at Raunds the work-service of 13.25 villeins is not stated; and there were 29 days additional work by cottars; at Harringworth the work-service includes 29 days by cottars; the Rushden values are the average of two kinds of tenure with similar rents and works]

Harringworth NRO TB7 from PRO C133 90 m.2; E 149 5 m.10; Raunds, Hall et al. *Raunds*, 1988, pp. 45–6; Kerr *Higham Ferrers* 1925, 82–3; from PRO DL 29 1/4 m.20; Rushden, Hall and Harding *Rushden* 1985, pp. 54–9; 63–70, from DL 43 8/9.55; Stowe Table 1 from PRO C135 1 (12).

Wistow, Hunts., where the work service during 1336–68 was 170–180 days yearly[55].

The details of work-service are carefully listed and costed at the demesne manors of Peterborough abbey (see the detailed example for Stanwick in the Gazetteer; Kettering, 1292, has been printed by Wise[56]). In 1308 most of the work service was used for specified tasks and that not used a payment was charged to the villeins[57]. By contrast the villeins on the Stanwick Lancaster estate had had their dues remitted for a higher rent in the twelfth century[58].

Work-service was commuted for extra rent payment before 1300 in most places, especially on secular manors[59]. Money payments in lieu of work service continued to be itemised at Raunds until 1552, when rents were increased by one-sixth to include all dues. Some manors in monastic possession demanded work-service until the fourteenth century; they tended to be more conservative, insisting on retaining old customs. This is proved at Barnwell, where, in the mid fourteenth century, the tenants of Ramsey abbey were still expected to give work-service. Many people were brought before the manorial court and fined for not performing various services[60]:

1342

Roger Ladd, John Allwyn senior, Robert Fichion, and Robert de Kyngisthorp were fined for not properly tying together the lord's corn (3d each).

William son of Thomas, Henry Mazoun, and others did not winnow the lord's corn (fine 3d each).

Juliana wife of Henry and Margery Sollowater did not make hay, and in 1346 Margery did not set the lord's corn.

Transfer of copyhold property at Broughton in 1378 included one day's work in the lord's meadow, or pay 4d, in a few cases. It is likely that payment was made, there being no presentations for failure to do work recorded in the court rolls[61].

55 Neilson *Ramsey Manors* 1898 p. 73.

56 C. Wise *The Compotus of Kettering Manor AD 1292* (1899) and see King *Peterborough Abbey* 1973 for a summary of all the manors.

57 NRO F(M) charter 233.

58 Kerr *Higham Ferrers* 1925, p. 83.

59 Secular manors in neighbouring counties also had work service replaced by rent by the end of the thirteenth century, E. A. Kosminsky *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century*, Oxford (1956), pp. 152–163.

60 NRO Buccleuch 18–162 in X388.

61 *Id.* 17–155, 2 Ric II, in X386.

Normally, apart from stating whether a work-service included a meal or not (at the lord's expense), there are no details of the food provided by the lord in the *bederipe*, and most probably it was bread with meat or cheese. The 1266 Ramsey custumal, partly given above, provided bread, herring and water for an ordinary meal, and bread, meat and ale for a feast. However, at Everdon and Snorscombe in 1430[62], William Bayley rented a house and 1.75 yardlands which still had a work-service for which a surprisingly good repast was given by the parson;

> ye seyd mese and land shall fynde yn ye custom mede of ye parson of Everdon i syth to mowe won day and ii makers of hey and ye seyd mower shall com whom to hys dyner unto ye parsonage att x of ye clok and bryng with hym hys wyfe or a nother woman and ye parson shall fynde to ye seyd mower and hys wyfe ther dyner in maner of rost; yt is to sey, gose with garlek and ii other of rostyng mets of sych as ye parson woll order. And ye met yt ys left at dyner, hyt schall be browght ynto ye mede at ye after noone with iii cast of bred and iii galons of ale; and to hav non other faver.

This is a very late case of work service being asked, but perhaps the meal was so good that tenants were willing to do the work. The recording of the dues in English suggests that it was not a legal reciting of an old custom outdated by decades or even centuries.

Changes in operation in the Middle Ages and afterwards

There were several changes in the way that open fields were worked from the fifteenth century until enclosure. Most of them involved some form of contraction of the amount of arable and an increase in the grass area, changes made possible by the reduction of population that occurred during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Black Death of 1349 affected many parts of the county. The Duke of Lancaster's auditor put a note at the foot of his summary of the annual accounts for the whole estate that Raunds 1349 rents were diminished because of the pestilence[63]. There were still many empty properties and untenanted lands at Raunds in 1464, listed on the dorse of an account roll, more than a century later[64].

The valuers of the lands of Laurence Paveli at Paulerspury found, in 1349, that the manor laid 'for the most part uncultivated by reason of the pestilence'[65]. Higham Ferrers was badly affected; a court roll for May 1349 has the names of 19 people out of 51 who should have attended crossed out and the word 'dead' written over the top. They had all died in the three weeks since the previous court[66]. At Wollaston the parents of John Benetheton, vicar of Higham Ferrers, were 'buried near the south porch of the church, being struck dead in the first pestilence, and on the same day both placed there in a grave'[67].

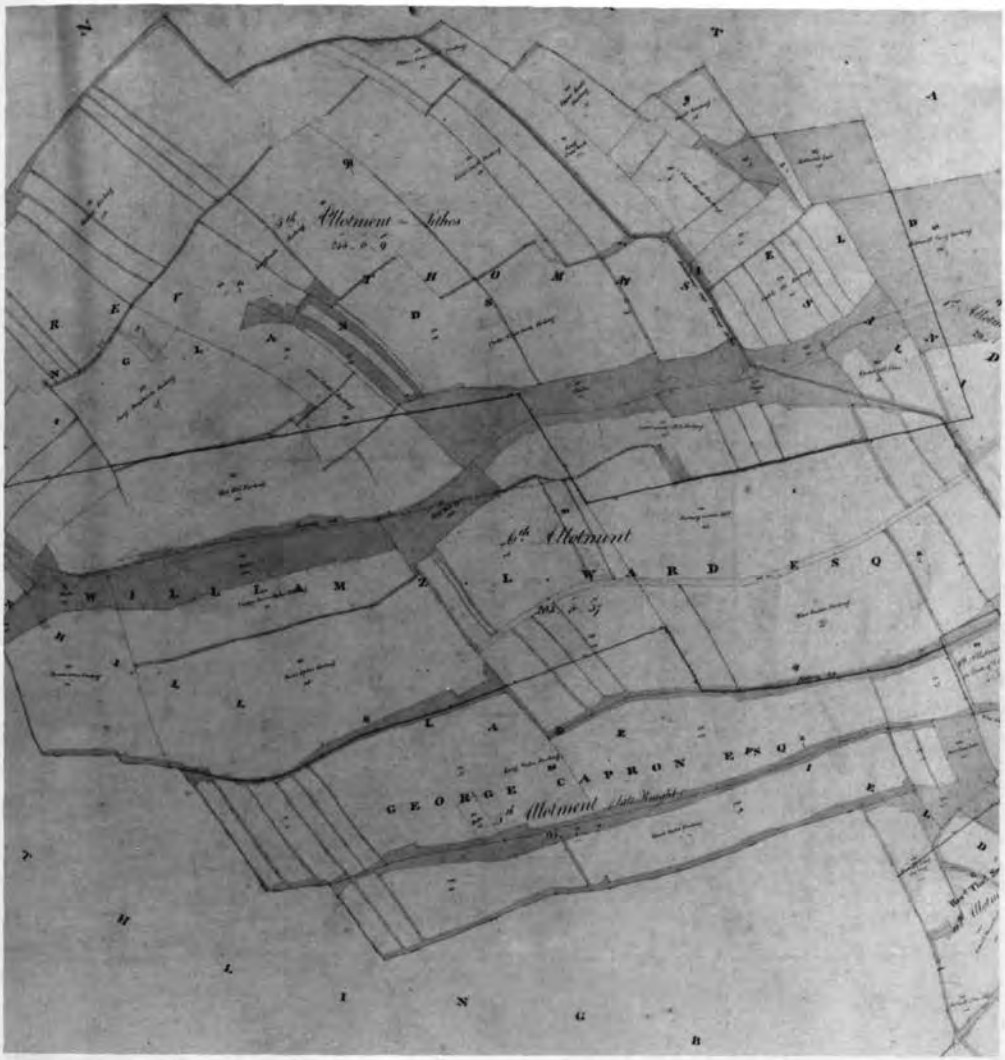
Fear of the Black Death is evident in 1356 because the prior of St Andrews, Northampton, stopped the suit of Teeton watermill being made at the priory since the pestilence, to prevent the disease being brought to the monks[68]. Silverstone has a 1403 court roll similar to that of Higham Ferrers in which 12 names out of a total of 37 are

62 NRO Knightley court rolls A.iv.1.
63 PRO DL 41 9/7.
64 PRO DL 29 328/5366.
65 *Cal. Inqu. Post Mortem* 9 (1916) p. 189.
66 N. Groome 'Black Death in the Hundred of Higham Ferrers', *NPP* 6 pp. 309–11.
67 Hall *Wollaston* 1977 p. 169, from the Register of William de Wolaston m.32.
68 NRO LT 127.

1 Aerial photograph of Brockhall ridge and furrow, enclosed 1611. Looking south-east
(Photo D. Cowley, Northamptonshire County Council, 1976).

2 Aerial photograph of Naseby ridge and furrow, enclosed 1822. Looking south-west
(Photo G. Foard, Northamptonshire Heritage, 1988).

3 Muscott field book, 1433 *(Northamptonshire Record Office, Th 183).*



4 Little Addington draft enclosure map showing furlongs and land-use in 1830 *(Northamptonshire Record Office, Map 2927).*

5 Titchmarsh manorial park showing a furlong partly enclosed in 1304 and 1772, showing different degrees of ridging *(Photo S. Upex, Nene Valley Research Committee, 1977).*

6 Northampton ploughing team, 1632 *(Northamptonshire Record Office, Map 4671).*

7 Map of Higham Ferrers by John Colbeck, 1737
(Northamponshire Record Office, Map 1004).

crossed out with *mort* written over the top and the heir's names written instead, and in one case the heir has *mort* written over as well, and a third name occurs[69]. At Brigstock, in 1440 land belonging to the crown was in hand because of frequent pestilence and tenants had gone away because of hardship[70].

The Black Death was only one of the manifestations of declining population and economy that had begun in the early years of the fourteenth century. Under these circumstances there were not enough men to plough the whole of the arable area, and corn was not needed in such large quantities for a smaller population.

In a few cases there was a change of economy and a whole township was enclosed and set down to grass for sheep rearing. Any remaining populace moved elsewhere for work, giving rise to the phenomenon of 'deserted villages'. Examples are Elkington, probably enclosed in the late fifteenth century (certainly before 1540, an account roll shows that the abbey had leased out the whole of its property as closes[71]). At Snorscombe in Everdon there were 4 houses and 4 ploughs in 1508 (three quarters of the hamlet being already enclosed), but Richard Knightley enclosed the land, converting 200 acres of arable to pasture, letting the houses fall into decay, and causing 28 people to leave[72].

However, such examples are rare, and more commonly there was a contraction of arable land by agreement, involving 10 or 20 per cent of the township that was then left as permanent pasture. Sometimes an enclosure was to be held privately and lands were exchanged with other freeholders, as at Brockhall and Muscott in 1433 (100 acres, see the Gazetteer), or at East Haddon in *c.* 1600.

Cow pasture

The most common type of increase of pasture was not concerned with enclosure, but was done by agreement with the intention of leaving more grass for the village herds. The grass so created was sometimes next to the permanent pasture in the meadows, or consisted of the worst kind of land, either heavy clay or dry heathland, and often at some far distant (and therefore inconvenient) part of the township. An agreement increasing the cow pasture of Ashby St Ledgers in 1712 stated[73]:

> Wee ye inhabitants of Ashby Ledgers whose names are under written do give our assent and consent to ye laying down of land for ye making of three pastures for cows to keep fore a yardland till lamas on the ground and places underwritten on legull and equal terms that is each yardland shall lay down equal share of tillage and greensward in every pasture and all have comon — and ground marked by a jury after harvest is in and two partings may be fully finished this year namely Foxholes and Fede Fields and ye Upper Field greensward may be done this year and ye tillage land next year ... [there are to be] 4 cows per yardland ... [Fede Field pasture]. All Crickway with ye rushy hades below Crickford and all long washpit lands and leas with all short washpit lands and all comon ground at ye upper end and costydean furlong straight from Ralph Jackson's for shooter of hanging woolbreach into costydean with costydean and all stanwell hill from ye nether side up to John Cave senior's land betweeen John Bawcut's and Thomas Edward's land deadmore leas and statfold hades with lensway hades may be made mid summer ground.
>
> The plow'd land in this pasture is 20 acres 2 roods which is 2 roods, 12 poles for each yardland

69 NRO XYZ 1390 m.1.
70 NRO ML 141 f.53.
71 PRO SC6 Hen VIII 2784 mm.57d-58d.
72 Eton College Records 28–77.
73 NRO ASL 154.

The descriptions are also given for the other two fields, Upper Field putting down 22 acres and 7 poles of arable and Foxholes Field 21 acres 3 roods and 8 poles. The agreement was intended to have 'full legal weight' as it is endorsed by a London attorney, 'John Coulson with Mr. Tanner att the Golden Ball in Whittle Street Westminster'. Figure 2 shows the extent of this cow pasture.

There are medieval examples of pasture being created in this way. The demesne of Higham Ferrers was let out annually as pasture to tenants in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and became the 'cow pasture' by 1567 (see Gazetteer). The periphery of Rushden open fields (formerly demesne), lying on heavy ground, had been left grass and was called the 'netes pasture' in 1479 (orders above), and Irchester had a neats' pasture in 1423 (above). Some meadow, and heavy clay ground at Brixworth was given to the tenants in 1300 by the lord, Thomas de Verdun, for their common pasture[74]. This was at the north-west of the parish and is marked on a map of 1688[75]. At East Haddon the heath ground had been laid to grass before 1771, when it was stated that 'the cow pasture contains 600 acres of ancient greensoard that has not been plowed up for more than 500 years'[76].

The creation of cow pasture was frequent during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and can be seen on estate maps or is identifiable as 'cow pasture' in Parliamentary enclosure awards, even if the details of how and when it was created do not survive. The field orders for Hemington (below) refer to a cow pasture in 1606. Morton notes the existence of these pastures in 1712[77] 'Many of the lordships, and especially the larger ones, have a common or uninclosed pasture for their cattel in the outskirts of the fields. Most of these have formerly been plowed, but being generally their worst sort of ground, and at so great a distance from the towns, the manuring and culture of them were found so inconvenient that they have been laid down for greensod'.

Cow pastures were usually permanent and were not converted back to arable; the ownership of each land was forgotten and no longer recorded.

Leys

Parts of furlongs, and occasionally whole furlongs, were left to grass over permanently when they were called **leys**. Leys appear primarily in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Records of their creation have yet to be found in Northamptonshire; some of the earliest examples are at Broughton in 1316, 1339[78], and 1417[79]. There is evidence of the formation of leys by 'default', according to an order for 1466 stating 'those having land called *rede lond* in the East Field at *estardis balke*, from the dike to the vill, should cultivate it and not leave it waste[80]. This shows that the poor quality, thin ironstone soil had been neglected; it continued to be uncultivated and in 1728 the furlong was called Kettering Leys. Dodford had a similar order deprecating the conversion of arable to

74 Bridges ii, p. 81.
75 NRO Map 1555, redrawn in Hall *Medieval Fields* 1982, pp. 36–7.
76 NRO IL 2122.
77 Morton p. 14.
78 NRO Buccleuch charters in X380.
79 NRO Buccleuch 17–175, court roll 7 Hen V, in X386.
80 *Id.* 6 Edw IV.

tillage in 1464 (above). Draughton had leys in 1375[81], and by 1477 Preston Capes had 20 percent ley[82].

The date at which leys are mentioned in the charters of Ashby St Ledgers suggests a piecemeal formation, although, of course, the charters do not record the precise date of ley creation. Figure 2 shows the extent of leys in 1712 and the dates at which each block is first recorded. Leys were formed, or maintained, in an order of 1581 for Hemington (below), when 60 yards of the lands next to Thurning hedge were to be left as ley.

Leys differed from cow pasture in that they were 'known land', still belonging, as part of a yardland, to individual owners who doubtless cropped them for hay before communal grazing. Leys occur in areas where the ground was less suitable for arable cultivation or where the population was relatively small. At Arthingworth, one yardland consisted of 42 lands and 27 leys in 1710, that is 39 percent were grass[83]. In the whole village, in 1767, there were 512 acres of arable and 782 acres of pasture (leys and meadow; 60 percent grass[84]). The percentage of grass was higher in 1767, but this does not necessarily mean that there was an increase betweeen the two dates, because meadow is included in the parish survey, so increasing the pasture calculation. There is no evidence that leys were part of a convertible husbandry, that is they were ploughed for a few years and then left to grass over again for several years. Analysis of glebe terriers for many townships shows that the number and positions of leys remained constant. Barnack glebe had some leys ploughed up, but when they were leys they were considered 'abandoned', and not part of a regular rotational system[85]. At Doddington different terriers made in 1613, 1666, 1694 and 1764 had 15, 8, 11 and 10 percent leys respectively. Clipston terriers of 1700, 1732 and 1737 had 43, 51 and 45 percent leys. These two places contrast the fertile Nene Valley with the higher ground of the champagne area, showing there was little variation in the amount of leys in a given place during the late period.

The proportion of leys to arable in a given township was high in the west of the county, frequently 40–50 percent or more, and low in townships along the Nene Valley, down to about 5–10 percent. The Welland Valley gravel terraces and Rockingham Forest were low also, because of the practise of concentrating arable in one area and having all the grass on heathland or next to woodland. Castor and Sutton had only 1 and 3 percent ley within the arable block (Gazetteer). The distribution of leys over the county is shown on Figure 3.

Balks

Narrow strips of grass, sometimes used as access routes, were called balks, and are commonly recorded during the fifteenth century and later. Early references to balks occur in field orders for Weedon Bec in 1300 and Hargrave in 1458 (above). Examples dating from the fourteenth century are rare; some are recorded in the Peterborough region in 1340, but in a large group of earlier charters, dated 1230–1320, balks are not mentioned[86]. St Martin's Without has a *thevesbalk* in 1367[87] and at Strixton was the

81 NRO FH 2682.
82 NRO K 155.
83 Mears Ashby Charity School deeds, *pers. comm.* W. Callis 1982.
84 NRO HK 132.
85 NRO Barnack glebe terriers.
86 Brooke and Postan, *Carte Nativorum* 1960 no. 551.
87 Exeter Muniments, Burghley House, Stamford, 22/1.

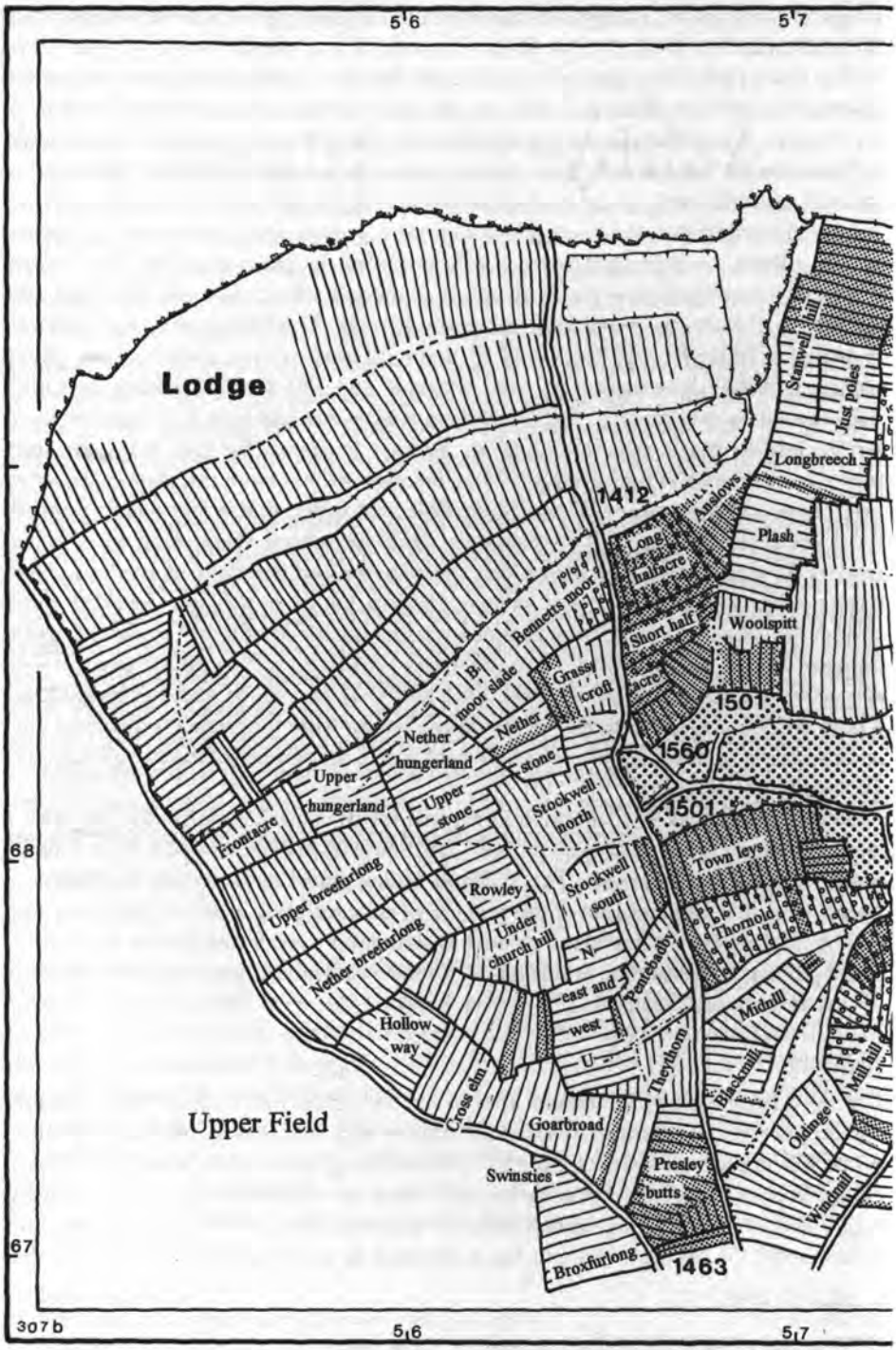
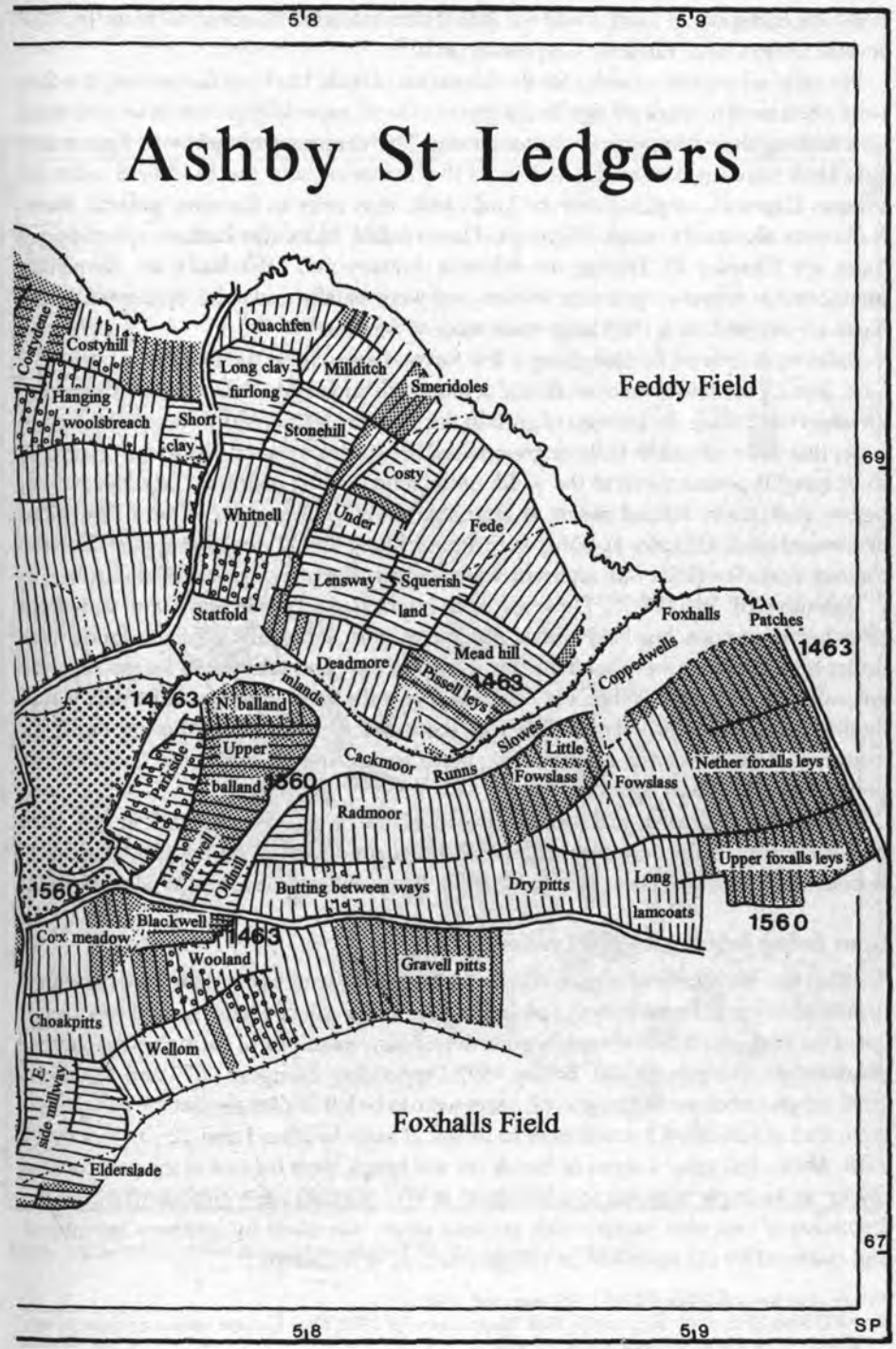


Figure 2, Ashby St Ledgers fields and furlongs in 1715. The demesne is represented by open-circle stipples and leys are marked with solid stipple. The dates of leys are the earliest known record; undated leys were created in 1712.


5'8
5'9
Ashby St Ledgers
Costydene
Costyhill
Hanging
woolsbreach
Short
clay
Quachfen
Long clay
furlong
Millditch
Smeridoles
Feddy Field
Stonehill
Costy
Under
Whitnell
Fede
Lensway
Squerish
land
Statfold
Foxhalls
Patches
1463
Mead hill
Deadmore
Pissell leys
1463
Coppedwells
inlands
1463
N. balland
Upper
balland
Parkside
Larkwell
Oldmill
1560
Cackmoor
Runns
Slowes
Little
Fowslass
Fowslass
Nether foxalls leys
Radmoor
Upper foxalls leys
1560
Butting between ways
Dry pitts
Long
lamcoats
1560
Blackwell
1463
Cox meadow
Wooland
Gravell pitts
Choakpitts
Wellom
side millway
Foxhalls Field
Elderslade
69
67
5'8
5'9
SP

hullebalke, in dispute in 1360; it was not at that time intended for common usage because several tenants were fined for trespassing on it[88].

No early agreement or order for the formation of balks has been discovered, but they were often used to mark off significant pieces of land, especially groups of several lands in a furlong that formed part of a demesne. The demesnes of Ashby St Legers and Brockhall were marked in this way in 1418 (Gazetteer), and the 1444 field order for Preston Capes about ploughing the lord's balk, may refer to the same practise there. Balks were also used to mark off groups of lands called 'hides' (for further explanation of hides see Chapter 8). During the fifteenth century and later balks are frequently mentioned as reference points in terriers, and were usually said to be 'common'. Many balks are marked on a 1583 large-scale map of Strixton[89].

Balks were formed by ploughing a few furrows away from the ridge of a particular land, leaving them to grass over. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries deliberate attempts to increase the amount of grass in the open fields lead many manorial courts to order that there should be balks or greensward between every land, the width of the balk to be roughly proportional to the width of the land (see the orders for Maidford 1696, below, and closely related orders at Hemington 1620, Denton 1737, and Newnham agreement no. 5, Chapter 4). If this were done for long then it would be apparent on the ground, and a few fields with alternate wide and very narrow strips (balks) do survive, as at Helmdon (SP 584 417).[90]. These are often referred to as 'greensward' and would not have been common but held with a particular land. When the adjacent lands were under crop the balks were used first for a crop of hay, and afterwards for grazing, the animals being tethered. When the field was fallow the good grass base of a balk would doubtless improve the overall quality of the grazing. Who had tethering rights on 'common' balks when the neighbouring lands were cropped is not clear; possibly the persons who had land adjacent.

Formation of greensward balks between all lands was widespread in the later centuries being ordered by many manorial courts, among them Badby 1592 and 1623, Byfield 1660, East Haddon north fields 1664, Great Billing 1684, and Wollaston 1633.

Grass furlong boundaries and rick places

Another late introduction of grass was by forshortening lengths of arable lands against a headland or joint. Thus instead of ploughing the full length of a land, several yards were left at the end, which would rapidly grass over. Many examples of them can be found in court orders; Hargrave 1580, Badby 1592 (Appendix), Lamport 1579 and Maidford 1696 are given below. At Hargrave 8 paces were to be left unploughed at the end of each land, and at Maidford 8 yards were to be left at each headland and 12 yards at every joint. After a few years a series of 'heads', or soil heaps, were formed at the new turning places; an example adjacent to a headland at Wootton has been published[91]. Like the formation of common pasture such grassing down was made by common agreement and enforced by the manorial or village court, as at Maidford.

88 Leicester Record Office 26D53 1795, court roll 1360.

89 NRO Map 2993, partly illustrated in Hall 'Modern surveys' 1972, Plate 4, where balks can be seen as very narrow strips (coloured green on the original).

90 An aerial photograph of a fine example at Crimscote, Warwickshire, has been published by C. S. and C. S. Orwin *The Open Fields* Oxford 1954, 2nd. ed. pl.11. See also D. R. Wilson in *The Rural Settlements of medieval England* 1991, p. 187 for Eyton, Herefordshire.

91 Hall *Medieval Fields* 1982, p. 39.

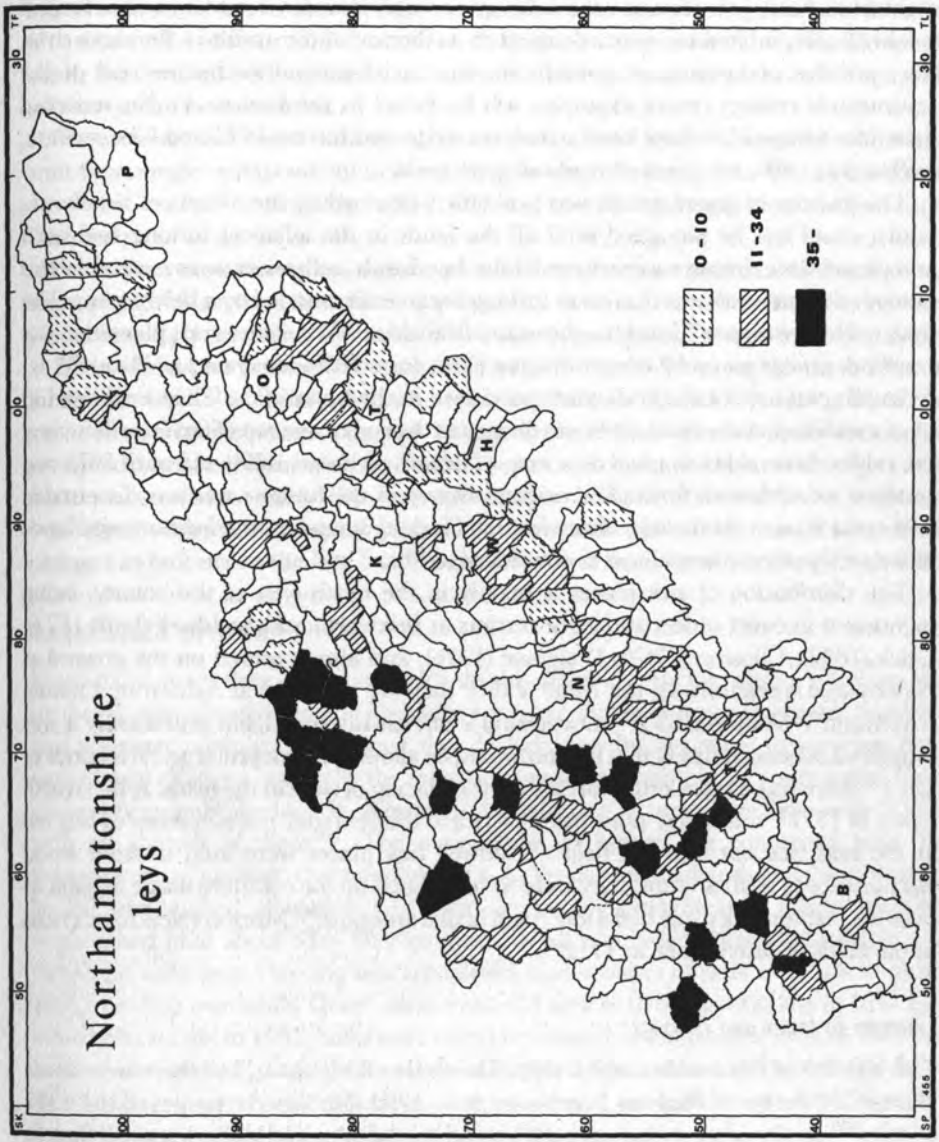


Figure 3, distribution of leys in randomly selected Northamptonshire townships.

Grass ends were marked out by the town plough which cut furrows across the lands. Each land was then marked with a stake or a hole dug (Braunston 1716). The process was sometimes called 'staking and stumping' the lands. The grass formed was not waste, but highly valued. Byfield glebe book gives details of the tithe of grass ends in 1690, and eighteenth-century enclosure valuers list grass ends separately from the arable land in quality books, it often being worth as much as the rest of the arable in the same strip. The practise of forming grass ends appears to be ubiquitous by the end of the seventeenth century (more examples will be found in the Gazetteer). No recorded examples before 1579 have been noted; the ridge and furrow in Easton Neston Park, enclosed in 1499, has no earthworks of grass ends.

The practise of grassing ends was probably welcomed by the owners of headlands, which could not be ploughed until all the lands in the adjacent furlong had been completed. In extreme cases where all the headlands and joints were treated in this manner the net result was that every furlong became surrounded by a belt of grass. The draft enclosure map of Little Houghton and Brafield, *c.* 1829, shows grass planted in this way[92]. A similar plan of Little Addington exists for *c.* 1830, illustrated in Plate 4[93].

Small grass areas called rick places occurred in the open fields. They were used as platforms for stacks or ricks, and were formed at the end of a group of lands by flattening the ridges. Several are marked on a map of Brixworth dated 1688, and until 1978 one survived in earthwork form. The original course of the furrows was just discernable within the square. At the edge away from the furlong boundary the forshortened lands had developed new heads next to the rick place[94].

The distribution of rick places is mainly in the north-west of the county, being mentioned in court orders and glebe terriers at Brixworth and Scaldwell (both 1577), Crick (1632), Clipston (1767), Walgrave (1776), and also observed on the ground at Naseby and Yelvertoft. In the Nene Valley they are recorded at Ashton by Oundle (1678) and Wollaston (1633[95]). Ownership is not usually stated, but presumably it was seignurial, it being unlikely that tenants would be allowed such a privilege. At Raunds in 1571[96] there was a court order forbidding the placing of ricks in the fields. A Brixworth bylaw of 1577[97] states that 'none having a rick in the field shall put any sheep or hog fed at the said rick out into the field'. Scaldwell rick places were used to store wood temporarily as well as crops, they were to be opened up for common usage as soon as possible. Ashton rick place had a fence and hedge around it[98]. Morton refers to pea ricks in the fields of Braybrooke in 1712[99].

Changes in lands and furlongs

The stability of the number and width of lands was fairly great, but there were some changes. A terrier of Higham Ferrers made in 1703 also lists the names of the 1567 owners[100]. In almost every instance among the several thousand lands described there is

92 NRO Map 2928.
93 NRO Map 2927.
94 A photograph of this site is given in Hall *Medieval Fields* 1982, Fig. 25, p. 40.
95 Hall *Wollaston* 1977, p. 147.
96 Hall et al. *Raunds* 1988, p. 64.
97 NRO Th 802.
98 NRO Smith of Oundle 515/10.
99 Morton p. 335.
100 NRO Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol. 47.

correlation between the two dates, land for land, but on one occasion only the surveyor noted that there were two lands, formerly three. At Ecton in 1608 a deed describes the partition of a land between two heirs by lengthways splitting[101]. Although such references are uncommon, these processes could account for the variability of width so apparent in many townships, which cannot be explained on a simple 1:2 ratio with lands of 1 rood or 2 roods area (and therefore of similar proportional width). On the other hand, the varying width of Brockhall lands, where there was bias towards the lord and parson cannot be accidental.

Mears Ashby 1577 field book demonstrates examples of lands being split lengthways, with three single rood positions of a regular tenurial cycle being shared as two lands of 1.5 roods each. The missing land had been shared by lengthways division (see Gazetteer).

Sometimes two or more furlongs, or parts of them, lying with lands abutting end-on, were ploughed as one, necessitating ploughing over a joint. In terriers such over-ploughing can be identified by entries of the type 'a land going through two furlongs', as at Little Addington '3 roods shooting on Great Addington Wold and going through 2 joints'[102]; 'in Howes furlong half an acre lying through 3 joints'[103]. Only extremely rarely were the directions of strips changed; single furlongs that had been cross ploughed have been identified at Crick, Norton and Long Buckby, where there is a pattern of small rectangles. The reason for such a change is presumably that drainage was improved by realigning the lands. There is considerable evidence for large scale changes in furlongs in the late Saxon period that will be discussed below (Chapter 9).

Later field orders

Manorial court orders regulating fields do not differ in principle after 1500 from the medieval ones already quoted. The differences are that they occur in greater number, and are more complicated because they include new bylaws made to accommodate agricultural changes, especially the increase in pasture. Examples of court orders have already been published for Wollaston (1633) referring to orders for Brixworth (1577) with an analysis of them[104]. The main items, as before, are concerned with the management of animals, crops and ploughs. At Wollaston headlands and joints were to be left unploughed after they had been set out by ploughteams. Fallow was left unploughed until about May Day (presumably for continued grazing). Gleaning was forbidden until corn carrying was completed, and growers of peas were not to glean except on their own lands. Grass was increased, 1 acre in 10 being set as leys in 1641 and more balks set out in 1695; balks were not to be mowed or staked with animals until the harvest was removed. Cattle were taken out of the fields and brought back daily; there were to be no herds separated from the communal one, geese were not to be allowed on the commons; each land could have 4 beast, 24 sheep, and 4 pigs.

Raunds had similar orders including one which stated that hares, leverets and partridge eggs were not to be destroyed in the fields (1571). A molecatcher was appointed in 1729. Trefoil and ryegrass were sown on the church headland in 1739[105].

101 NRO E(S) 383b.
102 Warwickshire Record Office CR 162/411 (1674).
103 *Id.* CR 162/413 (1692).
104 Hall *Wollaston* 1977, pp. 144–53.
105 Hall et al. *Raunds* 1988, pp. 64–6.

Orders for Rushden in 1576 are mainly concerned with management of the ditches and grass. Later orders controlled gleaning and gave the level of animal stinting[106]

The way that orders were agreed and made known is described at Newnham in 1587[107]. Each year, a month either side of Christmas, five freeholders and copyholders were to make laws and ordinances of the church, town and common lands; to make separate any field, decide which common to heach (leave fallow), and determine the stinting of beast, sheep, horses and other cattle. The laws were to be placed in the porch of the parish church at Newnham on Sunday or on a holyday. Offenders had to pay their fines to the churchwardens, or goods were appropriated when necessary and accounts of them were made. At Grendon, in 1734, freeholders and commoners convened 2 days before the manorial court met, to prepare rules and orders. In villages like Crick, where no manorial court was held because ownership was split between several non-resident lords, the fields (and other parish matters) were run by the villagers themselves through vestry meetings[108].

Field orders, mainly drawn from Hemington, Lamport and Maidford are illustrated below

They are mostly concerned with running the fields particularly the stinting of animals, deciding times of harvesting and ploughing, marking boundaries, and increasing balks and other forms of grass. Further examples of order lists are summarised in the Gazetteer.

The stinting of animals was often reduced. At Hemington 6 beasts and 40 sheep were allowed per yardland in 1530, but by 1556 the sheep were reduced to 30. At Lamport, in 1579, the sheep allowance was reduced from 48 to 40. At Maidford the 1568 allowance was 6 great beast and 40 sheep, being reduced to 6 great beast and 20 sheep by 1624 and then 4 and 20 by 1627. There had been other complications with a variable number of great beast allowed according to the season in 1621. Presumably reduced stinting was intended to allow more grass per head of cattle and probably reflected the increasing carcase size of the stock.

Rabbit warrens and coney garths (in the lord's keeping) are mentioned in orders of the mid sixteenth century (Hemington 1544, Lamport 1567 etc), and seem to have been established at most places by then. Rabbits had beeen kept at earlier dates; they are referred to at Higham Ferrers in 1465[109]. Rabbits had been a particular problem at Kingsthorpe, where they escaped from the great colony kept in Moulton Park. Some 2,000 were killed from those that had escaped infesting the village common pasture, and destroying 300 acres of corn in *c.* 1530[110].

Among the less common items occurring in court orders were the keeping of turkeys at Maidford in 1657, and green peas were gathered there in 1702. Potatoes were grown at Cranford in 1798[111] and at Newton Bromswold in 1802[112].

The topography and resources of a township were reflected in the orders, 'forest' rights being strongly evident at Denton, where pigs were kept in woodland and the town

106 Hall and Harding *Rushden* 1985, pp. 91–6.
107 NRO Th 153.
108 NRO Crick parish records.
109 NRO Duchy of Lancaster court roll 4–5 Edw IV in X700.
110 J.H. Glover, *Kingsthorpiana* (London) 1883, pp. 60–1.
111 NRO Cranford glebe terriers.
112 NRO Box 3474.

brand was a hunter's horn. There was some management of fuel and timber; collection of furze and other kindling was regulated (Denton 1737); there were orders to cut back ash trees at Hemington in 1576. Lamport yardlanders were to set 12 willows and 6 ashes 'at convenient places' in 1567. Forest villages have many different types of order connected with commoning in the woodland; examples are given in the Gazetteer for King's Cliffe.

Some annual order lists itemise matters not necessarily directly related to the open fields, such as the drinking habits of the Lamport smith in 1567.

At Hemington, in 1510, half yardlands were to have 2 cows and 20 sheep, and in 1523 tenants owning a plough were to drain the furlongs after Michaelmas, so that water would run out of the lands and meadows. Rabbits were not to be taken from the nests in 'Conyez' (coneygarth). In 1556 all tenants were to help make a common pound, scour drains and build a sufficient 'cote' for hogs. All who had pigs, geese, hens or other poultry to sell should offer them to the lord first. Not more than 4 great beast and 30 sheep were allowed per yardland. In 1576 all were to contribute to quicking and fencing a droveway out of Ilond and at Kingsthorpe field corner (Kingsthorpe is a deserted vill in Polebrook parish). Those who had set willows should cut them. In 1581 lands abutting the hedge at Thurning brook or any other hedge should be left untilled as ley for 60 yards. No wheat was to be gleaned, in 1585, before the shocks were carried. In 1620 one acre of grass was to be laid for every 10 acres in all the furlongs not done; Francis Bell and Edward Henson should each keep a bull (on behalf of the lord); the fields were to be viewed for ploughing of balks between one neighbour and another[113].

Order lists for Lamport state[114]:

1516 The whole homage should mark out meerstones in the moors and the rest of fields between 2 October and 1 November 1516.
1517 No sheep were to be out in the fields after 11th November.
1518 Sheep grazing between 21st September and 8th December were to be placed in the fold and not let out at night.

The Lamport courts of 7th April and 1st October 1567 and 25th October 1569 are referred to in subsequent rolls as sources of orders on which modifications were based. They state:

1567 April 7[115]

1 No one should collect wool.
2 No one should break the fences.
3 No beast should be tied in the neighbourhood or pasture.
4 No horses should be tied up [on the balks].
5 No one was to receive beast not agisted at Blewbarrow.
6 Mounds and hedges were to be maintained.
7 Everyone should keep hogs in their sties at night.
8 Tenements were to be kept in good repair.
9 No one having sheep below the rate was to receive others in the fields.

113 NRO Buccleuch 25–74 in X889.
114 NRO IL mm.2–6.
115 NRO IL 128 m.34.

1567 October 1

1 Everyone should clean the well [spring] in Blewbarrow and no householder should obstruct it.
2 The hedges between Maidwell and Lamport should be mended by Sunday next.
3 The bullock pen was to be set with quick and hedge about it before 2nd February.
4 No hogs were to go in the cornfeld at any time.
5 All the lord's tenants were to plant at a convenient place 12 willow sets and 6 ash for every yardland.
6 No one should carry furze or sticks upon their necks from any part of the town but only in their own yard.
7 Robert Craddock the smith should follow his work and not spend his thrift at ale houses and not hinder neighbours by his loitering; he was banned from all alehouses.
8 The inhabitants of Lamport and Houghton should set out meers between them after 1st November.
9 Peas slade was to be scoured out from the furlong by the householders of Lamport before 11th November.
10 Tenants with land in the bounds of Lamport as well as freeholders and copyhold tenants should make a terrier of 'all land, arable, leys, meadow and pasture belonging to [their] farm or occupying, containing the certain number of acres, the places or furlongs where it lies and whose ground bounds or lies next to the land'.

1569 April 6[116]

Not more than 1 mare was to go into the fields after 18th October.
No cattle out of town should be taken in until there had been a vacancy for 1 year.
No man was to kill the lord's connies or destroy any rabbits' nests.
No one should bark plumtrees.
Every man was to pull down and destroy all crows' nests and [mag]pie nests breeding in the several grounds before 23rd April. No one was to break any hedge or carry any sticks.
All were to make 2 ditches on the backsides [yards] of John Belcher and Thomas Hooke's yard.
No one was to lodge any 'lusty vagabond' nor give alms to him.
William Skinner nor anyone else should keep cattle in blewbarrow until it be broken.
Not more than 6 beast were allowed per yardland.

Variations made in 1571 were[117];

All mounds and fences were to be maintained.
The highway at Townsend by L. Cable's house to Maidwell bridge was to be mended by the whole homage.
Everyone should repair the outward mounds on their own ground.
All were to bake bread at the lord's bakehouse.
No one was to go over the new hedge between Lamport and Houghton. There were to be no sheep in the common field after it was several.

Additional items were made on 27th April 1579[118]:

All were to assemble to set meerstones where needed.
Two yards of ground were to be left between the land and stones.
No one should fallow land under the wood before the beginning of woolshearing.
No one should fallow red land between now and Whitsun.
Everyone should shorten lands alike in all fields.
The old order allowing 48 sheep per yardland was reduced to 40.
No child or servant should gather wool before the hogsherd is in the fields.

116 *Id.* 128 m.30.
117 *Id.* 128 m.29.
118 NRO IL 123 m.42 and 128 m.26.

Orders for Maidford in 1568[119] restricted a yardland to 6 beast or horses and 40 sheep. No colt over 6 weeks was to be tied with a mare in the corn field and no geese were to be in any field after Whitsun until the end of harvest. Peas were not to be gleaned from a neighbour's land without licence. Beast were to be tied on their own ground until after harvest. In 1580[120] no sheep or cattle were to be kept in the cornfield after daylight 'is gone downe nor before sunrise' after 1st November unless folded. No one was to carry wood, thorns or furze from any other man's ground or common of meadow. No one should glean on cornlands, in 1582, so long as any shock of corn stood on it[121]. In 1621 the fallow field could have 3 beast per yardland from 1st April to 24th June, then increased to 4 until 10th August. Peas could be gathered on Tuesdays and Fridays, the owners providing one of their own household. In 1624[122] beast were not to be put out until the horn was blown. In 1696 everyone was to lay down 8 yards against every headland and every headland should be left no wider in proportion to the rest of the furlong. Everyone should lay 6 yards of each land pointing to one another for a jointway. Balks were to be made 1.5 feet per half acre and 1 foot for a rood. Meers were to be set on 1st November and the Wednesday in Easter week. The jury should meet Monday, Wednesday and Friday in Whitsun week to lay down jointways, 'haddings' and balks. In 1702 green peas could be gathered without a member of the family present.

Denton, lying on the edge of Salcey forest had some orders that reflected the location. In 1737[123] no farm was to have more than 4 hogs in the mast, a cottager 2, and a tenant without a common could have 1 hog. Each person with 1 hog in the woods was to send sufficient help to drive the woods. No mares, horses or colts were to go in the woods unless branded with the town brand, being a hunter's horn. Balks were to be left through the three fields of Denton 2 feet wide, and between each rood 1 foot. No one was to cut furze without showing the right to do so before going out. An exact account was to be kept of the horses, mares and colts in wood leys, whose they are and where they can go, and they were to be branded with the town brand. In 1729 cows of more than two years were to have their horns tipped with wood before they went into the pasture, and if broken off they should be tipped again.

Farming methods after 1500

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there is much information from agricultural authors about the details of farming open fields[124]. Many of the practises are unlikely to have changed much since the Middle Ages. Morton writing about Northamptonshire, in 1712, refers the reader to a description of Oxfordshire (1676), which he says was exactly the same[125].

The fallow lands were ploughed soon after May by 'casting down the tilth' from the ridge to the furrow (ie by ploughing the land in an anti-clockwise direction). Later in the summer ridging up in the normal way was done at least twice for each 'casting'. Clay

119 NRO EB 233 m.9.
120 NRO EB 231 m.5.
121 *Id.* m.6.
122 NRO EB 236 m.16–7, m.22, m.24, m.28, m38. for 1619, 1621, 1624, 1627, 1696, and 1702.
123 NRO Markham Collection.
124 National sources from 1200 to 1800 (nearly all after 1500) are summarized by D. McDonald, *Agricultural Writers* (London), 1908.
125 Plott, *Oxfordshire*, 1676.

land was ridged up more steeply than other kinds of ground, so as to achieve better drainage. Red (ironstone) land was fallowed early or late in the season so that it did not become too dried out. Land intended to be sown with barley or wheat was fallowed three or four times.

The crop cycle widely used was; wheat: peas and beans: fallow. Seeds were sown by broadcasting, covering a land in a 'bout', that is scattering seed over one side of the land walking in one direction and the other side on the return journey. Harrowing immediately after sowing ensured that seeds were covered safe from birds and mice. This technique was identical to that described by Walter of Henley in *c.* 1280 (above). The low densities of seeds that were sowed allowed sufficient to be carried for one operation.

Wheat was cut with a sickle and left in handfuls to dry out partially, before being tied into sheaves. These were set up in shocks of ten sheaves, placed rafter fashion in pairs, to complete ripening. Barley was left cut in swathes and dried by making cocks using a trident-shaped fork. Beans were harvested similar to barley, but loose stalks and pods, left after carrying, were gleaned up, instead of being raked, so as to reduce the seed loss.

The type of wheat grown in Northamptonshire, in 1712, was chiefly white and red lammas, which was usually sown during October. Two types of barley, sprat barley and long-eared barley were cultivated. Peas, beans, rye oats turnips and flax were also grown[126]. The level of sowing corn was 2 bushels an acre (63 kilograms per hectare, which is very much below 1990 levels at 157 kilograms per hectare). Yields at Little Oakley in 1776 were about 11-fold, being 503 kilograms per hectare (4 hundred weight per acre) for barley[127].

Some detail of farming methods and the way the open-fields were managed during the seventeenth- and eighteenth century is recorded in farm accounts, tithe books and other parish records. Particulars for Aynho, Byfield, Crick and Flore are given in the Gazetteer.

The live and dead stock on a farm is sometimes described in wills. Henry Hall of Rushden, in 1712, had 42 acres of wheat and barley in one field, and 42 acres of barley, oats and peas in another. The stock was 9 cows, 4 two-year old bullocks, 1 bull, 3 yearlings, 7 horses, 140 sheep, 2 hogs, a sow and pigs. His equipment ('dead stock') consisted of 42 hurdles, 7 sheep cribs, 7 cow cribs, a fan riddle, shovels, 6 jacks, 1 waggon, 3 long carts, 3 dung carts, 3 pairs of wheels, ploughs, middleteam, sweltrees, plough irons, harrows, a wheelbarrow, plough timber, witch and ash spires, drag iron rakes, forks, 2 ladders, and 2 framed hovels. In the stable were 8 pairs iron traces, 3 cart saddles and 3 pairs of harness collars[128].

The details of the farming round described above show how extensive were the arable lands in the most of the county, with detailed regulations necessary to maintain a mixed farming system on scattered holdings in an area short of adequate pasture. The main crops were limited in type but the system was sufficiently flexible to accommodate furlongs of special items such as flax. The main change over the centuries was to improve pasturing by introducing large and small areas of grass within the lands. There

126 Morton p. 477.
127 NRO Buccleuch X379.
128 Hall and Harding *Rushden* 1985, pp. 95–6, from *Northants Administrations and Inventories* Henry Hall 1714/114A.

were also changes and in the cropping system, by altering the numbers of great fields. This and details of the distribution of individual farms on the ground will be described in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

Methods of reconstruction of open field plans

Dating of ridge and furrow

It has been assumed, so far, that all the surviving ridge and furrow is of pre-enclosure date, and medieval in origin. The validity of this assumption must be considered, because it was much debated in the recent past, with little agreement being reached as to whether the ridges did or did not have a close relation to the open-field strips.

Recent historians took it for granted that ridge and furrow was to be equated with medieval cultivation. Tate identified Sir John Lubbock, in 1892, as the first (post enclosure) author to equate ridge and furrow with former open-field husbandry[1], and Maitland, in 1897, referred to 'the practice of ploughing the land into 'beds' or ridges, which has but recently fallen out of use... Anyone who has walked through English grass fields will know what they look like, for they triumph over time and change[2]. Trevelyan[3] wrote in 1944:

> 'the outline of many of these strips ploughed by farmers of Saxon, mediaeval and Tudor-Stuart times can still be clearly seen. The 'ridge and furrow' of pasture fields that once were arable is one of the common features of the English landscape today... Often, though not always, the 'ridge' or 'land'... reproduced a 'strip' that was ploughed and worked long ago by a peasant farmer.'

This accurate statement was followed by the work of Beresford[4], who, in 1948, again drew attention to ridge and furrow, linking ground observations with the evidence of maps and written records. Beresford was convinced of the pre-enclosure origins of much ridge and furrow, and made detailed comparisons of surviving examples with large scale open-field maps in eight parishes. These were mostly in Warwickshire, but included Braybrooke in Northamptonshire, and in all cases the correspondence seemed to be exact. He pointed out that the extent of open fields could be studied using ridge and furrow evidence, and that therefore such open-field studies need not be limited to the lucky survival of a contemporary map. He quoted historical sources to show that early authors equated ridges with land that had previously been arable, like the surveyor of Watborough, Leics., in 1583, who observed ridges in pastures and noted 'these grounds doe appear to have been arrable'. In Northamptonshire at Moreton Pinkney in *c.* 1250 a terrier described the parcels in several furlongs as *ruggis*[5]. Lands at Muscott were ridged in by 1433, proved by reference to 'iiii butts ... called fowr rygges'[6].

1 W. E. Tate, *The English Village Community and the Enclosure Movements* (London) 1967, p. 204.
2 Maitland *Domesday Book and Beyond*; Fontana edition 1960, p. 445.
3 G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* 1944, p. 4.
4 M. W. Beresford, 'Ridge and furrow and the open fields', *Ec. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. 2, 1948, 34–45.
5 BL Harl. Ch. 84 I 25.
6 NRO Th 183 m.7.

Kerridge[7] replied scathingly to Beresford's work. He used various historical sources to disprove some of Beresford's peripheral statements (such as that lands did not always lie across the contours for drainage purposes). He cited a range of agricultural authors and sources to show that in some areas land was gathered into ridges after enclosure, but completely ignored the main tenets and purpose of Beresford's studies, that in the cases examined ridge and furrow *does* correspond to the open-field maps.

Mead (1954) also took the sceptical view and studied Buckinghamshire for detailed evidence[8]. He plotted ridge and furrow visible on RAF verticle photographs for the whole county. It was apparent that none was visible on the chalk and nearly all ridge and furrow survived on the northern claylands. A detailed study was made of the parish of Soulbury which has a pre-enclosure map of 1769. Mead re-drew this and published it side by side with ridge and furrow in Soulbury plotted from aerial photographs. The agreement between the furlong boundaries and the map is good, although Mead would only allow himself the cautious comment that groups of 'ridge and furrow complexes' corresponded to the furlongs of the eighteenth century. He stressed that within the furlongs of the map the details of strips did not fit very well with the ridge and furrow, there often being many more actual ridges than strips on the map. He tried to explain this by suggesting that 'strips' were split up after 1769 before the final hedges of the enclosure were set, even though the parish was enclosed in the same year. Hooke has recently noted that number of ridges on the ground does not correspond exactly with 'strips' in Kinwarton, Warwickshire[9].

The explanation is that these maps, like most other similar ones of that date, are *not* plans of ridge and furrow, but maps of land *ownership*, and if a particular owner held several adjacent lands then a wide 'strip' would be marked on the plan. Beresford made this observation in a reply to Mead in 1955. The debate of the 1950s was much confused by the pernicious use of the word 'strip', which had been artifically applied to describe plots on pre-enclosure plans. It was never used in the days of open fields, when individual parcels were called 'lands'. There was discussion as to how many ridges or lands there were in a 'strip', to which the answer is that it varies, and as will be shown, in most cases was originally one, before there was ownership of two or more adjacent yardlands and before exchange of lands had taken place.

Kerridge[10] assumed Mead had proved that the ridge and furrow did *not* relate to pre-enclosure maps, and was of post enclosure origin. He disputed Beresford's observation that most ridge and furrow was obviously older than present-day hedges, even though the photograph published by Mead clearly showed that the hedges were later. As late as 1973 Baker and Butlin[11] wrote 'too few areas have been mapped and studied in detail, and substantial evidence to support Beresford's theory about the pre-enclosure origins of much ridge-and-furrow has not yet been forthcoming'. They agreed, however, that the evidence was satisfactory where it had been studied.

Some of the confusion has arisen because of failure to distinguish between open-field ridge and furrow, and that produced after enclosure, when ridged strips were ploughed in the nineteenth century. These later ridges are very clearly different from the older

7 E. Kerridge, 'Ridge and furrow and agrarian history', *Ec. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. 4, 1951, pp. 14–36.
8 W. R. Mead, 'Ridge and furrow in Buckinghamshire' *Geog. J.*, 120, 1954, 120, pp. 34–42.
9 D. Hooke, 'The relationship between ridge and furrow and mapped strip holding', *Landscape History* 13, 1991, pp. 69–71.
10 E. Kerridge, 'A reconsideration of some former husbandry practices', *Ag. Hist. Rev.* 3, 1955, pp. 32–40.
11 Baker and Butlin 1973, p. 35.

ones in that they are straight, parallel to at least one modern field hedge and are usually wider (about 15 yards across) than the earlier, slightly curved lands. Furrows of this type of ploughing are picked up by a headland furrow that goes all the way around a modern field. There is very little of such nineteenth-century ridging in Northamptonshire; an example at Naseby (enclosed in 1820) has been illustrated[12]. More straight-ridged lands can be seen at King's Cliffe (TL 014 993), and again a mid-nineteenth century date is clear because the ground was once a wooded part of Rockingham Forest[13].

Another kind of nineteenth-century ploughing occurred leaving very narrow ridges only a few feet wide. These are very rare in Northamptonshire and the best known examples are those that lie on top of part of the village earthworks at the deserted villages of Onley (in Barby) and Sulby[14]. Other examples occur at Maidford in demesne closes that were once assarted pastures and never part of the open fields (at SP 615 533). In none of these cases is there any record dating the 'narrow rig', but Murray, writing for Warwickshire in 1813, noted that 'old ridges' vary in width but that new small ridges were 2 yards wide[15]. Andrews (1853) and Stephens (1851) refer to then contemporary husbandry using narrow ridges[16]. In all the following, this kind of post-enclosure ridging is excluded from the discussion and has not been surveyed.

Detailed comparisons with maps and ground evidence shows that in many cases lands can be shown to have been in existence in the sixteenth century. The earlier existence of ridge and furrow can be demonstrated where there is coincidence of physical survival and particular events recorded in documents.

Comparisons of ground surveys and aerial photographs were made for 17 parishes that have open-field maps in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire in 1981[17]. In all cases there was exact agreement of furlong patterns with the maps, which ranged in date from 1583 to 1846. More comparisons can be made using the information in the Gazetteer below, where there are references to original open-field maps and published reconstructed plans. Where no reconstructed maps are available much ridge and furrow can be seen on RAF vertical photographs taken in the 1940s; one set for 1947 is locally accessible[18]. Two of the most significant cases are Strixton and Wollaston which were both surveyed and published *before* their respective maps were rediscovered. The Wollaston reconstruction had only one furlong boundary missing from it, which was in a field that had accidently been missed out of the survey. Since the list of 17 parishes was published the number of cases checked is too great to list; it would now only be of interest if a map could be found that *did not* agree with the ground evidence.

A precise correlation has been studied at Little Houghton, which has furlong boundaries mapped and the furlongs named on a draft enclosure map of 1829. A field book of 1782 records that Little Furlong had 16 lands in it[19]. This and the neighbouring

12 Hall *Medieval Fields* 1982, Figure 7.
13 It was the Lodge Sale of the Crown Coppice near Westhay in the 17th century, Pettit, *Forests* NRS, Map 1.
14 SP 520 715, SP 653 815; M.W. Beresford and J. K. S. St Joseph, *Medieval England*, 2nd ed. 1979, p. 39.
15 A. Murray, A. *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Warwick* p. 130.
16 G. H. Andrews, *Modern Husbandry* (London) 1853; H. Stephens H. *The book of the farm* (Edinburgh) 2nd ed. 1851.
17 D. Hall 'The Origins of Open Field Agriculture-the Archaeological Fieldwork evidence' in Rowley 1981, p. 25.
18 RAF/G107/UK, at RCHME Air Photograph Unit, Swindon; copies at NRO in Box X80.
19 NRO, NRS transcript of 1782 field book.

furlongs survive as earthwork and an accurate plot of them made at the 1:2,500 scale in 1970, shows that there are the same number of lands on the ground. A similar large-scale mapping of four furlongs at Strixton compared exactly to lands marked on a map of 1583[20]. The Strixton map is unusual in that although there were only four owners, all the individual lands are mapped.

For other counties the 1948 examples studied by Beresford have been mentioned, and further map and aerial-photograph comparisons have been published by Beresford and St Joseph in 1979[21].

An example of early dated ridge-and-furrow occurs at Titchmarsh, where a manorial site was enlarged to include part of a furlong. The manor-house site has prominent earthworks (at TL 0245 7950) and the furlong involved laid partly as an 'old enclosure' called Little Park, and partly as open fields in 1779[22]. The enlarged boundary is likely to have been formed when John Lovell had licence to crenelate his manor (house) in 1304[23]; by 1348 the manor house was said to be enclosed 'like a castle with water and a stone wall'[24]. This description applies to the manor-house itself, but the park was probably formed at the same time. The manorial precincts were called Great and Little Park in 1604 and 1691[25]. On the inner side of the park boundary, the ridges have a low profile, but on the outside there are steeply ridged lands with a new series of heads abutting the line of the park pale (Plate 5)[26]. The ridges in these furlongs align under the park boundary and demonstrate that the the original single furlong was ploughed before the year 1304.

The demesne of Hall manor at Wollaston was enclosed in 1583, but an earlier intake of ploughlands had occurred. A dispute between the lord, William de Wolaston, and his brother, over the boundary of the manor-house close in 1231 stated that the boundary stretched as far as a ditch dug 'anciently' through ploughlands. The area remains earthwork and the ditch can be seen curving through low-profile ridges[27].

From the above evidence it is clear that ridge and furrow surviving in modern pasture fields is of pre-enclosure origin, excepting the examples of post-enclosure ridges, which have a different character and are rare in Northamptonshire.

Field survey

It is still possible to survey the remains of medieval fields from the slight earthworks that survive in modern fields. The formation of these earthworks and methods of mapping them, using archaeological techniques, are explained below.

20 1595 copy; NRO Map 2993; Hall 'Modern surveys', 1972, plates 3–4; large scale plan in D. Hall, 'The Earthworks of Strixton', *J. Northampton Museums and Art Galls.* 6, 1969, pp. 22–3.

21 Beresford and St Joseph, *Medieval England*, 2nd edn. 1979, pp. 25–37, where there is also a discussion and answer of the criticisms made by Kerridge and others who doubted the pre-enclosure origin of ridge and furrow.

22 NRO Maps 2852 and 4564.

23 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1301–7* p. 290.

24 *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem* IX (1916) no. 44.

25 NRO Powys deeds, Box 5005, inquisition and proof of title respectively.

26 D. Hall in H. Belgion 1979 *Titchmarsh Past and Present* p. 10; the enclosed part numbered 138, and the part remaining ploughed until 1779 numbered 121.

27 Hall, *Wollaston*, 1977, Plate 4b.

The formation of ridges and furlong boundaries

Ridges were formed by the technique of ploughing, going round and round the land in a clockwise motion beginning at the middle, and finishing at the outside with a furrow, a strip of ground being turned over (towards the right) with each passing of the plough (Plate 6). Repetition of this process a few times lead to permanent ridges being formed in the centre and furrows at the edge. Lands were not, of course, ploughed in the same direction indefinitely, or they would have become very ridged and the furrows would be wide, cutting deeply into infertile subsoil. An anticlockwise motion was adopted in the fallow season to take some of the soil back and maintain a low ridge. The purpose of a ridging was to obtain a well drained seed bed; the furrow acted as a drain as well as providing a clear demarcation between lands.

Steepness of the ridges varies according to the soil type (being well developed on clay ground) and other factors, but the main influence is the date of enclosure, there being a general trend that ridging gets steeper with time. In old enclosure ridge and furrow is low profile compared to the sharp profile of ridges ploughed until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Examples of varying types of low-profile furrows occur at Wollaston, already referred to. The demesne was enclosed in two stages in 1231 and 1583, contrasting with pronounced ridging of lands ploughed until 1788[28]. Extremely steep examples of ridges occur in parts of Yelvertoft where there was prodigious soil movement, caused by ploughing until enclosure in 1772.

The ends of most lands are curved, so that the whole land took the shape of a very elongated, mirror-image of an **'S'**. This seems to have developed over the years, resulting from a tendency first to draw out to the left when performing a turning circle to the right. Maitland[29] drew attention to curved lands and they have been further discussed by Eyre[30]. He concluded that the ploughland shape was formed as a result of using a right-handed mould board.

As well as moving soil towards the centre of the land the action of the plough moved small quantities in the direction of motion, towards the ends. This soil was left at the ends when the plough was lifted out of the ground to turn. Over the years small heaps formed at each end, lying on the left hand side as viewed from the centre. They were called *heads* and are first noted in the records in the thirteenth century (called *chevesca* in medieval Latin).

These well developed movements of soil 'fossilized' the physical pattern of the open fields into the landscape, leaving earthwork remains that allow furlongs to be reconstructed using archaeological fieldwork techniques. A modern field of grass ridge and furrow can be measured and mapped easily enough, and where sufficient survives the whole pattern of furlongs and lands can be recorded.

When a ridged grassy field is ploughed flat, not all traces disappear; the positions of ridges are visible for some time as light and dark soil marks. Lines of light colour derive from subsoil exposed in the old ridges and the dark lines are caused by humus lying buried in the furrows. The soil piled up at the end of the lands, the head, does not become much flattened by modern ploughing, but gets merged with the heads of the neighbouring lands, the whole series forming a long smooth bank lying along the edge of the furlong. So wherever a group of lands, a furlong, merged with another one, either

28 *Id.* Plates 4b, 5.
29 Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 1897; Collins Fontana edn 1969, p. 440.
30 S. R. Eyre, 'The curving ploughland strip', *Ag. Hist. Rev.* 3, pp. 80–94.

orientated in the same direction, or at right angles (that is, at the headlands or joints), a bank of soil will survive.

The identification of the linear banks of soil in modern arable fields as furlong boundaries was developed at Wollaston in 1961[31] with many applications being made thereafter. Workers at Maxey in 1960[32] had observed soil banks running over prehistoric features, and realised that they must date from after the Roman period, but there was failure to understand the mechanism of their formation or their potential as a research tool. Pocock, working in Oxfordshire also observed and recorded furlong boundaries in 1963[33].

The observation that such soil banks were remnants of the open fields was actually made long before, being described by Crawford in 1937[34]. He was studying the chalk ridge near Hitchin in the early days of aerial photography to search for hillforts and other prehistoric cropmarks. In this region the furlong boundaries are very large (partly because of the late enclosure dates) and, unusually, show as cropmarks and soilmarks, there being considerable depths of topsoil on the banks contrasting with the shallow soil of the chalk slopes. The whole furlong pattern is easily visible from the air and Crawford took the trouble to identify it. Proof of the true nature of the linear banks came from the Cambridgeshire parish of Litlington, where a draft enclosure map of 1804 has all the furlongs mapped, and their boundaries corresponded exactly with the cropmarks on Crawford's photographs.

This very thorough and pioneering piece of work was published in an obscure Ornance Survey report and never seems to have been followed up by historians and historical geographers (although Beresford refers to it in 1948[35]). The lack of further work is much to be regretted, because surveys could have been made in the 1940s before so much was lost to house-building, quarrying and intensive agriculture.

Survey of furlong boundary soil-banks in an entire township allows a map of the furlongs to be made, even if there are no old grass fields of ridge and furrow left at all.

Techniques in the field

Surveys have to be made during the autumn through to early spring, when grass is closely grazed and arable crops are unplanted or low. Furlong boundaries are often easiest to see in rows of young corn[36]. The results can be supplemented by reference to aerial photographs, especially those taken in the late 1940s by the RAF. A particularly fine set taken on 15th April 1947 covers the centre and west of the county[37], and the east is covered by a series taken on 16–17th January 1947[38].

Care must be taken not to confuse the results of open-field ploughing with banks produced by modern agriculture. Generally furlong boundaries are more massive than modern ploughing remains, and where they are extensive and run under modern field boundaries there is no difficulty. On some soils the banks can be as much as 30 yards wide and about 2 feet high. Problems will be encountered in a township with undulating

31 Hall 'Modern Surveys' 1972.
32 RCHM *A Matter of Time*, 1960, p32.
33 E. A. Pocock, 'The first fields in an Oxfordshire parish', *Ag. Hist. Rev.* 16, 1968, pp. 85–100.
34 O. G. S. Crawford, Ordnance Survey *Professional Paper* no. 17 (1937).
35 Beresford, *Ridge and Furrow* p. 40.
36 Hall *Medieval Fields* 1982, p. 26.
37 See f.n. 19.
38 RAF/CPE/UK/1925 and CPE/UK/1932 at RCHME.

topography that had an early enclosure. In such cases furlongs were small and their boundaries slight; difficulties are further created where modern agriculture is intensive and the soil light. There has been much deterioration of the soilbanks over the last 30 years and there is great urgency, in regions that have not been surveyed, to make records before all the evidence is completely lost.

In a modern arable region where no grass survives it can be difficult to determine the lay of the lands. Light and dark lines can be seen if the ground is bare, but frequently the orientations have to be deduced. Generally furrows were aligned down the steepest gradient for drainage. In the case of long furlongs there is no problem because the lands would obviously lie across their width and not the length. With nearly square furlongs it is often possible to work from one boundary to another.

All plans reproduced in this volume have had a field survey made irrespective of whether an open-field map is extant. The furlong boundaries are accurately reproduced using a modern background, but the lands are marked schematically. They have the correct orientation but only about a quarter of the actual number of lands is reproduced to ensure clarity. The working maps were prepared at a scale of 1:10,560, before reduction for publication.

Furlong identification

It is essential to identify the names of furlongs and other topographical features, to help analyse any available historical data. Where a contemporary plan exists this is merely a matter of transcription, elsewhere it can be difficult. Furlong names often survive as 'modern' field names and these can be collected by reference to tithe maps, estate maps, sale catalogues and the collection of field names made by school children in 1932 (for Northamptonshire). Enclosure plans usually offer a little information, sometimes marking in the exact boundaries of the great fields. An enclosure record such as the 1795 Parliamentary Award for Ravensthorpe which relates the new enclosures to the furlongs[39] is especially useful. The draft enclosure map of Little Addington (Plate 4) marks the new allotments and the furlong boundaries giving their names; the map of Little Houghton and Brafield (1829) is similar[40].

East Haddon is used as an example of how to reconstruct furlongs and identify their names when there is no open-field map. The first stage is to collect 'modern' field names from a tithe map, estate plans and catalogues that give the names of the enclosed fields, many of which are furlong names[41]. The enclosed field names of East Haddon are shown on Figure 4.

The next stage is to collect furlong data in tabular form, as shown below. There is a complete survey of East Haddon open fields made in 1598[42]. It describes the holdings of one of the three manors, stating the total number of lands in each furlong with its abuttals. In the furlongs the land of one of the lords, John Dive, is measured to the nearest pole and the number of lands and their position in the furlong noted. The name of the tenant is also recorded, except for the demesne, as for example:

39 NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. K p. 145.
40 NRO Map 2989.
41 1774 estate map in NRO Box X5417; Tithe 135 (1845); Sawbridge Collection, 1859 estate maps and surveys in X6153–59; SC 315a, SC 343 (both 1919); 1932 Field Name Map.
42 NRO IL 2120.

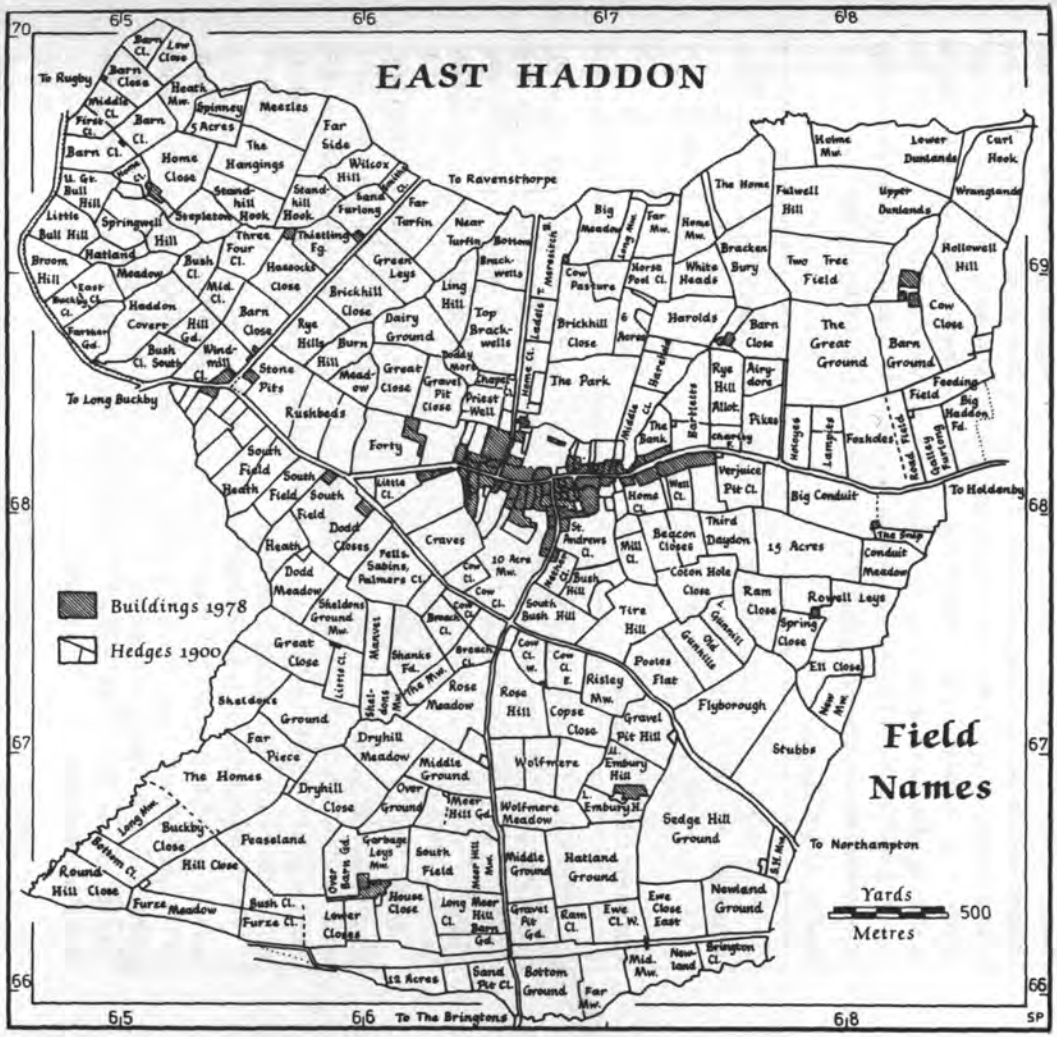


Figure 4, East Haddon enclosed field-names from sources dated 1774–1932.

Neyther Enborrowe furlong butting north and south, containing 32 lands and leyes, begin at ye east side of ye furlonge:
the 13, 14, 15, 16, containing 1 and half roods 12 pole of leys, in the tenure of John Faser
the 18, containing half rood leys, in the tenure of William Chapman

This survey is the main source of data for the table given in the Gazetteer. Additional abuttal and location information was obtained from terriers of individual holdings. Land widths vary greatly, even though lands were supposedly roods or half acres. Experience has shown that a common average is 8 yards width (or an area of 1/3 acre), which works out on a 1:10,560-scale map as 36 lands to the inch. Hence the number of lands in each furlong can be converted to a furlong size and plotted using a scale rule on a furlong plan made by field survey. Many of the furlong names are located by the modern field names, and since the 1598 survey works through the fields systematically, it is comparatively easy to identify and locate furlongs as shown on Figure 5.

East Haddon furlong data

Number	*Name*	*Orientation of lands*	*Number of lands*	*Abuttals and notes*
South Field				
1	South Field Heath furlong	NS	63	All leys
2	Burdge Leys furlong	EW	58	All leys
3	Nether dod furlong	EW	49	
4	Manewell furlong	EW	72	

In cases of uncertainty it can be quicker to use strips of card measured out to the correct furlong size, with the orientation and abuttals written around the edges. The cards can then be moved around to obtain the best fit of all the evidence[43]. The complete result is shown in Figure 5 (a key, Table 15, with a full list of names and the number of lands in each furlong is given in the Gazetteer).

In the absence of a field book it is possible to work from a parliamentary enclosure commissioners' quality book. A quality book is a valuation of a township made prior to enclosure, and was needed to value the new allotments as well as the old. Each furlong is listed as in a field book, but groups of lands are taken together as a single entry (without ownership details) and valued in shillings.

The Wollaston quality book of 1788[44] was used by the commissioners in conjunction with an open-field map of 1774[45], writing on the furlongs the values used for the parcels of the quality book. From this it is possible to calculate that the number of lands in a parcel is roughly equal to the number of shillings, that is, the average value of a land was one shilling, or an acre was valued at 3s. Taking three of the furlongs the values are found to be as below.

Values and sizes of Wollaston furlongs in 1788

Name	*Reference on plan*[46]	*1788 value (shillings)*	*Length of furlong at 1:10,560 scale*	*Estimated lands (36 to 1 inch)*
Long Furlong	48	81	2.7 inches	97
Hun balk Furlong	48a	18	0.6	21
West Bridgeway	54	71	1.7	61

43 A method used by A. C. Chibnall, *Sherington* 1965 (Cambridge) p. 260.
44 Wollaston Society Muniments, at Wollaston Museum.
45 NRO Map 4447.
46 Hall, *Wollaston* 1977, p. 140.

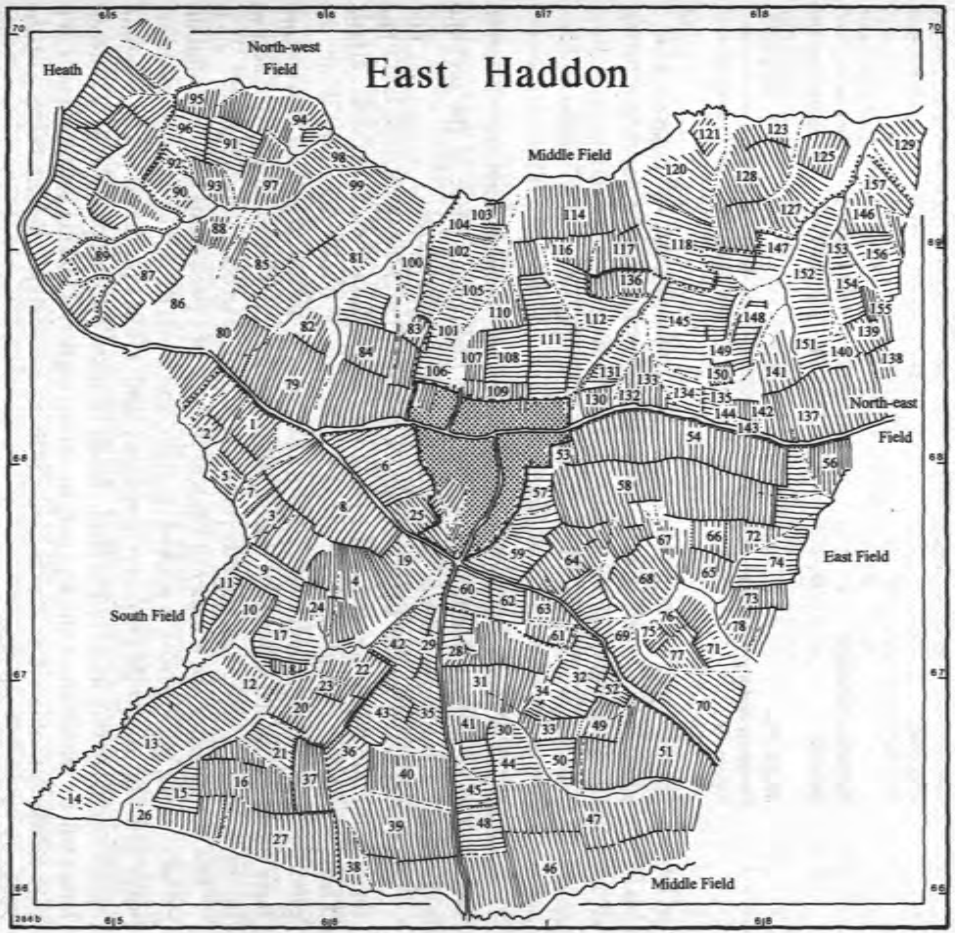


Figure 5, East Haddon reconstructed fields and furlongs, 1598. For a key to the furlong numbers see pages 277–80.

Flore does not have an open-field map, but there is a field book of 1727 and a quality book of 1778[47], enabling furlongs and the enclosure commissioners' valuations to be compared directly. The following values have been selected for identified furlongs, where it is certain that like is being compared with like:

Furlong name	*Number of lands*	*Value (shillings)*	*Value of each land*
West field			
Burymore furlong	11	20 (121)	1.82
	8	20 (123)	2.50
Ridgeway furlong	67	94 (92–5)	1.40
Fernhill	56	72 (85–7)	1.29
Middle Field			
Six yards furlong	21	19 (225)	0.90
Upper cley	13	20 (223)	1.54
East Field			
Upper greenhill	23	29 (256)	1.26
Flaxlands	24	26 (299)	1.08
Foxhills furlong	43	75 (296–8)	1.74

The numbers in brackets after the values are the quality book references. It can be seen that most of Flore lands were valued more highly than those of the previous examples, *c.* 1.5 shillings average for a land in the examples above.

The values of the quality book can thus be translated into the number of lands in a furlong and the results plotted in the same way as the data from field books, above. There are several difficulties to be avoided. The quality book values everything; the pieces of grass lying between a furlong and a brook, and lands with grassed-down heads have the heads valued separately. Such grass pieces must not be included when adding up the total for a given furlong, otherwise a land will have been counted twice.

The estimation of the number of lands at the rate of 1 per shilling needs continuous revision as the quality book is worked through, and when the actual furlongs are being identified. Sometimes the book says how many lands are in a particular parcel, which, if significantly different from 1s. per land, should be taken into account. Areas of waste or heath will be valued lower and leys may be valued higher. If furlong sizes seem to be out then a different value will need to be tested to fit the quality book measurements with the evidence of the furlong plan.

At Newton Bromswold the enclosure papers[48] include a quality book and a sketch plan of part of Buscott (a deserted estate in Higham Ferrers) that belonged to it. The plan is marked out in the same parcels used in the quality book from which the value per acre can be calculated. There is considerable variation in the value, the meadow ranges from 3.79–9.56 shillings per acre and the arable, 0.89–12.31. The highest arable value is for a one-acre plot, most of the other lands being valued nearer to 1.0 shilling per acre. In the example from Newton given below a value of 3 shillings per acre (ie 1s. per land as at Wollaston) has been used, which gives sizes of furlongs that agree with those mapped. The data added up for several furlongs are given in the table below.

47 NRO ZA 3080; Th 1663.
48 NRO X3474 for the Quality Book and other papers.

Table 4 Newton Bromswold furlong sizes and abuttals in 1800

Furlong name	*Orientation of lands*	*Number of shillings/lands*	*Length on plan 1:10,560*		*Abuttals and notes*
			Calcd.	*Real*	
Debdill	EW	37	1.03		Next Yelden at N,
common there		24	0.67	3.00	Park at S
Stitchers piece	EW	90	2.50	2.15	
Bratch furlong	EW	48	1.33	1.70	
Bean furlong	NS	61	1.69	1.60	
Short waterlands		12	0.33	0.46	
Long waterlands	EW	27	0.75	0.80	Higham Park at S
Skuttle furlong	EW	27	0.75	0.70	Kelling pit at N
Garebroad	EW	29	0.81	0.90	
Kelling pit	NS	63	1.75	0.83	

From the quality book in NRO X3474.

The Newton Bromswold example illustrates the degree of accuracy obtainable. In the furlongs listed grass ends occur at the south end of Stichers (duly omitted) and all the lands were arable and likely to be of similar value on similar clay soil. The total value in shillings was made by adding up the entries for each furlong. The only furlong not fitting very well is the first, Debdill, the reason doubtless being because some of it was common and valued much less than one shilling per acre, in effect 'increasing' the size of the furlong in the calculations. The abuttals make it clear that the furlong stretches the full way from Yelden parish to Higham Park. The data fixes all the furlong positions satisfactorily; the last two have confirmed locations from enclosed field names of 1856[49]. The complete results are mapped on Figure 6.

For townships without fieldbooks or quality books, precision will generally be much less. Success depends on good survival of furlong names as modern field names, and matters are easier to work out if the the township is small with fairly large furlongs. A large parish with very many small furlongs may well prove to be intractable. Survival of field names is quite unpredictable; Wollaston has very few furlong names among the modern field names whereas at Brixworth nearly all the present fields are named after furlongs. The parishes were enclosed in 1788 and 1780 respectively. Early enclosed parishes tend to be poor for names, often large closes were made that took the name of the first or subsequent owners.

Grendon is a good example where nearly all of the furlongs can be identified from modern field names. The the sources from which the names were worked out are given in the Gazetteer. Since the furlong sizes are not known, precise boundaries between two furlongs lying side by side with lands in the same orientation will not be ascertainable. Some names changed over the years and multiple descriptions seem to have been a particular feature of Grendon furlongs (see below).

Having identified the furlongs fully, or as completely as the evidence will allow, it is possible to proceed with studies of the structure and layout of field systems.

Original surveys of open fields

Many surveys and terriers of open fields were made, not always being produced without difficulty. In 1493 there was concern to know exactly what property was being acquired

49 NRO YZ 4150.

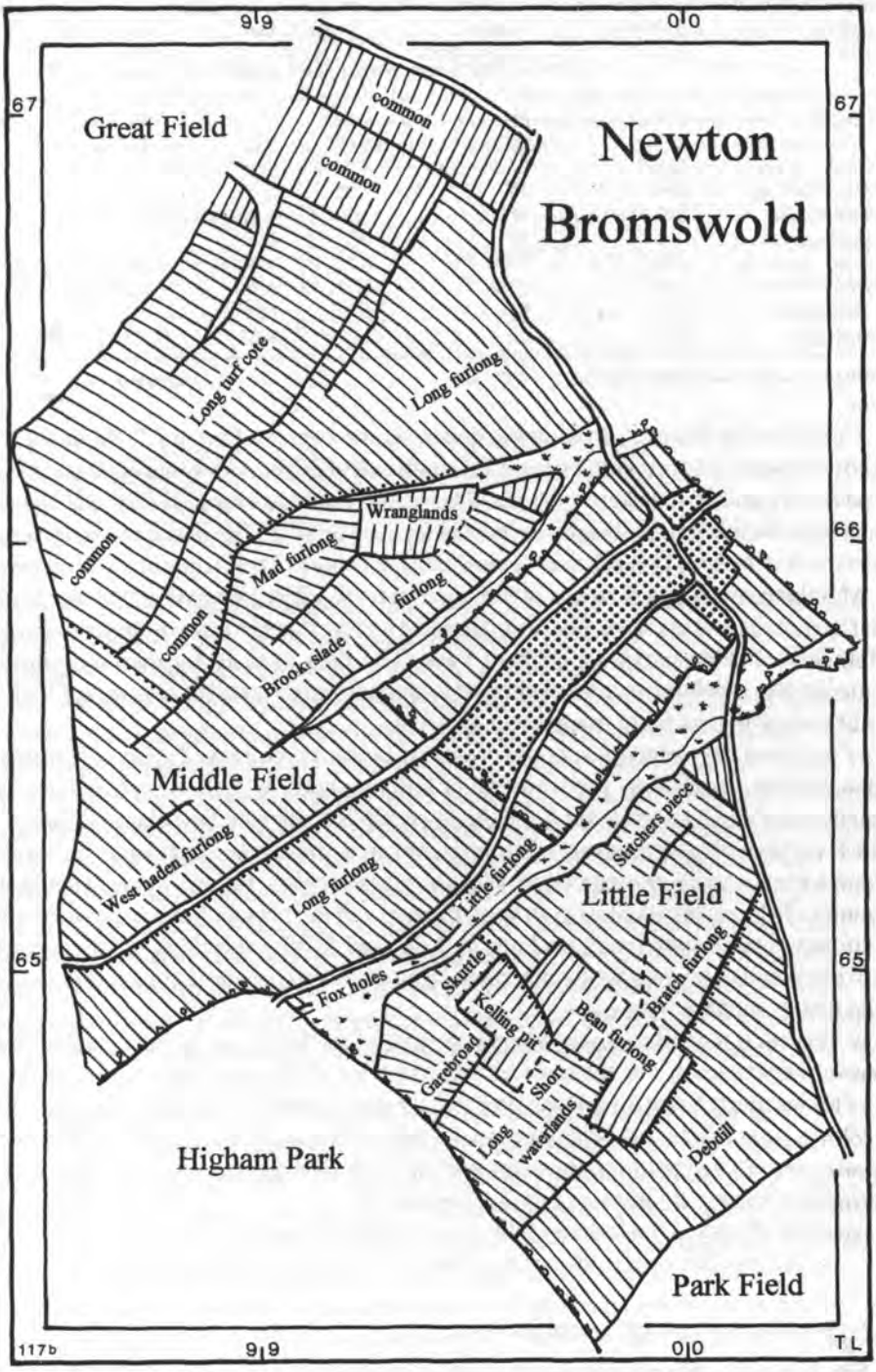


Figure 6, Newton Bromswold furlongs 1800.

at Bradden; an attorney acting for Robert Matthews, who was purchasing the manor, stressed that[50]:

> ... ye must noysely oversee all these londs and what felds and furlongs every lond lyeth ... bryng word how many akers goth ther to a yerd lond, they have made herin theyre bill but 22 acre ... I thenk it should be at leest 24 acres to a yerd.

The court order for Lamport in 1567 (Chapter 2, no. 10) asked every one to provide a terrier. This may have been used to compile the township terrier, dated 1583[51] that exists (although it is not the easiest method of doing it), and to obtain a list of yardlands and their owners.

Sir Thomas Tresham's agent, John Andrew, wrote in 1596 regarding identifying holdings at Grendon from old terriers 'nether can I doe yt without the help of the tenants ... because one furlong hath some two or three names and yt taketh such a long tyme'[52].

Complete terriers were made working over each land noting the name of the owner (and) or tenant, the size of the land, whether it was arable or ley, and occasionally the type of tenure was recorded. The furlongs were walked over in a systematic way taking each great field at a time; sometimes the vill was recorded as well, surveying the houses, ancient enclosures and meadows.

Many such surveys were made to discover the lands belonging to the Gloucester Fee, that for Raunds already being mentioned. This land had been purchased by the Montagus in 1636 and although long let out to local tenants (many of them of gentry status such as the St Johns of Woodford and the Mordaunts of Drayton) there was due a fee of a few shillings when property changed hands by sale or inheritance. Some of these dues had been lost to sight over the centuries because of the tortuous history of the Gloucester Fee, and, in the 1720s and 1730s, the Duke of Montagu was anxious to know exactly what he owned. For this reason he had surveys made of all the many parishes in which the estate lay during the 1730s, maps being prepared for the central region around Boughton House and written terriers for parishes farther out such as Burton Latimer, Finedon, Irthlingborough and Raunds.

In many cases there was much opposition to the survey (especially at Woodford) and the information required was obtained with difficulty. Courts of survey were proposed in 1728, 'when we might upon the spot get what light we could in those dark matters where the countrey fellows to save 5s. will without scruple forsware themselves'[53].

In December 1730, the Duke's agent, John Booth, wrote from Woodford that Lord St John did not think anyone in the town could give an account of the fee, and later he reported[54], '[that he had] parted three or four furlongs ... [and] ... it seemes as much intermixed as anything can be ... The fields [are] so very large and the people so very backward in giving account of it ... [that] scarce two accounts will agree.'

50 NRO GI 14.
51 NRO IL 812, IL 1491 m.8d.
52 BL Add. Man. 39836 f.14.
53 NRO Buccleuch 22–19 in X884.
54 NRO Buccleuch, 21–20 in X881, letters 19 and 27 Dec 1730.

Thomas Cowper was a surveyor to the commissioners of several Parliamentary enclosures (Titchmarsh, Wellingborough and Woodford). He kept a diary of his work at Wellingborough during 1765–6:[55].

> 1765 August 28, Wednesday
> Went out this morning and surveyed about 60 [leys] of Dunleys but got into TW's company in the afternoon at the Angel and Kings Arms, so did not go out to survey ... at the New Inn and Chequers afterwards until about 10 at night.

Thursday was spent at the same activity and on Friday

> Went out and finished the survey of Dunleys and all the ley ground in the East Field before noon. Went in the afternoon (after drinking with John Allen of Woodford and his son) and surveyed Polock Furlong in the South Field and after two furlongs beside. In company with John Allen at the Kings Arms and with Bagly Dibbs at Jeremy Millers at night.

On good days he surveyed about 180 lands. The method was to record each furlong and its owners first, then make the detailed survey afterwards, as explained on 20 September 1765 'terrar'd Hindside and Longland and a little furlong north of Longland'. These were duly recorded as being surveyed the next day. He often worked until sunset during the months of August and September, but he probably needed to, to accommodate his social life; on 6th April 1766 he admitted to being ill because of the 'intemperance of the previous four days'.

Many field books, like that for 1598 of East Haddon, have summary tables of the holdings of each owner and tenant (Gazetteer). Kislingbury has, as well as the field book, separate terriers of each tenants' farm. At Harringworth, the lord of the manor, Charles Tryon, had discovered a discrepancy in a summary table from a field book made in 1732, and the surveyor, Tycho Wing, wrote, somewhat in self defence[56]:

> ... it would be almost a wonder if no errors should escape in a survey of such great extent as Harringworth, where there is such a great multitude of small parcels to cast up, transcribe, methodize, collect and abstract, ... I am sure I have taken as much care as possible ...

The preparation of summary tables from a field book is indeed a very tedious task.

55 NRO ZB 71/9; Joan Wake, founder of the Northamptonshire Record Society, noted that he also recorded 'other non professional matters'.

56 NRO TB 601.

Chapter 4

Field Types

Introduction

In a developed field system the furlongs of arable land were grouped together in blocks called the great fields. One of the fields was left fallow in turn and used as rough pasture for village animals. In early times the majority of townships had a two- or three-field arrangement. It has been suggested that all systems began as a simple two-field arrangement, being one year cropped and the other fallow, and later, with increase of population, more arable was needed and so a three-field system was devised[1]. This allowed the sown area to increase from half to two-thirds of the total arable area (33 percent). The evidence for such changes will be investigated.

The Appendix lists in tabular form the data known about 209 parishes that contain 274 townships in the county (37 of these townships have no open-field data discovered or studied). It has been compiled from the information in the Gazetteer, which describes the number of fields and yardlands along with other information for each township. Table 5 (below) gives the number of field types by the century. In cases where there are more than three named fields but the tilth is known to be two or three course, the system is counted as two or three-field. For example Broughton, with six fields, was run as a three-course tilth, and has been counted among the 'three-field' systems. Townships having two or three named fields without a statement of the tilth have been assumed to have had two or three-year cycles respectively. Townships with more than three named fields and no statement of cultivation have been classed as 'complex'. Table 5, except for its last column, is therefore a list of cultivation or tilth types. The last column gives the true number of fields that are complex (having more than three fields). In the main part of the table some of these are counted with two- or three-field tilths.

Two-field systems

There are many cases of unambiguous two-field systems known, especially before 1500, where two fields are named and the land is divided equally between them. Of the 46 townships where the number of fields is known in the thirteenth century 40 of them, 87 percent, are two-field. Such an arrangement, then, is the commonest form in early times. Exmples are Adstone and Harlestone; Adstone has a late thirteenth-century terrier describing exactly equal division of 6 acres between two fields, lying 5 lands in the West Field and 7 lands in the South Field[2]. Harlestone has several published terriers in the estate book of Henry de Bray[3], which shows that lands were divided equally between

1 H. Prothero *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming* (1888) p. 4.
2 NRO K18.
3 *The Estate Book of Henry de Bray, c. 1289–1340*, ed. Dorothy S. Willis, *Camden Soc.*, 3rd ser. 27 (1916).

Table 5 Numbers of townships and their field (tilth) numbers listed by century

Century	Two-field Number	Two-field Percent	Three-field Number	Complex Tilth no.	Total	Complex Field number
12th	4	100			4	
13th	40	87	6		46	
14th	31	46	35	1	67	3
15th	12	27	31	2	45	4
16th	11	14	59	6	76	12
17th	16	10	115	31	162	50
18th	11	7	120	30	161	57
19th			26	5	31	9

Data collected from the Appendix and Gazetteer

the North and South Fields. For example, in 1301, 1.5 yardlands had 50 acres each in the North and South fields[4]; 7.5 acres were split as 7 and 8 half acres between the same fields[5]. In another terrier the North Field had 32 acres and the South 33[6]. All these terriers have furlongs listed.

Survival of two fields after 1500 and to the later period before enclosure is less common, 16 two-field townships being identified in the late seventeenth century, forming 10 percent of the total. Six clear examples of two-field systems surviving into the eighteenth-century until Parliamentary enclosure are known; Aston le Walls, Upper Boddington, Byfield and Westhorp, Eyden, and Sulgrave. Upper Radstone and Upper and Church Stowe were probably still two-field; the parishes had poorly recorded private enclosure. The data for Abthorpe is not certain and Litchborough had two fields by default, having enclosed one of its three fields in 1649 leaving two until they were enclosed after many delays.

Late two-field townships are unusual for Northamptonshire; Byfield, had experimented with a three-field tilth and reverted back to two. Some Boddington terriers describe three 'fields' but one of them is all grass, the arable being run on a two-year cycle. All the townships lie in the west of the county away from major rivers.

The Byfield details are as follows. The parish contained, at Parliamentary enclosure in 1778–9, a detached old enclosure called Trafford, and the two open townships of Byfield and Westhorp[7]. Trafford formed a separate township and contained 323 acres of old closes in 1780; one of them called *Old Town*, was probably the site of the vill of Trafford[8]. The Enclosure Award reveals that there were two separate field systems of Byfield and Westhorp[9].

Byfield township is described from 1633 until enclosure in glebe terriers. It had a two-field system with two yardlands of glebe lying in the West Field as 56 parcels of arable and 4 of ley, and in the East Field 42 arable and 8 of ley. The same fields are recorded in other terriers; in 1688 West field had 40 parcels of arable and 16 leys, and East Field 29 arable and 16 leys[10]. A terrier of 1705 had East and West Sides with,

4 *Id.* pp. 33–4.
5 *Id.* p. 69.
6 *Id.* pp. 83–6.
7 NRO Bby 15.
8 NRO H(H)130.
9 NRO Byfield 56P/501.
10 NRO XYZ 529.

respectively, 5 acres (11 parcels) and 4.5 acres (10 parcels). There was also once a regular order of tenants' holdings (see below).

Westhorp had a field system separate from Byfield, described in a terrier of one yardland made in 1614[11]. The furlong names are different from Byfield and the fields were called North and South Fields. The distribution was:

Field	*Arable*	*Leys*	*Total*
North Field	6 acres arable	3.5 acres grass	9.5
South Field	7.5	4.0	11.5

The lands have the same neighbouring landholders throughout the furlongs.

A conservative approach to agriculture was probably partly cause by the multiple ownership of these two townships, with no resident lord wishing to bring about 'improvement' by introducing three fields; the parish appeared to run itself through the vestry. Soil quality may also have had encouraged continuation of two fields (see the discussion below); the experiments changing both Byfield and Westhorp to three-course tilths in 1640 and 1666 were deemed to be unsatisfactory and two fields were resumed (the Gazetteer).

In some townships a two-year cropping cycle was maintained even though there were more than two field names; Culworth had two fields in 1295 and in 1552, but terriers of 1486 refer to three fields. Analysis of the furlong names shows that the third one was small and therefore not likely to be an equal partner in a three-field system. It is probably only a locational name, there still being a two-course rotation in 1486.

Three-field systems

Early three-field systems are not common, none being identified during the 12th century, data only being available for 4 townships. There are 6 instances of three fields, 13 percent, known out of a total of 46 townships that have thirteenth-century information. They are Braybrooke, Brixworth, Clopton (with multiple fields run as a three-course tilth), Ecton, Naseby, and Armston.

The number of three-course tilths continues to increase steadily with time, being the predominant form in the eighteenth century, when it reached 75 percent of the total (120 out of 161). The proportion was probably even greater, because 15 percent (20 townships) had multiple fields of unknown cropping regimes and many of them may have been three course.

In spite of the predominance of three-tilth cultivation by the eighteenth century, there are not many instances of townships with continuous records of unchanging three-fields over several centuries, Brixworth and Wollaston stand out as unusually complete and stable examples, having three fields from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries until enclosure in the 1780s[12]. Other townships with well recorded three-field townships in the fourteenth-century and later, are Ashby St Ledgers (changed from two fields in the fourteenth century), Barnwell (split between two parishes), Higham Ferrers and Naseby (these two have gaps in the late medieval data). Braybrooke had three fields

11 NRO Bby 80 and Bby 83.

12 These two parishes were among the first places receiving detailed studies in the 1970s, so giving this writer a false impression of the predominance of straight forward three-field systems.

from the twelfth century until 1649 when one field was enclosed and the remaining area was divided into three cropping areas.

In all the 209 parishes listed in the Appendix 1, only 39 have an arrangement with one vill and one three-tilth township with three named fields in the eighteenth century.

Multiple fields

Multiple fields are a complex class. The field numbers are further broken down in Table 6. Many of the late examples will have been run as three-course tilths, the multiple names being of locational significance only. In the absence of a clear contempory statement showing how such fields were run, uncertainty remains. The table lists places with more than three named fields that are not known to run as three-tilth systems. In the eighteenth century there were 26 multiple-field townships cropped by three-course systems, they do not appear on Table 6.

A few of the multiple fields probably represent two townships that had been combined (as has been proved at Barnack), or places that once had separate fields for villeins and demesne. Geddington had four fields in the fifteenth century and five in the eighteenth century; tenants of 1714, holding what was formerly villein land of the crown, had their land concentrated in three of the five fields. Separate field systems probably existed. The four fields of Crick (run as three-field so not listed in Table 6) are a clear example of a demesne being involved with multiple fields, but with an extra

Table 6 Townships with multiple fields

Place	*Century*						*Possible explanation for complexity*
	14	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*	
Apethorpe			8	4	4		Assarting
Ashby Mears			8	5(4)	5(4)		Overlapping fields?
Aynho						4	
Barnack				7	9		Township amalgamation
Barton Earls				7(5)	7(5)		Newnham type?
Blisworth				4	4		Assarting
Brackley				5	5		
Castor	5		5	4	5	5	Assarting
Ailsworth	3		4	4	4		Assarting
Creaton				5	5		Newnham type?
Ecton				5	5		Newnham type?
Everdon Great				4	4		Amalgamation?
Farthingstone				5			Newnham type?
Geddington		4		5	5		Two systems?
Hardingstone; West Fields				5	5		Newnham type?
Haddon West					6		Newnham type?
Hartwell				8	4		Assarting; part enclosed
Irthlingborough			6	6	6		Two townships?
Islip				5			
Lowick					6		Two townships?
Newnham				5	5		Double field system of 2 and 3 tilths
Pattishall					4		More than one township?
Peakirk					4		
Silverstone				4			Assarting?
Sywell				5	6(5)		Newnham type
Watford				4			
Murcott					6		Newnham type

complication of overlapping fields. Two of the four fields were in common with the villeins and the lord, one each of the remaining two were used exclusively by either the lord or the villeins, emphasized by the names Hall Field and Hain Field. So there were two interacting three-course tilths. This example is so far unique, but other cases may lie hidden in multiple fields, as at Mears Ashby.

A fairly common multiple-field system is a five-field type, of which Newnham forms the best recorded example (fully described below). Such arrangements were actually double field systems, a two-field and three-field running side by side. Newnham arose because of the need to deal with its soil types; the rather barren 'red land' (sandy ironstone) used to grow rye required fallowing every other year, but clay and limestone soils at Newnham were able to support a three-year rotation, with less fallowing. Several townships with five fields had two 'rye fields', often equal in size to each other, but smaller than the other three fields; these are very likely to be in the same five-field class. Examples are Earls Barton, Creaton, Ecton, Farthingstone, and Hardingstone West Fields.

Four course tilths may have occurred at Aynho, Mears Ashby, and Watford.

Assarting may be the reason for multiple fields in townships within or close to woodland. In the Rockingham Forest region Apethorpe, Islip and Lowick occur in Table 6, and three-course tilths with multiple fields also occurred at Brigstock, Bulwick, Glapthorn and King's Cliffe. Similarly Brafield (three-tilth), Silverstone, Blisworth and Hartwell lying next to Salcey Forest may have fields taken from assarts. A woodland lying on the eastern border of the county and almost completely removed by the early Middle Ages, was called the *Bruneswald*. There are multiple fields lying next to it, but except for Clopton, they are all late (Ashton, Hargrave, Newton Bromswold, Ringstead and Rushden) and may have arisen in an attempt to equalise soil quality, rather than represent assarting. All the 'Bromswold' multiple-field townships are three tilth.

During the seventeenth century later there were many modifications of fields made with the intention of improving yields. The experiments at Newnham seem to have have been a practical method of discovering the best number of fields in terms of frequency of fallowing. At Finedon the 11 fields of 1739 seem to be the result of dealing with disparate soil types. Light well-drained ironstone soils lie in the west, where there were *ryeborough hills* furlongs, contrasting with heavy clay on the east. Although cultivated in three tilths the fields do not lie in three contiguous blocks, the tilths being made up fields scattered in various parts of the township (Figure 7).

Cotterstock and Glapthorn are another complex example. There seems to have been only one field system from the fifteenth century, the demesne always being run as a three-course tilth. The demesne lay in 18 blocks that were indifferently called 'fields', 'furlongs' or nothing. In 1634 seven of the areas were called 'fields'. The use of the word in this township seems to be for locational purposes only. It is possible that many of the small fields were taken from woodland by assarting.

Changes from two-field to three or more fields

There are many cases where there was a change from two to three fields, but often not even an approximate date for the change can be established from the available evidence. Among those fairly well dated are five townships that had their fields changed

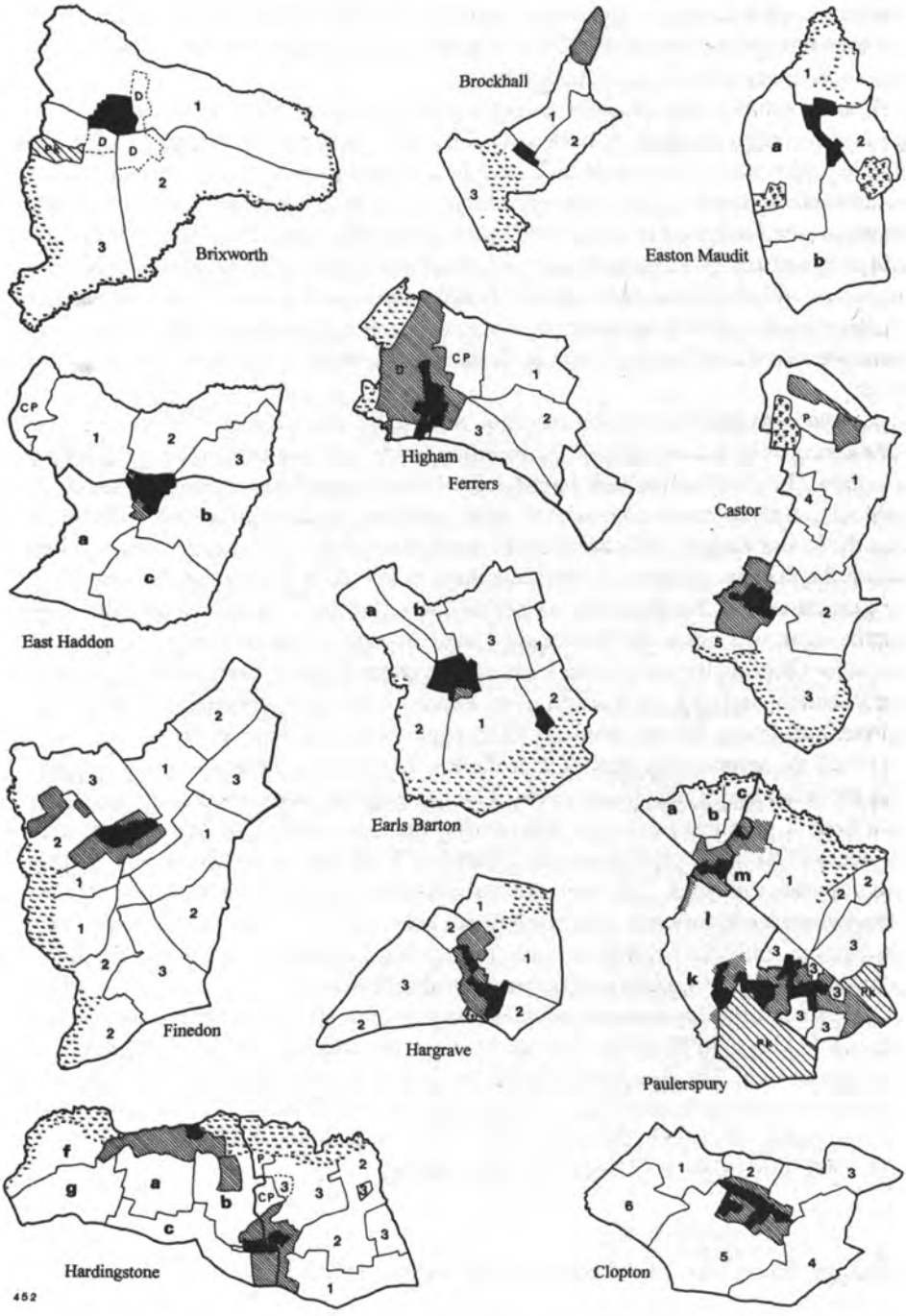


Figure 7, examples of field types; for more detail see each parish in the Gazetteer.

from two to three during the fourteenth century; Ashby St Ledgers, Broughton, Harlestone, Harpole, and Kislingbury.

Ashby St Ledgers was two-field in the thirteenth century and had three fields named in 1330 and 1337 in separate charters. All three field-names do not occur together in one charter until the fifteenth century, but from the distribution of furlong names among the fields it is likely that there were three by 1330.

Broughton had two fields in 1259 and 1317. A Middle Field is first recorded in 1336 and thereafter the evidence accords with there being a three-course tilth, although the actual field names are complicated. Harlestone was two-field in 1300 and three-field by 1410 (see below). There is no indication when the change took place. Harpole had two fields described in an undated 13-century charter copied in the cartulary of St James' abbey, Northampton. There was a three-course tilth by 1338.

Kislingbury had a two field system changed into a three- field arrangement before 1340[13]. There were two fields in the thirteenth century, according to a terrier of 2 acres, 2 half-acre parcels lying each in the East and the West Fields[14]. Three fields had been formed by 1340 when the distribution was; East Field 3.75 acres in 11 parcels; South Field 4 acres in 11 parcels; West Field 1.5 acres in 5 parcels[15]. Although the distribution of lands between the fields is uneven, a genuine three-field arrangement seems likely because an inquisition of 1360 refers to a demesne of three carucates of which two parts were sown[16]. A full terrier of the demesne made in the fifteenth century describes the same three fields[17], and they continued unchanged until enclosure in 1779[18].

Culworth was claimed by Gray to be another Northamptonshire vill that changed from two to three fields in the fourteenth century. It is true that three fields are named in terriers of 1333 and 1510[19] but the lands in two of the fields have a similar area, when added together, as the third. The same distribution occurs in 1486, where North, South and West Fields had 34, 9 and 20 parcels respectively[20]. Only two fields are named in 1553, one yardland being split between the North and South Fields as 55 and 66 roods[21]. Three fields were again described at enclosure in 1612[22], when their sizes were given as North Field 781 acres, South Field 402, and West Field 483 acres. Since South and West Field areas add up approximately to that of North Field, a change to a three-course rotation seems unlikely, West Field being only a locational name.

Harlestone changed from an evenly balanced two-field arrangement in 1300 to an irregular three-field system by 1410. The early evidence comes from several terriers, mentioned above, in the estate book of Henry de Bray[23], which shows that lands were divided equally between the North and South Fields.

Before 1410 these two fields were changed to a three-field system, but no details are recorded. In 1410 the three fields were stated to be unequal in size and an agreement

13 First noted by Gray 1915, p. 79 and confirmed here with more evidence.
14 BL Cott. Tib. E v f.30b; a 14th-century copy.
15 BL Add. Ch.22,078.
16 NRO M(TM) 760; a copy of *c.* 1611.
17 BL Cott. Vesp. E xvii f.301–4.
18 NRO map 2853.
19 BL Add. Ch.44,241; 44, 354.
20 NRO Aa 33.
21 NRO Aa18.
22 NRO F(C) 43.
23 See f.n.3.

was made to rearrange them[24]. The six lords and the representatives of the 'village community' agreed as follows:

> In ancient times damage was born in the arable fields because of the [unequal] quantities in each third year [when they] were fallow or set for profit. Therefore for improvement in the arable furlongs and to increase the amount of corn [obtained] when they were sown, an agreement was made between the abbot of St James', Northampton, Robert Lumley, the lord of Bolymer, Laurence Dyve, John Lumley and William Coveley, lords of lands and houses in Harlestone, and John Campion, Richard Colyn, Robert Sebot, Simon Young, John Ponder and John Teken for the men and vill of Harlestone, who agreed the following orders. In the first year (next following) the fallow will lie next to Oldelondwey, extending to Coldwell ford and to Newbotel field and then descending to Thorpendale and to Haspold together with lands called Rycroft, Totehill and Spelbrok. In the second year, the fallow will be the parcel of land between the Haspold to the outside end of Thorpendale with all of Smalforlongehethe, Osgodforlonghethe and le Westmede and through Holmwey to the end of the village. In the third year fallow will be, all between Holmewey to Haysiche to the watercourse next to Bryngton wey to Pitforlonge, all lands next to Pitforlonge to Brampton wey falling to Lakewey and to the end of the village. One field should be left waste, another set with wheat and barley and the other with peas and beans. The rest of the lands in East Field will lie as they did anciently. All meadow and pasture in the three fields shall be separate when they are sown and in common when they are fallow. Robert Lumley concedes that the pasture called Spelbrook used to be separate between Whytewelstile and Abbotes yerde below Totehill, but now in the third year it shall not be. Robert Lumley, Laurence Dyve and William Coveley have other separate lands and each wishes to make a close around them to keep out the beasts of Harlestone men, but if beast do break in they will be impounded.
>
> Disputes will be settled by a majority of 9 men; John Leversty, John Wirley, Robert Assen, Henry Assen, John Phippe, John Fox and John Clerk for the lords, and John Campion and Richard Colyn for the vill.
>
> The agreement should hold for 6 or 8 years

The agreement held for at least a century, for on the back of the parchment are the names of 9 men who enforced it in the years 1490 and 1504. Details of pieces of lands given and exchanged to widen the roads 'for the better passage of carts' (in 1410) are also listed. These were additions of lands from furlongs lying next to a road, and pieces of greens or waste.

This is an interesting and important record of regulation and improvement of the open fields. It shows, too, that there was a village 'community' and that the improvements were not the work of a single powerful lord acting through his manorial court. Improvements were not likely to be seignurial in a village such as Harlestone where the lordship was fragmented into six separate parts. The document, nevertheless is not an actual act of creating three fields out of two. Such a record for Northamptonshire does not occur until the seventeenth century.

In spite of the organisation of Harlestone into a three-field arrangement, the fields did not survive until enclosure, and the evidence for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is confusing. From 1618 onwards the glebe half yardland had the following distribution:

North Rie Field	0.5 acres in	1 parcel
South Rie Field	4.5	6
Redland Field	12.25	22
Wheathill Field	6.75	8
Wood Field	1.5	4

24 NRO NPL 2; printed in Latin in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 37 (1922) pp. 406–13 by Joan Wake.

Superficially, this looks like a five-field post-medieval system with two fields for growing rye (see Newnham), but, when the acreages are considered, there seems to be a reversion to a two-field system with one of the fields split up and described by several names.

Many townships had three fields before the sixteenth century, but no information survives whether they had two fields at an early date. In other places there were changes from two to three fields, but no close dating can be found. Rushden had two fields in 1324 and 1327, and three in 1573 (the Gazetteer), and Staverton had two fields in 1240 and 1488, changing to three before 1733. The two fields of Thornby recorded in *c.* 1210 had been changed to three in 1613, but not a single record survives for the intervening centuries. The places where fields changed from two to three since the fourteenth century are:

Addington Great	1319–1610
Badby	1636
Boddington Lower	1686–1701
Bowden Little	1434–1612
Byfield	1640 and 1666 (both temporary)
Evenley	1225–1550
Flore	1203–1684
Greens Norton	1635–1720
Newnham	1618
Morton Pinkney	1566–1601
Raunds	1327–1686
Rushden	1327–1571
Staverton	1488–1733
Thornby	1210–1613
Titchmarsh	1362–1603
Welton	1341–1618
Woodford Halse	1587–1621

Among the few documented cases where a field-system was changed, the most interesting is Newnham, which had two fields until 1618. The principal change was to make it three field, except for the furlongs used to grow rye. It was decided to allow these areas to remain two field (item 11 below) and run the remainder as three fields. The result was that five fields were created that had two independent cropping systems. Without written evidence this probably could not be determined; analysis of a single terrier with five fields would give no indication of the cropping.

The details of Newnham are as follows. An agreement was made on 24th January 1618 by the townsmen of Newnham 'for the well orderinge of the feild'[25].

> It is agreed by the parties whose names are underwritten that the common feild of Newnham shalbe devided into three viz a corne feild, a pease feild and a fallow feild. The West Field to begin at Badby Feild side west to Starton way southe the middle of the parsonage peeice [sic] east the bottom of the hill north and the North Feild from the top of lange and downe flaxell way and soe downe the church hadland to the nether end of north brooke and downe to Norton Feild for the first Feild. The Midle or second feild to begin at the middle of the parsonage peice to petill way downe the centre of roundhill and soe to London lane end and the Mill Feild to goe with the Middle Feild. The East or third feild from petill way downe to the meddowe and from the towne to Dodford pastures.

25 NRO Th 154.

The document continues with a list of field orders of the normal type.

Another series of agreements was made in 1620. The level of stinting was reduced to 4 great beasts until Michaelmas and then there was to be 1 bullock or breeder to a yardland; sheep were reduced to 40 in summer and 44 in winter, with 16 ewes and lambs only from 26th May until 11 November when lambs counted as sheep. These changes were necessary because the area of fallow for rough grazing was now reduced. Four heeches (separated areas, tilths) were to be taken out of the fields and the document goes on to describe a four-field arrangement in the furlongs[26]. There is no statement as to how these fields were run; it was probably a four-field cycle since it ran for four years.

> The first to begin in the west field at a butt of Henry Goodman in Cawdewell and from the west side of the 8th land [of] Mr. Thomas Choyling and that way the whole west feild likewise in the North feild to begin at the middle of a furlong called prattige at the land of Thomas Smith soe downe Norbrooke to bowland hedge for the same.
>
> The second to begin on this side of Norbrook to aspen way balke soe to come between the church way in the west side and the towne downe to Newmans Lane to the corne feilde.
>
> The thirde to begin at Thomas Goodmans pikes so by Pettite way linto baulke and downe cattwell baulke betwixt John Church and William Berry to the hadland; and the
>
> Fourth from linto and puttwell balke along pettite way to the townebridge and along to allibrige furlonge roundhill and cattwell.

A series of similar orders was made as before, and added at the end, was an order that all lands' ends were to be cut short (to be left as grass).

The first agreement was made between the most influential farmers in the village; the lord of the manor was absentee, in debt, and not involved (Richard Chetwood of Chetwood, Bucks. He owed more than £7,000, including £844 to 'Mr. Thornton')[27]. The witnesses (jury) were John Thornton, Thomas Smith, William Turstian, Robert Hedge, Henry Russhall, John Russhall, Manley Rysshall, Henry Hickson, Thomas Hine, Thomas Chaplyn, Richard Williams and William Berie. John Thornton was a major freeholder who soon after purchased the manor of Newnham[28], as well as Brockhall. The Russells were considerable freeholders and their family had been at Newnham, Badby and Weedon Bec since the fourteenth century.

These two changes in the fields seem to have been experimental, in the first case the three-field arrangement lasted for three years, and the subsequent four-field system lasted for four years. Each time the system came back to what it had been before 1618. The village farmers were then able to compare the results of successive, two-, three-, and four-course tilths between the years 1615–24.

The most suitable system seems to have been a three-course tilth, for in 1625 three fields were created again, with the limits described similar to those of 1618, followed by orders repeating those of 1616[29]. The Rye Fields were to continue as a two field arrangement and the grass the same. Sheep pastures were to be Lange, Musewell, Ramwell and Short Layes, and were to be so for 6 years.

The same three fields continued in use, described again in 1641 along with orders, when the Middle Field was to be sown peas[30]. The arrangement was to last for 18 years.

26 NRO Th 156.
27 NRO Th 543.
28 NRO Th 541, Th 544, Th 551, between 1628 and 1631.
29 NRO Th 157.
30 NRO Th 158.

An undated agreement[31] for three fields probably fills the gap before 1641. A renewed agreement made in 1697 referred to that of 1678 when three fields were to remain for 18 years and 'finding great profit and advantage' they should hold for another 18 years[32]. The fields were again described with variant detail. In 1718 another agreement creating three fields for 18 years occurs along with a list of orders[33]. Yet another agreement was signed in 1736[34]. So, from 1625 there were cycles of 18 years until 1715 when three years are unaccounted for until the 1718 agreement. It is likely that three-fields were so well established that the village forgot when the last agreement ran out, not intending to make any further changes.

Neighbouring Badby also had its fields changed. Articles of agreement were made on 14th April 1636 that Badby fields should be divided into three parts[35]. This seems to be the first time it was done; it followed the changes at Newnham, and like that township was initially for a short time only (six years). It was lead by the lord, Richard Knightley, who was the first signatory and gave wood for gate construction.

> First it is mutually agreed by & between the said Inhabitants That the feilds of Badby shall att or before Candlemass next be devided into three parts or feilds and soe contynued for six years nowe next ensuinge and from then for a longer tyme if the said Inhabitants shall thereunto consent & agree.

The remaining items of the agreement, paraphrased, were:

> Every inhabitant on 3rd May for the six years should abate 1 cow and 8 sheep per yardland, and pay 18d per cow for the bettering of the cow common. The quartern lands were to abate at the same rate, and those with only a quartern and the cottagers should pay 18d for the cow common.
>
> The Down was to be enclosed 'forthwith'; the cottmen were to pay for their own and the remainder was to be paid for by the rest of the inhabitants.
>
> Every lane or other passage to the fields was to be walled and gated at the expense of the town except for the wood 'which Mr. Knightley is pleased to bestowe'.
>
> Four people were to be overseers of the orders and new overseers were to be appointed each year.
>
> No geese were to be kept in Badby for six years but be 'put away' before 25th March following.

The witnesses to the agreement were Richard Knightley and 13 others. The agreement had its last year in 1641, and may have continued longer, or there could have been reversion to two fields.

In February 1649 a renewed agreement was made between the inhabitants of Badby 'for the common good utility and profit of the landholders and commoners there', that was to last for 18 years (until 1667[36]). The details are printed in the Gazetteer. Of interest is agreement item number 10, referring to the uses of the 'town plough'; 'there shall be a town plough bought and provided to furrow the fields [probably mark out the grass ends of lands] and cleanse the watercourses at the charge and with the assistance of the inhabitants before 23rd April.'

31 NRO Th 162.
32 NRO Th 167.
33 NRO Th 170.
34 NRO Th 169.
35 NRO Th 1604.
36 NRO Th 708.

The witnesses to the agreement were Richard Knightley, John Thornton, and 23 other villagers. In view of the glebe statement that there were two fields in 1684 it seems that this three-field system did not continue, although three fields were again introduced in the eighteenth century.

Arrangements similar to the Newnham five-field system may be behind other eighteenth-century five-field systems. Often they were the deliberate results of improvements, as at Newnham, made by the major landholders and owners, and not necessarily by the lord. Seignurial authority was sometimes devolved to lessees or the major tenants, as at Rushden where the owner was the Duchy of Lancaster, whose officials did not normally take any interest in local matters, provided that events did not affect fixed rents or manorial rights. Weedon Bec is another example where the chief lessees of an institutional lord were almost certainly the initiators of change.

Townships that were partially enclosed usually modified the remaining fields, as at Braybrooke and Morton Pinkney, which had enclosed one of their three fields in the seventeenth century. Morton Pinkney had two fields from *c.* 1200 to 1566 changing to three by 1601. One of these was enclosed in 1624 leaving two again, but by 1753 the area had been rearranged into three fields, only to be obliterated by complete enclosure in 1761. None of the actual field events are recorded except the two stages of enclosure (the Gazetteer).

The evidence for a general medieval change from a two- to three-field arrangement

Early writers on field systems assumed the validity of the 1888 statement made by Prothero, that there was a normal and widespread progression from two to three fields. It was seen as a response to population pressure; by increasing the amount of cultivated land more people could be supported. If this were really the driving force causing field modification, then most townships would have changed to three fields during 1250–1350, when population was at its maximum. Gray gave several examples of field changes during the period, and it has been subsequently accepted that most field systems did change before 1350. Fox[37] challenged the evidence for this view, reassessing Gray's data.

Gray[38] quoted two examples of changes from two to three fields between 1250–1350, Puddleton, Dorset (1291–2) and South Stoke, Oxon, (1240–1), and Fox provided another for Podimore, Somerset, in 1333. Many of Gray's other examples have difficulties in assigning a change-over date to this period with certainty. Fox showed that actually there were only 10 clear cases, and, in Northamptonshire, these included Culworth and Kislingbury. However, the analysis of Culworth shows that it is unlikely that there was a change, so leaving only 9 authenticated cases. It is therefore doubtful that there was ever a widespread change caused by population pressure. Fox notes that Walter of Henley made no comment on such matters, even though he was writing a manual on how to run profitable agriculture.

The tenet that change from two to three fields would increase the yield by 33 percent

37 H. S. A. Fox, 'The alleged transformation from two-field to three-field in medieval England', *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser. 39, 1986, pp. 526–48.

38 Gray pp. 79–1.

is true mathematically but of doubtful validity in practise. Three-field cultivation intensifies the use of the arable and decreases the area available for fallow grazing. In regions where soils were poor quality, such increased use of the arable might actually cause a *decrease* in the yields, and a three-field system would not be the best practise.

The Northamptonshire evidence supports Fox's findings. There are only four cases of a change from two to three fields during the period 1250–1350, Culworth having been dismissed and Harlestone not being closely dated. Although there is a dearth of examples of individual villages or townships with precise dates known for when their fields were changed, the evidence of Table 5 clearly shows that there was a smooth and continuous movement to three field systems until the end of the seventeenth century. There was not a widespread change in the early fourteenth century, ceasing in about 1350, that might be associated with population pressure, abruptly removed by the Black Death.

To test the theory of the coincidence of poor soils and two-field arrangements it would be expected that on poor soils two fields would last longer than elsewhere, and regions with good soil would have three fields at an early date. This can be seen to be true, even on the local scale; in the central Nene Valley Wollaston and Higham Ferrers, lying on the valley side with rich soils and ample meadow, had three fields in the fourteenth century, whereas their near neighbours Rushden and Raunds, located farther from the river with most of their arable lying on heavy clay were then two field. All four parishes had three-field townships by the seventeenth century, as did the whole of the central and lower Nene Valley region. Contemporary evidence that field changes were made with the expectation of better yields is confirmed by the men of Harlestone in their 1410 agreement (above), and Newnham farmers said they had had 'great advantage' in 1697.

All the known cases of two-field townships surviving until the eighteenth century are in the far south west of the county, with poorer soils, very limited meadow grazing, and with high proportions (40 percent) of grass leys. The detailed seventeenth-century evidence from Newnham shows that experimentation occurred to determine which system best suited the conditions, and a three- course tilth was chosen (with the rye fields left as two-field). The seventeenth-century experiments with conversion to a three-course tilth recorded at Badby and Byfield seem to have failed in the case of Byfield, a two-course system presumably being judged the most satisfactory. Badby eventually adopted three fields in the early eighteenth century.

It is concluded that townships adopted whatever system best suited them, the greater number being two-field in the thirteenth century, with a slow change to three fields (or a three-course tilth) in most of the county before the eighteenth century. Two-field cultivation remained in parts of the west where there were soils based on heavy clays.

Amalgamation of townships

Field rearrangement of a different type occurred where two townships were joined to form one field system. The two clearest examples are Weedon Bec and Barnack.

At Weedon, there are two vills, Upper and Lower Weedon, and four fields were named during the fourteenth century, with land distributed in the earliest terriers suggesting that there were two two-field systems, each for Upper Weedon and Lower

Weedon[39]. Further evidence that there were two field systems comes from a reference in 1322 to a quarter yardland in Nether Weedon[40], suggesting that it was a separate township. Later records confirm that there were four fields in all, two associated with each vill, and that there were separate field systems for Upper or Nether Weedon. Thus in 1522 a messuage and 0.25 yardland in the village and fields of Over Weedon were recorded in a copyhold transaction[41]; in 1578, 2 yardlands in Over Weedon and 3.75 yardlands in Nether Weedon changed hands[42].

The fields remained separate systems until February 1582/3[43] after which they were amalgamated into a single system for both settlements. In September of that year and always thereafter yardlands were described as being 'in Over Weedon *and* Nether Weedon'[44] or simply 'in the fields of Weedon' even though the houses and closes were still specified as being in either Upper or Lower[45]. Also in the same year a set of field orders refer to the 'new hadeways and balks'[46]. The orders were no doubt made to regulate the new arrangement; none of this type had been mentioned before.

No record discussing or ordering the rearrangement survives, so it is not clear whether the impetus came from the owner, Eton College, or from the local lessees of the demesne, or the tenants. It was very probably the lessees, who were Thomas Judkin, Richard Wave and John Gifford, yeomen of Weedon. Richard Wave was steward for several years as well as co-lessee; he was in a strong position to recommend and organize such a change both with the tenants, his neighbours, and the College, his landlord and employer.

The new fields are not specified as being three at first but three fields are recorded in a 1607 demesne survey. The 'field towards Stowe and the Field towards Everdon' are mentioned in 1619[47], which are two of the three names used in a glebe terrier of 1627[48], the other being the Field towards Dodford. The same three names were used until enclosure in 1776[49]. A rearrangement from two two-field systems to a single three-field one therefore occurred in 1583.

Changes of this type are not commonly recorded, but more evidence is being discovered. Such events are probably disguised by having no clear record other than the existence of multiple fields. This is the case at Barnack and Pilsgate. Many fields are described in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but in the fourteenth century each place had separate field systems, being amalgamated during the fifteenth century. The event is unrecorded other than in the field names and by terriers that list furlong

39 Eton College Records (ECR) 27 167 mm.8, 9; ECR 27 181 m.6.

Field	*Acreage*		
Date	1325	1326	1383
North Field	1 rood	4r. & 1 butt	2 roods
East Field	2	4	2
South Field	2.5	7.5	2
West Field	3	8	2

40 ECR 27 167 m.2.
41 ECR 27 208.
42 ECR 27 232 m.4.
43 ECR 27 232 m.21.
44 ECR 27 249 m.1, for half a yardland.
45 ECR 27 249 m.6.
46 ECR 27 250.
47 ECR 27 268.
48 NRO Weedon Bec glebe terriers.
49 Quality book in NRO X852.

names of both systems together instead of separately. The details are explained in the Gazetteer.

The absorption of the Cottons township into Raunds and Ringstead probably occurred in fifteenth century also. The morphology of part of the fields reveals that the Cottons had their own township (Chapter 8), but terriers and surveys show that the present boundary was in existence by 1591. Tenurial studies of a Raunds field book of 1739 identifies more of the boundary, and a furlong on the Cotton side had been appropriated into Raunds by 1433 (see the Gazetteer for more detail and references).

Bradden seems an unlikely case to have had complex fields, being so small. However there were two separate field systems, one of them substantially enclosed in 1509, the remainder of the open land was then amalgamated with the other system (the Gazetteer).

Among the multiple-field systems that remain unclassified, there is a regional distribution. Many of them lie in forest areas, particularly Rockingham. A likely explanation for their field numbers is that assarting of woodland shared in common had occurred, and there was not a simple laying out of fields on an open landscape, as was likely in the champagne townships. Supporting evidence is to be found in the Apethorpe region where King's Cliffe and Wood Newton had complex intercommoning rights with Apethorpe, and arable lands were intermixed in parts of their fields.

Complex fields also occur in the Peterborough region. As explained in Chapter 7, this area had a different type of field organisation. There were many townships in a parish and, as seen at Barnack, there may have been township amalgamation leading to multiple fields.

Chapter 5

The Demesne

The demesne was the land belonging to the manor, in effect the 'home farm'. It remained unchanged for a long time and is well documented because it was described and valued in early surveys and enquiries. Often part of the demense or its tithes were given to the parish church or to a local monastery.

Types of demesne

Until recently there was still doubt whether the demesne was an intact piece of land near to the manor house or whether it was dispersed. Titow wrote that it was 'a moot point to what extent the demesne lands were interspersed with the peasant land in the common fields or whether they tended to be apart altogether'[1].

The Northamptonshire evidence shows that there is not a single uniform type of layout applicable to all manors and vills. The distribution of the demesne falls into two main groups, one with a block of land lying adjacent to the manor house, and the other having groups of lands dispersed throughout the fields. Most examples of either type have a little of the other, that is, block demesnes nearly always have a few lands or an odd furlong elsewhere in the fields, and demesnes primarily dispersed usually have a furlong or two next to the manor house as well.

Dispersed demesne

The dispersed type of demesne usually lies in small parcels of adjacent lands, the number of lands depending on the number of yardlands that comprise the demesne. Brockhall had a demesne of 9 yardlands and a description in 1574 shows that these laid dispersed throughout its fields and furlongs (Fig. 8). Generally there were many groups of lands rather than single ones. In some cases there were blocks of nine contiguous lands[2], the nine occurring as 7 arable lands plus two outer ones that had been converted to grass balks marking off manorial land from that of the tenants. It is probable that originally there were more blocks of 9, but some had been reduced by exchange. About 40 acres had been exchanged in 1433 to enable the lord to make an enclosure called Roughmoor (see the Gazetteer). There was also a whole furlong next to the manor house, called *inlands*, that belonged to it.

Flore manor had a demesne of 6 and two-third yardlands in 1683 called the Hall Land[3]. A terrier of two-thirds of these made in 1688[4] shows that there were groups of

1 J. Z. Titow, 'Medieval England and the Open-Field system', *Past and Present*, 32, 1965, pp. 86–102; p. 21.
2 NRO Th 281.
3 NRO YZ 6295.
4 NRO YZ 6294.

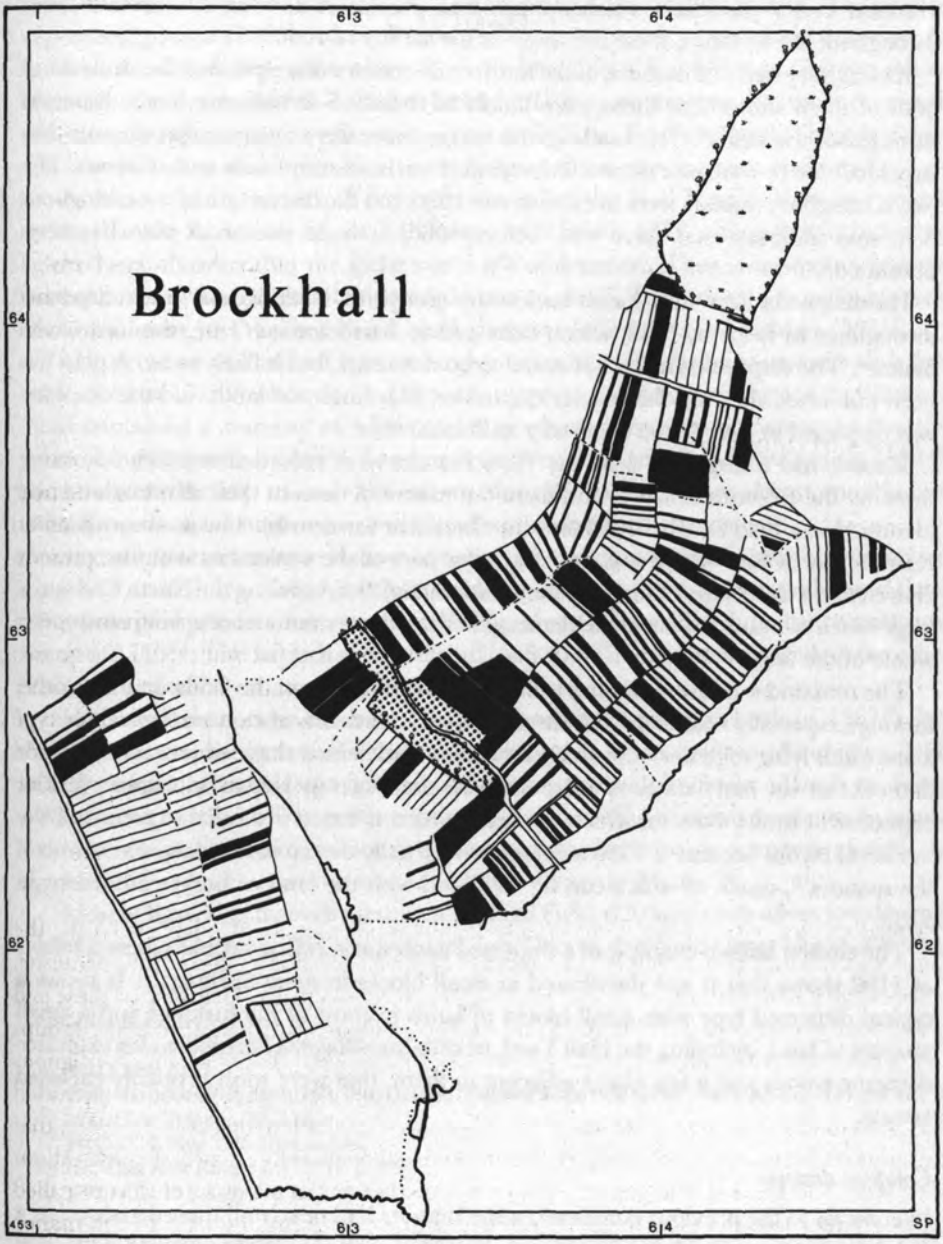


Figure 8, Brockhall furlongs. The dispersed demesne of 1574 is marked black; in the south-west it has not been fully identified.

lands, 2 to 5 in number, dispersed throughout the furlongs. It is likely that the whole six yardlands was dispersed as groups of 6 lands. Similarly one of the three manors at East Haddon had 6 yardlands which appeared as parcels of 3, 6 or 12 adjacent lands throughout the furlongs; these are listed in the survey of 1598[5].

Kislingbury had two manors, and a fourteenth-century description of the demesne of both of them shows that there were blocks of mainly 6–8 half-acre lands dispersed throughout the fields[6]. The lands of the two manors were always adjacent, and like Brockhall, there were one or two furlongs next to the manor house called *inlands*. The two Kislingbury manors were in existence in 1086, but the disposition of the contiguous demesnes indicates that there was, before 1066, a single manor. A plan has been published[7].

Hardingstone East End Fields had many groups of 4 contiguous lands dispersed throughout its fields in 1660, which belonged to Bartholomew Tate, the lord of the manor[8]. The dispersed land is not stated to be demesme, but is likely to be. A plan has been published showing the regular disposition Hardingstone lands and the demesne was dispersed in exactly the same way as illustrated[9].

Raunds had a dispersed demesne. Two manors were recorded in 1086, becoming three by the fifteenth century, and from the manorial descent their demesnes can be identified in a field book of 1739 (see the Gazetteer for details). The manors all lay at Raunds North End which was the seignurial part of the settlement with the present church and a late Saxon church (no longer surviving). Surrounding the North End was a large block of manorial land, the demesnes of the three manors occupying almost the whole of the area.

The remainder of the demesnes were dispersed throughout the fields. In most of the furlongs, especially near to the vill, the three demesnes nearly always had small blocks of a few lands lying together, suggesting that there had been a single manor with a single demesne at an early date. A plan of these demesnes is shown in Figure 9. The eighteenth-century data on which the information is based is a reliable record of the medieval layout because a 1356 account roll partially describes the demesne of one of the manors[10], much of which can be identified with the land of Burystead manor in 1739.

The earliest known example of a dispersed demesne is at Braybrooke where a terrier of 1198 shows that it was distributed in small blocks in many furlongs[11]. It shows a typical dispersed type with small blocks of lands in most of the furlongs and a small amount of land, including the Hall Yard, next to the village. There were also extensive demesne woods and a few closes adjacent to them, that were most probably enclosed assarts.

Compact demesne

In contrast to the previous demesnes, some manors had nearly all their demesnes in a one area lying next to the manor house. The Hall manor at Wollaston had a block of

5 NRO IL 2120.
6 BL Cott. Vesp. E xvii f. 301–3.
7 D. Hall, 'Fieldwork and documentary evidence', 1984, pp. 43–68; p. 62.
8 Hall *Hardingstone* 1980, p. 134.
9 *Id.* p. 124.
10 PRO DL 29 324/5292.
11 Pipe Roll Society 24 (1900): *Feet of Fines of 10 Richard I*, p. 140.

land west of the house called the *inlands*. The location of the inlands is clear from a map of 1789[12]; they had been enclosed in 1583 and were fully described in a terrier made in 1430[13]. The information can be plotted on a furlong map, supplementing the large scale open-field plan of 1774[14] with field-survey information within the enclosed demesne. As well as the *inlands* here were other lands dispersed in a few furlongs and one whole furlong on the river gravels, called *rye furlong*[15]. This name suggests that the furlong had been used to grow rye, since the crop grows on light, well drained land. The *inlands* laid on limestone and clay soils which are better suited for growing corn and peas.

At Mears Ashby a block of demesne was called the Hall Field[16]. Very few people other than the lord or his tenants had lands in this field in 1577, although it included the glebe land, showing that the glebe was a gift of demesne. There was also an isolated furlong away from the block lying on red ironstone land. The furlong was probably used for rye (Figure 13). Welford had a block demesne called the Hall Field in 1525[17].

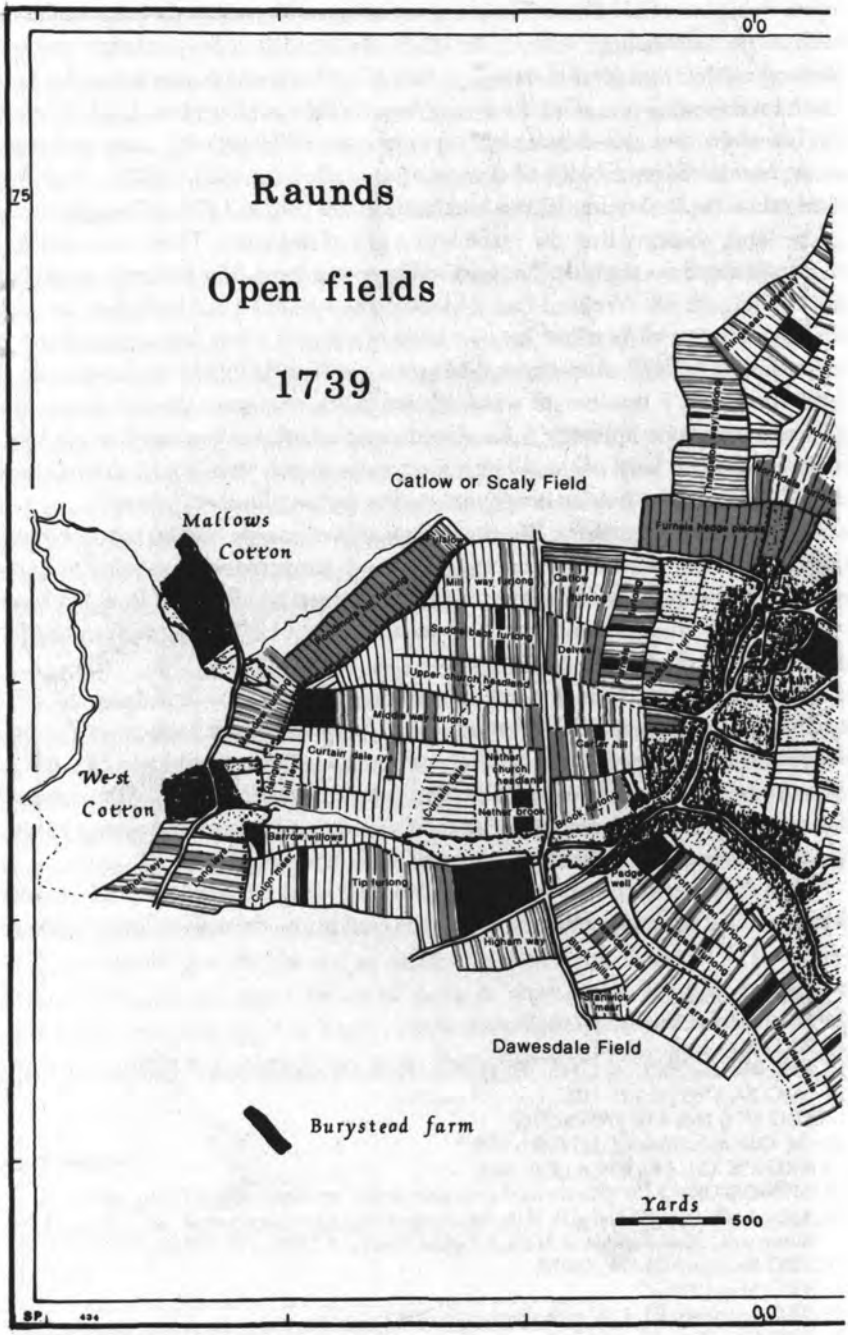
The demesne of Watford lay in a large block with a few furlongs separate. It is first described in 1276[18] when divided between the four daughters of Eustace de Watford, and contained a number of whole furlongs whose names do not occur in charters describing peasant holdings[19]. Another description of the demesne was made in 1595[20], which, with the help of the 1276 information, shows that it laid almost entirely in a block, north of the manor-house; only a few furlongs laid elsewhere[21].

The manor belonging to Ramsey abbey at Hemington had an *inlands* block, consisting of 72 acres. It was already enclosed and and converted to leys when the Ramsey land was described in a detailed terrier of 1518[22] and can be identified from field names on a map of 1715[23]. The Inlands can be traced back to *c.* 1248 along with most of the other furlong names[24].

Higham Ferrers does not have demesne specified in a field book of 1567[25], but analysis shows that in contrast to the very dispersed farms in three of the open fields there was also a fourth large field around the town let out in blocks of lands or closes. When compared with fourteenth-century account rolls[26], which list the demesne let out for terms of years, there is sufficient correspondence between the names to identify the partly enclosed area near the town as a block demesne (Figure 7).

Most of Kettering block demesne, called Hall Field, 620 acres, was all enclosed before 1587, when it was mapped[27]. As well as the enclosures, there were large blocks of 6 other

12 NRO Map 2843.
13 Leic. Record Office ID 50/xii/28, pp. 7–15.
14 NRO Map 4447.
15 Hall, *Wollaston* 1977, pp. 1, 140, 160; D. Hall, 'Fieldwork and field books', 1983, pp.115–131; pp. 117–9.
16 NRO ZA 3709 pp. 107–112.
17 PRO SC 6 Hen VIII 2784 m.33d.
18 *Cal. Close Rolls Edward I, 1272–9*, p. 329.
19 NRO OK 151, 140, 204; *c.* 1250–1400.
20 NRO OK 354.
21 A plan has been published in D. Hall, 'Field systems and township structure', in C. Dyer, M. Aston and D. Austin (eds.) *Rural Settlement in Medieval England* (Blackwell 1989), 196–204; Fig.11.1.
22 NRO Buccleuch 25–59, X8678.
23 NRO Map 1390.
24 NRO Buccleuch 25–1 (87 early charters) in X889.
25 NRO Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol 47.
26 PRO DL 29 325/5320.
27 NRO FH 272, reproduced as a drawing in F. W. Bull *A Sketch of the history of Kettering*, 1891; *Supplement* 1908, Supplement, frontispiece.


Raunds
Open fields
1739
Catlow or Scaly Field
Mallows Cotton
West Cotton
Furlong hedge pasture
Mill way furlong
Catlow furlong
Saddle back furlong
Dairies
Upper church headland
Mides way furlong
Curtain pale rye
Nether church headland
Cellar hill
Nether brook
Brook furlong
Belfry willows
Tip furlong
Higham way
Badger well
Dawesdale Field
Burystead farm
Yards
500
SP
434

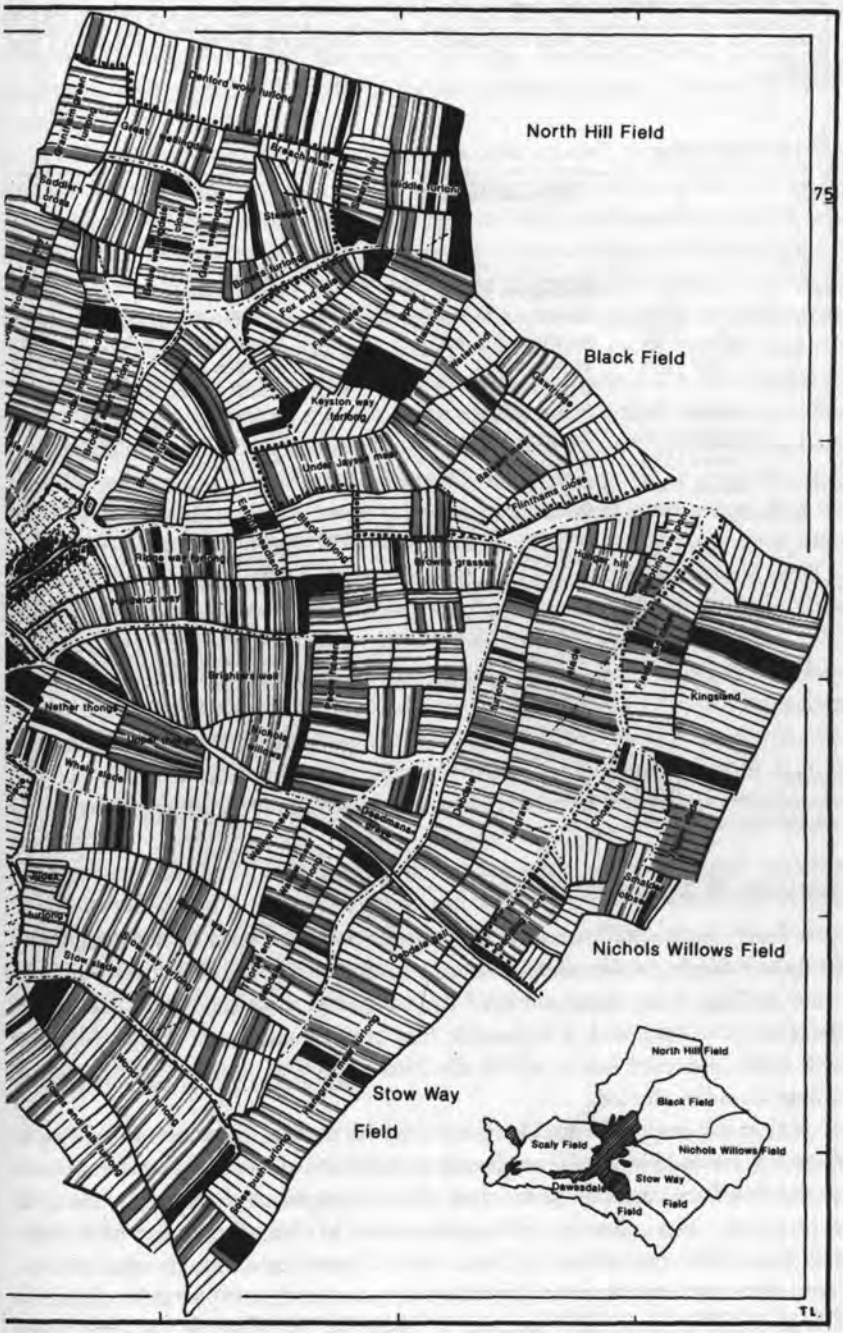


Figure 9, Raunds fields and furlongs in 1739. The demesne of the Lancaster manor (Burystead Farm) is marked black and the land belonging to the Gloucester Fee estate is shown in grey. Cotton township boundary (at the west) and areas of former woodland (north and east) are marked as broken-line boundaries.

furlongs, all of them close to the town. Part of the enclosure had been made into a small park, and a larger part, the Lynches, was a rabbit warren.

Of the 56 townships where the type of demesne is known 18 (32 percent) were compact and 38 (68 per cent) were dispersed. They are listed below on Table 7, along with the dates that the demesne was enclosed if this occurred before enclosure of the whole township.

Table 7 Types of demesne

Compact demesnes	*Enclosure date*	*Dispersed demesne*	*Enclosure date*		*Enclosure date*
Ashby Mears		Addington Little		Geddington	
Badby and Newnham	1592	Aldwincle All Saints		Glapthorn	
Braunston	before 1584	Ashby St Ledgers		Gretton	
Brixworth	leys 1688	Barnwell		Haddon East	*c.*1600
Crick		Barton Earls		Hardingstone East End	
Dodford	before 1541	Billing Great	1629	Helpston	
Farthinghoe	hedged 1510	Bradden		Holdenby	
Hemington	before 1518	Braybrooke		Kislingbury	
Higham Ferrers	before 1567	Brigstock		Loddington	
Kettering	before 1587	Brockhall	1433 part	Morton Pinkney	
Helpston		Muscott	1433 part	Old	
Rushden	leys 1472	Broughton		Oundle	
Watford	1592	Burton Latimer		Polebrook	
		Castor		Raunds	
Welford	before 1590?	Sutton		Rushton; Barford	
Wollaston	1583	Clopton		Stamford; Burghley	
		Cranford St John		Walgrave	
possible additions		Culworth		Warden; Stonton	
Abington	1604	Daventry		Warmington	
Aynho	1561	Draughton		Weedon Bec	
Stanford on Avon		Flore			

Information collected from the Gazetteer.

Interpretation of demesne types

A model previously suggested[28] was that all demesnes were perhaps once intact, lying near to the manor-house, which usually would give the lord some of the best soil and save his men walking long distances over the township. If, after many years, the demesne became over exploited, it is possible that better yields were obtained by the villeins, with their dispersed lands, which the lord wished to match. A dispersal of demesne might then be effected.

Another reason for dispersal of a demesne may be change from a two-field to a three-field system. It would be simple to arrange the division of a two-field system to run across the middle of an intact demesne, but when changed to three fields it would usually be physically impossible to split the demesne so that third parts of it were touching all three fields (as it does at Brixworth). However, although examples of consolidation of demesne can be found (for the purpose of enclosure), as at Brockhall in 1433 and East Haddon in *c.* 1600, no case of dispersal of demesne has ever been discovered.

28 See f.n 15, Hall 'Fieldwork and Field books', pp. 117–8; f.n. 7, Hall, 'Early medieval estates' p. 51.

Other interpretations of compact and dispersed demesne need to be considered. It is possible that the dispersed type had been created from villein lands, so increasing the size of the demesne. This would account for many of the 'dispersed' types having a small block of land next to the manor house and the rest scattered, the small block being the original 'endowment', and the rest additional. Such additional amounts may be evidence of an increased feudal presence imposed upon a manor at the Norman Conquest.

An alternative hypothesis for the existence of a block demesne may be that it was created by exchange, and was an unusual form, dispersed being the normal type. The much disturbed cycle of tenurial holdings at Ashby St Ledgers (Chapter 10) is probably related to exchanges made to create a separate compact estate at Ashby Lodge. Higham Ferrers, with a large block demesne, has a barely identifiable regular tenurial order, that may have been disturbed by creation of the demesne. In support of this, townships that have obvious regular tenurial cycles surviving until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have dispersed demesnes (note particularly Ecton and Earls Barton). However a notable exception to this scheme is the well recorded block demesne of Badby and Newnham surrounded by regular, independent field systems. It may not be necessary to look for an early uniform type of demesne, either dispersed or compact, there could have been differences from the time that the vills and their fields were first laid out.

Manors with large blocks of demesne often seem to be of some local importance. Higham Ferrers and Dodford were the chief manors of considerable sized estates in 1066 that survived for many centuries. Higham belonged to William Peverel and become the Northamptonshire centre of the Lancaster estate, to which it still belongs; Dodford was part of a Saxon estate that become the property of William de Keynes and remained with the Keynes family and its female heirs until 1725. Kettering was a local centre of the Peterborough abbey estate, and Watford was the chief settlement of the three townships within its parish. All these places had a large compact demesne and it may be that manors of status had their own agricultural system not intermixed with the villeins.

In some cases intact demesnes lie in an area of demonstrable 'old' settlement, as at Wollaston Hall manor where the demesne incorporates a Roman villa (recalled in the furlong name *waltonacre* (1430), the 'ton' of the British, 'wala') as well as substantial early Saxon remains. Higham Ferrers similarly has extensive Roman settlement remains and early Saxon pottery within the area of its demesne.

Demesne and its land-use

Although the demesne is described in many records of various dates, it is not always clear how block demesnes relate to the cultivation of the remainder of the open fields. As the lord's property it could more easily be put to different uses from the villein land which had rights embedded in the 'custom of the manor'.

In early times it was no doubt cultivated as the lord's private farm, using labour from the work-service of the villeins, to produce food for consumption in the manor house. Large estates with non-resident lords who owned many manors did not need produce for personal consumption, and manors were let to freeholders, often from the vill or nearby, who took on the demesne as their own tenanted farm, lived at the manor house and ran the manor as steward. By the fifteenth century some manors had departed from

this system in that the demesnes were let for a term of years or lives to a freeholder as his own farm, without any manorial reponsibilities.

Conservative estates, such as those belonging to monasteries or the Duchy of Lancaster, tended to keep the demesnes in hand and let them to small local tenants. The abbey of Evesham had a combined manor of the townships of Badby and Newnham, which had a demesne shared between both places. The land was mainly an undispersed block, enclosed in 1592, and described as 'closes' in 1628–34[29]. In 1388 it was let to tenants as 21 half-yardlands and 7 whole yardlands, making 17.5 in all[30]. These equate with later descriptions as 20 yardlands being divided into 80 'quarterns' and let out to the 40 copyholders of Badby and 40 copyholders of Newnham with their yardlands[31]. The use of the demesne in this way is unusual; it remained shared between all the copyholders until enclosed by Valentine Knightley of nearby Fawsley, the lord. The enclosure was strongly resisted by the copyholders who had come to regard the 'quarterns' as part of their yardlands by right.

The cultivation of demesnes is often given in extents, which state that half or a third was waste, implying a two or three-field system. For a dispersed demesne this presents no physical problem, but for intact demesnes it is difficult to see how a three-field system could operate in most cases, given that the the fallow was supposed to be in single block for common grazing of the whole township. Such an arrangement must usually have been impossible, and separate flocks were probably kept on a separate small fallow field in the demesne. Or the demesne could have had an independent cultivation system, some arrangement being made with the rest of the community about the common grazing rights. Mears Ashby is the only known late example of a demesne with information on how it was organized; field orders for *c.* 1640 show that it had its own rye, peas and barley fields, there being distinction between the Hall (demesne) and Town Fields.

The farming of Raunds demesne has already been described, and similar information can be obtained for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries where manorial account rolls survive (some details are given for Kettering, Maidwell, Radstone, Stanwick and Weedon Bec in the Gazetteer). There is normally no information about how the individual furlongs were cropped, but such data exist for the Ramsey manor of Wistow, Hunts., and yields of furlongs are referred to in a Peterborough abbey account roll of 1373–4[32].

Some demesnes were converted to pasture and profitably leased to local freehold tenants. This occurred on part of the large Higham Ferrers demesne, and Rushden demesne was grass by 1472. Rushden demesne had an unusual location, lying next to a manor that had been moved from the vill to the lodge of a deer park two miles away, created in the early twelfth century. The park site seems to have been chosen because it was the only part of the Higham Ferrers estate, near to Higham, that was uncultivated and marginal in *c.* 1100. The ground is agriculturally unattractive heavy clay, and the adjacent demesne shared this poor soil, which was much better suited for the woodland and woodland pasture of the park. A change to grass was thus encouraged by the

29 NRO Th 542; 544.
30 NRO Th 683.
31 NRO Th 406; 619.
32 Referred to in Chapter 2, f.n.44, Hogan 1988; for Peterborough see E. J. King in E. Miller ed., *The Agrarian History of England* iii 1348–1500 (1991) p. 217.

conditions. Perhaps converting the demesne to pasture was found to be more profitable than renting it for arable cultivation, and the same economy could have been adopted at the Higham manor, even though the soil there was good.

Block demesnes were relatively easy to enclose, and were often the core of early partial enclosure, being the next natural stage of development following conversion to pasture. Ownership was not in question, only the parson had to be compensated for tithes (which for impropriated rectories after 1540 were of little value to the parson), and the tenants had to be compensated for loss of common rights. Of the 16 examples of block demesne listed above, 9 were enclosed before 1600 (and Abington and Aynho probably represent two more early enclosed block demesnes, making 11 out of 18). Farthinghoe demesne still had furlongs in *c.* 1510, but was surrounded by a ring hedge. Brixworth demesne was not surrounded by a ring hedge, but it was all pasture, part called the Hall Leys in 1688, and not farmed with the open-field arable. The details of Wollaston *inlands* enclosure of 1583 survive. The tenants gave up their common rights over the demesne, in 1615, in lieu of the lord grazing fewer animals on the open fields[33].

Enclosure of dispersed demesnes was much rarer, only 4 out of the 40 examples listed above having any early enclosure before the whole township was enclosed. The reasons are simple; there had to be agreement with the freeholders and parson, the land had to be surveyed and legal agreements drawn up and paid for. The whole operation was more tedious and expensive than enclosure of a block demesne. At Brockhall the lord effected a series of exchanges with the tenants so that an intact piece of land could be enclosed in 1433. The precise details are recorded and many of the lands exchanged were demesne. Similarly there was exchange of dispersed demesne land to make an enclosure at East Haddon in *c.* 1600. Great Billing manor had the small intact part of its demesne enclosed before 1629, leaving some dispersed in the open fields. Exchange of these allowed the lord to increase the size of his enclosure.

Demesne farming-practice from the fifteenth century is clear from the above examples, pasture being introduced in block demesnes, leading to their enclosure. The desire to enclose the demesne was considerable; at Morton Pinkney, the demesne, even though dispersed, had been enclosed as a series of small closes lying in the fields before it was brought together in 1600. Although a few scattered demesnes were amalgamated by exchange agreements forming intact enclosures, most dispersed demesnes remained unenclosed and were usually let as arable yardlands to tenants, as at Kislingbury in 1612. In many cases their identity became lost.

Demesne and the Domesday Survey

The antiquity of the demesne can sometimes be demonstrated from the Domesday assessments of 1086. Great Billing is a simple example of one parish, one manor and one field system. In 1086 it had 8 ploughlands, two of them in demesne. Bridges in *c.* 1720[34] notes the were 48 yardlands in the township of which 12 were 'in lordship'. Original estate records confirm this; there were 12 yardlands in demesne in 1629[35] and surveys of 1758 and 1775 list owners and tenants holding 48.5 and 48.25 yardlands[36]. It is clear

33 Hall *Wollaston* 1977, pp. 193–5.
34 Bridges i p. 405.
35 NRO 31P/21.
36 NRO E(GB) 301 and 303.

that in the eleventh and seventeenth centuries the demesne was a quarter of the total; so there is an exact correspondence of size for more than 650 years.

Higham Ferrers demesne has been noted above as an example of the block type. Its area was aproximately 470 acres, which agrees with a rental of 1314 and an extent of 1327. The remaining open-field area measures 830 acres, the demesne was therefore about one third of the total. In 1086 there were 6 hides at Higham of which two were in lordship. So we see a home farm unchanging in size for *c.* 750 years (the demesne block was the same until enclosure in 1838).

The location of the demesne of Rothersthorpe is unknown, but in 1694 its size was 13 yardlands[37]. The whole township consisted of 64 yardlands in 1810[38], making the ratio of the demesne to the total 13/64 (20.3 percent). In 1086 there were 3.5 hides, and only one of the estates (2.5 hides) had demesne, which was 2 ploughlands out of a total of 7[39]. The ratio, 2.5/3.5 times 2/7, or 20.3 percent, is exactly the same as the size of the later demesne.

There seem to be significant differences between townships whether the demesne was assessed or not for taxation in 1086. In the three examples above the demesne was included. However in other places, especially those with block demesnes (Mears Ashby, Kettering, Badby and Newnham) the demesne was excluded, taxation being raised on villein yardlands. Even with a dispersed demesne like Great Billing, it could be claimed that the demesne was not assessed at Domesday, tax being raised on the 36 villein yardlands, at 9 to the hide, rather than on the whole 48 yardlands at 12 to the hide[40]. These problems need more data before they can be resolved.

37 NRO Box 1914.
38 NRO Enclosure Award Enrolment Vol. N pp. 278–90.
39 Thorn and Thorn, 44–1c, 44–2, 48–9.
40 See Chapter 6 for the relationships between Domesday hides and yardlands.

Chapter 6

The medieval farm, the yardland

The yardland, called the virgate in medieval Latin records, was the standard open-field farming unit. It consisted of a number of arable lands normally scattered uniformly throughout a field system; such a distribution ensured that whenever a portion of the fields was left fallow there were always lands in the remaining area on which crops could be grown. Details of the exact distribution of yardlands within a field system are described in Chapter 8. The area of a yardland, which did not normally include meadow, varied a great deal from vill to vill. For most places the yardland remained a stable, unchanging farming unit, being the 'fabric' of the vill on which taxation was based for many centuries. So much was it the fabric of the vill that it affected the actual layout of the fields on the ground.

The methods of farming individual yardlands are not recorded at any personal level before the seventeenth century (see Chapter 2 for general information derived from surveys and court regulations). In early times, probably few owners of a single yardland would have sufficient animals to draw a plough. Most farmers would, therefore, have to co-operate by providing animals to make up a plough-team. Very few examples of sharing are recorded, just as there are few recent and modern records of such matters. Only one record of animals being shared to make up a medieval plough team has been discovered for Northamptonshire, and that is for Newnham in *c.* 1380, where two holders of yardlands put their animals together to form one team. Ault published examples from various parts of the country dated between 1286 and 1327[1]. There was clear evidence for the making up of teams using animals from more than one farm. In one instance there are the names of pairs of people who were to put their animals together to make up a plough team, in the same way as Newnham.

Court rolls frequently refer to yardlands being held by a rent, service and homage. In *c.* 1479 the process of rendering homage at Muscott was:[2]

> Memorandum that ye teynand that owys to do hiis [sic] homage to hiis lorde shall come to hiis lorde and knele uppon bothe hiis knees and he muste putt both hiis handys be tween bothe hiis lordys handys and the tenand must be un guede and he must sey to hiis lord theis wordys foloyng ether in Frenche or in Engliche...
>
> I ay become yor man from this daye forward of lym and lythe and to yowe shall doo wordly wurchyp for the lond yt I hadde of yowe. Savyng my elegiaunce to owre lege lord ye kyng and to other lordys yt I holde other londs by auncient purcez

1 W. O. Ault, 'Open-field Husbandry and the Village Community: a study of Agrarian By-laws in Medieval England', *Trans. of the Amer. Phil. Soc.* 55 part 7, p. 31; for Newnham see Chapter 2, under work-service, f.n. 52.

2 NRO Spencer 1056 f.14.

Yardland size

If the area of the yardland be multiplied by the number of yardlands in a field system a total area less, often appreciably less, than the whole township will result. This is because meadow and pasture, which was apportioned and belonged to each yardland as of right, was not included in the stated yardland area. In deeds of sale, yardlands and *appurtenances* are often referred to, the last meaning the right to a proportion of the meadow, and the right to graze sheep and 'great beast' (cattle and horses), as was normal for that place.

The acreage of a yardland varied from parish to parish; very commonly it was around 25 acres and if furlongs were laid out in rood lands this would be equal to 100 lands in the fields. Often some of the furlongs were laid in half-acre lands, so the number in a given yardland would be less. Detailed analysis of Hardingstone East Fields showed that a typical yardland was 23 acres in extent and was made up of about 60 separate lands, no two being adjacent[3].

The size of the yardland for many townships is listed in the Gazetteer, and some selected in Table 8. It can be seen that while values between 20 and 30 acres are by far the most common, there are wide variations. The smallest are for Ecton (14 acres) and Weedon Bec (12), and the largest are for Ravensthorpe (80 acres) and Bozeat (60). There is a topographical element underlying this variation, the smaller values occur in Nene and Welland Valley parishes with good quality, variable soils, and large yardlands lie in parishes with poorer soils or where there was probably once waste, heath or woodland, during Saxon times. More similar information can be found in the Gazetteer.

Variety of topography offers a possible explanation of the size differences; perhaps all townships once had similar sized yardlands, but those with waste were able to enlarge them by assarting. When assarted land was added to a field system, there was the option of yardlands being increased in size, or their number could be increased, the area remaining fixed. From the thirteenth century, and probably always, rates and taxes were raised at the township level upon the yardland (the *carucates* listed in 1220 *Book of Fees* are the earliest taxation records where dues were unambiguously raised upon the yardland rather than on hides or knights' fees). Under these circumstances no vill would want its yardland assessment increased causing it to pay more tax, so the increased yardland size would always be adopted. This interpretation is supported in that no variation in the number of yardlands in any vill has ever been discovered, best exemplified by Clipston, below, which had the same number (84) for 700 years. The importance of officially maintaining the number of yardlands is shown at Brockhall, and other places, where farms were still assessed as yardlands (for taxation) in 1670 and 1704, even though enclosure had taken place in 1611[4]. The tithe records of Ashby St Ledgers in the seventeenth century show that Ashby Lodge estate, enclosed before 1519, was assessed at 7 yardlands (Chapter 10).

The only example notably at variance with the topographic and soil quality interpretation is deserted Stonton in Warden (now in Warwickshire; Midland Plain clay, 12 acres). Most clay townships have large yardlands, and an explanation of the small yardlands might be that this township was 'overpopulated' and completely opened up when its yardland number was assigned.

3 Hall 1980 *Hardingstone*, p. 125.
4 NRO Th 198, Th 214.

Table 8 Yardland sizes and topography

Place	*Yardland size (acres)*	*Date*	*Location and soil type*
Addington Little	20	1772	Nene Valley
Ashby St Ledgers	38	1635	Champagne, clay
Ashley	14	1632	Welland Valley
Barby	30	1684	Midland scarp, clay
Billing Great	19	1758	Nene Valley
Bozeat	60	1650	Clay plain, former wood
Boughton	18	1684	Champagne, mixed good soils
Buckby Long	37	1656	Champagne, clay
Clopton	48	*c.*1250	Clay plain
Collyweston	15	1638	Welland Valley
Creaton	42	1662	Champagne, clay and heath
East Haddon	29	1752	Upland clay and gravel, champagne
Ecton	14	1609	Nene Valley
Guilsborough	50	1684	Clay and heath
Hardingstone	20	14th	Nene Valley
Harlestone	67	1301	Clay and heath
Hemington	43*	13th	Clay plateau
Irchester	20*	1318	Nene Valley
Norton;Thrup	19	*c.*1300	Champagne, good soils
Raunds and Rushden	40*	1318	Nene Valley and clay plateau
Ravensthorpe	80*	1643	Upland champagne, clay
Teeton	25*	1643	Upland champagne, good soil
Weedon Bec	12	1326	Upper Nene Valley
Wollaston	25	1788	Nene Valley with some clay

A yardland value marked with an asterisk means that the acreage is stated in an original source, otherwise the value has been obtained by adding up the sizes of individual lands in a terrier where the number of yardlands is specified.

The information has been collected from the Gazetteer, where references will be found.

Unequal sizes of yardlands sometimes caused disputes, especially if two townships in one parish had yardlands of greatly different size, as at Ravensthorpe. The parish consists of the townships of Ravensthorpe, Teeton, and Coton in nearby Guilsborough. Teeton yardlands were 25 acres and Ravensthorpe 80. A uniform *parish* rating was much easier to collect from the profits of the large Ravensthorpe farms than from those of Teeton. This occasioned the inhabitants of Teeton to complain about the land tax in 1643; 'we are informed that ye yardlands in Ravensthorpe contain about 80 acres and ... mainteyn 10 cows, 4 horses, 80 sheep and soweth 10 quarter of grayn and cutt 25 lode of hay. Teeton yardlands contain but 25 acres for a yardland and maynteyneth 40 sheep, 2 cows and soweth on quarter of grayn and cutteth 8 lodes of hay for each yardland'[5].

If it be assumed that all yardlands were originally 25 acres, as calculable for some counties from Domesday evidence in 1086[6], then various speculative calculations can be made about the uncultivated area at the time when holdings were laid out, offering a tool for study of the Saxon landscape. Taking the size of the Late Saxon yardland as 25 acres, and multiplying by the number of yardlands a total is achieved for the area cultivated at that date. Any significant deviation from from the township total area (less the area of meadow) should represent the extent of waste or woodland. A simpler

5 NRO LT 416.
6 A. Ballard, *Domesday Inquest*, (1906) p. 32.

calculation is to subtract 25 from the yardland area and multiply by the yardland number. This gives directly the area 'taken in'.

At Great Addington there were 42 yardlands and the area of arable of each was 28.5 acres[7], making the total arable 1197 acres. This is consistent with the parish area of 1220 acres, there being little meadow. If the size of the 'original' yardland be taken as 25 acres then the area left uncultivated when the field system was set out, is 28–25 × 42, being 147 acres. Although the 'unused' area is small in this example, the value never the less tallies well with land at the west of the parish occupied later by three *wold* furlongs and one *breach* furlong, some 155 acres in all. The agreement offers some evidence that this was the unassessed land at the original layout. The precision of such speculative calculations is dependent on the accuracy of the yardland size.

Clopton, lying away from the Nene Valley, had 39 yardlands of 48 acres each, 1872 acres of arable in all (consistent with a total area of 1,920 acres[8], there being almost no medieval pasture). The calculation suggests that if yardlands of 25 acres were set out, there would be 897 acres of unploughed land (likely to be woodland or woodland pasture). The surveyed furlong pattern shows that there is an area of *c.* 400 acres, interpreted as assart (see Chapter 7), which accounts for part of the 'waste'.

Stability of yardlands

Although the area of a yardland varied from township to township, as did the number of yardlands, there was a surprising stability within a given township.

Yardland area

During the period when the size of a yardland is stated, from the thirteenth century, no significant change in its area has ever been noted, until such major events as partial enclosure or creation of cow pasture, in later centuries. Where sources offer differing yardland sizes it is seems to be the result of different estimates rather than any contemporary belief that the area had changed. Therefore the variation of yardland acreage discussed above in relation to assarting, if correct, must have happened before the thirteenth century. This is in accord with the records of assarting being very limited after about 1250, and the evidence that field systems were completed before 1300. Records describing assarting come from the end of what had been a vigorous process, as given in the Pipewell Cartulary (see Chapter 7).

Among the few examples of different sizes of yardlands occurring in the same township are Stanwick and Wollaston, both of which had two sizes of yardlands recorded. At Stanwick this is mentioned in *c.* 1280 and at Wollaston in *c.* 1300. In neither case is any explanation given; it may represent a long forgotten amalgamation of field systems or it could have arisen by differential assarting, not all yardlands being increased. The Wollaston yardland differences are not referred to at any later date. Castle Ashby and Brigstock demesne yardlands were different in size from those of the tenants in 1565.

Yardland numbers

The number of yardlands in a vill has not been found to change (see Kettering in the Gazetteer for a possible example; Brown has argued for an increase at Daventry, but the

7 NRO A165.
8 Whellan's *Directory* 1876, p. 726.

claimed number of yardlands is at variance with eighteenth-century listings, see the Gazetteer). Assarting might be expected to cause an increase in number, but this has not been observed. The example of Clipston 84 yardlands that remained unchanged for 700 years, and others below, are remarkable instances of stability and invariability. If yardland numbers were ever increased it occurred before 1200 from the direct historical evidence and before 1066 from the Domesday evidence of the close relation between hides and yardland numers (below).

Detailed evidence for the stabilty of individual yardlands can be found in estate records, such as those of monastic estates, where an unchanging system survived for a long period. Frequently rentals can be related to each other, identifying the yardlands as they passed from tenant to the next heir over several centuries. Often the yardland became known by the name of one of the medieval owners. Newnham forms a good example. The earliest surviving rental, *c.* 1380, is undated[9]. It is very similar to one existing in a sixteenth-century transcript[10] which is dated to 1388. The format of these fourteenth-century rentals was followed exactly for many years and the names of the owners then became assigned to the yardlands. Thus a rental of 1409 can be related to that of 1380 by its reference to the earlier tenants. The later descent of Newnham yardlands can be followed through a series of copyhold entries in court rolls to a rental made in 1542[11] and later.

Other estates that change but little are manorial demesnes and the glebe lands belonging to the church. Most of these have several terriers showing unchanging locations and sizes of lands. Ashby St Ledgers exemplifies the glebe, being recorded as one yardland before 1230[12] and described in terriers dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Some townships had yardlands broken up in later centuries, as at Hargrave, Raunds, Ringstead and Rushden. A common factor at these places is ownership by the Duchy of Lancaster. It is unlikely that the estate was directly involved because its central manor of Higham Ferrers, completely in its possession, retained yardlands, as did Bozeat, Irchester and Stanwick where the Lancasters shared lordship. The reason was probably a combination of the lack of firm central control, and because of the copyhold tenure over the bulk of the land in the townships that dispersed their yardlands. This would seem to be confirmed in that the villein ('bondhold') land of Raunds and Rushden was not broken down but was still described as yardlands until the sixteenth century. The breakdown of the copyhold seems to have occurred in the mid-fourteenth century according to the Rushden data[13].

Copyhold property of the earls and dukes of Lancaster does not give a complete explanation for medieval yardland breakdown, because the same breakdown had occurred at Grendon before 1596. Grendon is located near to the Higham Lancaster estate (although the Lancasters had no connection with it) and its inhabitants may have been aware of the 'disappearance' of yardlands nearby. There are other places near the Higham region, Aldwincle and Titchmarsh, where yardlands are not mentioned in later

9 NRO Th 1627.
10 NRO Th 683.
11 NRO Th 1500–29; Th 1632.
12 A. Gibbons, *Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus Vicariarum tempore Hugonis de Wells*, 1888, p. 38.
13 Hall and Harding *Rushden*, 1985, pp. 54–9.

centuries. Some places farther away have no record of yardlands by the seventeenth century (see the Gazetteer and Appendix).

In a few cases dispersal of a single yardland is recorded, as at Irthlingborough in *c.* 1300 (the Gazetteer). Some yardlands became broken down because they were large; Bozeat had 60-acre yardlands in 1650, but thereafter all recorded transactions were made in acres, and yardlands were not mentioned at the time of enclosure in 1798.

Domesday assessments and yardlands

The Domesday Survey, the assessmment of fiefs and manors made in 1086, listed, among other items, arable land, which was recorded for taxation purposes. Examination of the number of yardlands occurring in a vill or manor and the number of hides of arable reveal significant relationships, as explained below.

Great and small virgates

The Domesday Survey gives the fiscal assessment of Northamptonshire manors in hides and virgates, there being 4 virgates to the hide, as elsewhere in southern England. Studies using internal evidence for other counties show that Domesday virgates are 25 or 30 acres, and hence a hide is 100 or 120 acres[14]. This value does not work very well for Northamptonshire, only very small areas of arable, compared to the total extent of the parish, apparently being under the plough.

If the figures for the Higham Ferrers Hundred be presented graphically, we see that the number of Domesday hides and the parish areas give a straight-line relationship (Fig. 10). This means that in all cases each parish had exactly the same proportion of its area ploughed in 1086, a very unlikely state of affairs, unless the total ploughable area had already been reached. On the 120-acre hide it works out that only *c.* 35 percent of the parishes had been ploughed, from the Domesday figures (multiplied by the 120 acres for each hide). Another interpretation is called for, and let us now approach from the yardlands.

The earliest reference to yardlands is in the Northamptonshire Survey of *c.* 1124 (in which they were called small virgates), where they were used to define small estates more precisely than had been done in the Domesday Survey[15]. The use in the 1124 survey of the term 'small virgates' to distinguish from the 'large' ones of 1086 shows that the two units were different. That small virgates are yardlands is clear from many comparisons of them with later assessments, again best illustrated by Clipston, below.

Since the 1124 survey is at pains to give more accuracy than Domesday by the use of yardlands, it shows that yardlands are directly connected to the Domesday assessments themselves. The number of yardlands in a hide varies, presumably to take into account the size of the yardland, and even possibly the general quality of land (see below).

Yardlands and Domesday hides

Table 9 shows some collected values for the number of yardlands in various Northamptonshire townships and their Domesday assessments. A limited number of ratios is evident, but commonly there were 8, 10, 12 or 16 yardlands to the hide. These values, or

14 Ballard *The Domesday Inquest*, p. 32.
15 Published by Round in *VCH Northants.* i pp. 357–89.

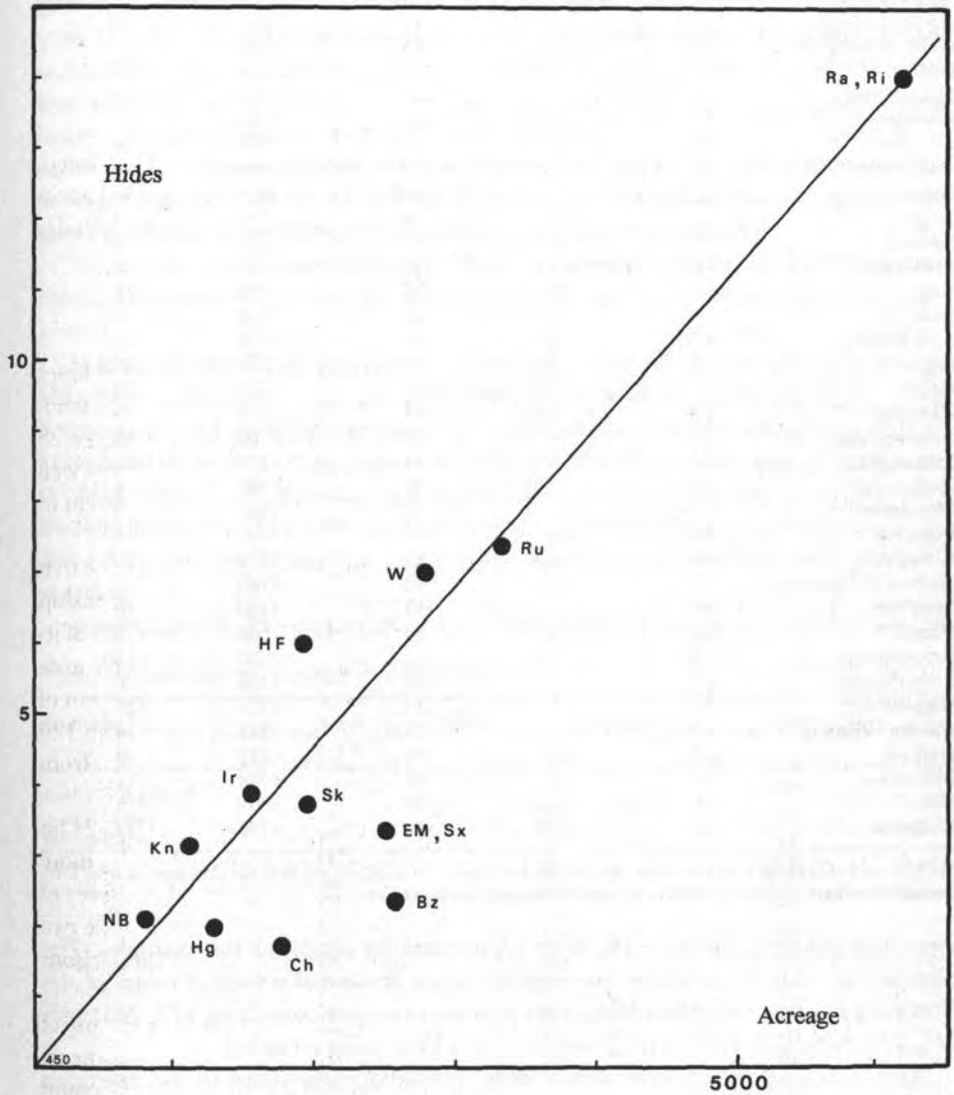


Figure 10, graph of Higham Ferrers Hundred Domesday returns related to parish sizes. For township identifications see the place-names on Figure 11.

Table 9 Hides and yardlands in various townships

1 Place	2 Hides in 1086	3 Plough lands	4 Number of yardlands	5 Date of yl	6 Ratio 4/2
Addington Great	3.5	6	42	1803	12
Ashby St Ledgers	4.0	10	40	1688	10
Barby	2.0	5	50	1778	25
Billing Great	4.0	8	48	1612	12
Brixworth	9.5	35	95	1780	10
Broughton	2.0	5	52	1786	26
Cold Ashby	4.0		64	*c.*1230	16
Clipston	5.25		84	1776	16
Clopton	5.5	8	39	*c.*1250	7
Creaton	1.75		28	1782	16
Culworth	1.67	4	30	1610	18
Daventry	8.0	16	80	1756	10
Dodford	3.0	7	48	1468	18
Earls Barton	4.0	8	80	1760	20
Ecton	4.0	8	110	1703	27.5
Eydon	2.0	5	28	1761	14
Elkington	2.0	3.875	48	*c.*1230	24
Farndon East	2.5	4	45	1780	18
Farthingstone	4.0	9	48	1751	12
Harlestone	3.5	8.25	28	*c.*1300	8
Hemington	3.0		21.5	1290	7
Kettering	10.0	16	40	*c.*1130	10
Kislingbury	4.0	11.5	80	1779	20
Marston St Laurence	4.0	10	48	1760	12
Newnham	4.0		40	1552	10
Oundle	6.0	9	30	1565	5
Ravensthorpe	2.0	5.5	20.5	1603	*c.*10
Rothersthorpe	3.5		64	1820	*c.*18
Wappenham	2.0	5	52	1761	26
Warden Chipping	4.0		63.5	1733	16
Watford	(8.0)	(8)	96	1279	24
Wilbarston	4.0	8	60	1798	15
Wilby	4.0	7	21	1809	*c.* 5
Wollaston	7.0	13.5	84	1788	12

The hides and ploughland values are taken from Thorn and Thorn; the yardlands are from the Gazetteer, or from J. W. Anscomb's enclosure statistics at NRO in the case of townships not in the Gazetteer.

some multiplication, of them (16, 20 or 24) account for almost all the examples. The existence of such relationships are implied by the fractional values of many of the Northamptonshire individual Domesday returns, examples containing 1/3, 2/3, 1/5, 2/5, 4/5, 5/6, 1/8, 1/12, 11/12 and 1/16 of a hide being recorded.

Many other townships have similar hide: yardland reationships to the examples listed. Frequently ratios close to a common value occur; Cold Higham 12.5, Helmdon 17.5, Slapton 9.5 and Woodford Halse 15.25. These were probably intended to be a standard ratio; possibly the yardland value is not accurate. In the north east of the county simple numeric relationships between hides and yardlands are not always so obvious, and sometimes odd numbers of yardlands to the hide occur (7 at Hemington and Clopton; both are stated to be 7 to the hide in thirteenth century sources). Assarting and unvirgated land may be the cause of these less common ratios.

There must have been a reason for choosing different numbers of yardlands to make up a hide. Presumably it was an attempt to allow for a known variability in size or a

compensation for poor land quality. This can be tested by working out the apparent size of the hide.

The variability of the number of yardlands in a hide, as well as the number of acres in a yardland has been commented upon long ago by Seebohm[16] and Neilson[17]. Seebohm listed values for Huntingdonshire from the Hundred Rolls of 1279 and found that there were 4, 5, 6, or 8 yardlands to the hide and that the yardland varied between 15 to 48 acres. However more unity was found in the area of a hide, which in 12 out of 19 cases was close to 120 acres. For most townships there were 4 virgates to the hide, each virgate being *c.* 30 acres. Neilson studied Ramsey abbey holdings from the evidence of the cartulary. It was noted that there were similar variations in the sizes of both yardland acreages and the number of yardlands in a hide. It was assumed that the sizes of both were 'increased or decreased until territorial and fiscal hides agreed'.

Table 10 shows the nominal size of a hide for various Northamptonshire townships, calculated where the number of yardlands to a hide and the acreage of the yardland is known.

At first sight the Table does not seem remotely to support the existence of a uniform hide. The difficulty is that the 1086 yardland size is required, not those of the seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries. However, if the 13 lowest values for a hide are considered then the acreage ranges 228–380, and includes a wide range of yardland to the hide values (7–16, Hemington, Dodford), and soil types from very good (Ecton and Wollaston) to poor (Dodford and Hemington). This could be interpreted to show that there had been an attempt to achieve a moderately uniform hide value for a fair taxation.

Townships with high apparent hide acreages could be explained as being not fully

Table 10 Acreage of Northamptonshire hides

Township	*Number of yardlands in a hide*	*Acreage of yardland*	*Acreage of hide*
Ashby St Ledgers	10	38	380
Ashby Mears	10	*c.*23	230
Billing Great	12	19	228
Clopton	7	48	362
Daventry	10	*c.*28	280
Dodford	16	20	320
Ecton	*c.*25	14	*c.*350
Farthingstone	12	26	312
Hemington	7	36	252
Kettering	10	36	360
Teeton	12.5	25	313
Wollaston	12	24	288
Barby	25	30	750
Barton Earls	20	25	500
Blakesley	16	*c.*28	448
Creaton	16	41.5	664
Culworth	18	30	540
Harlestone	8	66	528
Ravensthorpe	10.25	80	820

The data have been taken from the Gazetteer

16 Seebohm, *English Village Community*, pp. 36–7.
17 N. Neilson, *Economic Conditions on the Manors of Ramsey Abbey* (1898) p. 14.

exploited in 1086, with large areas of heath or woodland not opened up to arable. These are grouped togther at the bottom of Table 10. Earls Barton is an unlikely example among them, having good soil and lying on the Nene Valley. It can perhaps be explained by taking away the demesne (2 out of 8 ploughlands in 1086), when the number of yardlands per hide falls to 15 and the hide area becomes 375 acres, within the commonly found range.

An interesting medieval example of a uniform hide size is to be found with the hides of the Domesday crown estate called the soke of Finedon. That part of the estate lying in the Higham Hundred was assessed at 10.5 hides in 1086[18], and an inquiry of 1318 located the townships where it lay, giving extra information[19]. The jury found:

Place	*Yardland number*	*Yardland size*	*Hide number*	*Hide acreage*
Irchester	19	20	4.75	80
Knuston	0.5		0.125	
Rushden	10.5	40	5.25	80
Raunds	1	40	0.5	80

A hide of exactly 80 acres was maintained even though the yardland size varied. It is interesting, too, that a small hide, even less than that found in Huntingdonshire and elsewhere (the 'traditional' Domesday hide), operated on this crown estate, with four 20-acre yardlands to the hide, and not the larger number of yardlands found with most Northamptonshire townships and manors. Kerr commented, in 1925, that the variable yardland size 'is not without difficulties and disappointments for serious Domesday students'[20]. It is evident that two different kinds of assessment ('traditional' 120-acre hides (in this case 80-acre hides) and large 'Northamptonshire' hides) were used at the same time in the Higham Ferrers Hundred. Although at Rushden the 10.5 Finedon crown-estate yardlands were assessed at 5.25 hides, the remaining Rushden yardlands (*c.* 70.5[21]) were assessed at 6 hides, confirming the confusion of 1086.

The 1318 enquiry proves that yardlands were related to hides in 1086 and that the information was still familiar to local juries 250 years later. At Clopton, in *c.* 1250, the names of the yardland tenants in each hide are listed[22], again showing that hides were an important and recognized part of the vill structure in the thirteenth century.

Component estates of townships

The close relationship between Domesday hides and yardlands is further revealed by studying the details of the individual holdings that make up a township. Fixed ratios between yardlands and hides again being evident; the cases of Clipston, Cold Ashby, Elkington, Harlestone, and Watford being presented here as examples.

One of the best documented places is Clipston, a parish that contains the two townships of Clipston and Newbold. Newbold vill is now completely deserted, but its fields, separate from those of Clipston, are documented from 1381 to enclosure in 1776. The details of various assessments are listed below.

18 Thorn and Thorn 1–32.
19 *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, ii (1916) no. 317.
20 Kerr *Higham Ferrers*, p. 9.
21 Hall and Harding, *Rushden* 1985, p. 83; Thorn and Thorn 35–1b.
22 King, *Miscellany* pp. 18–19, 41.

Date	Crown	Bishop of Coutances	Bury St Edmunds abbey	William Peverel	Total	Notes
1086	1.5v	0.5H 0.75v	2.5v	3.5H 0.25v	5.25H	(H = hide, v = virgate)
1124	5 + 1 s.v.	0.5H 3 s.v.	10 s.v.	3.5H 1 s.v.		(H = hide, s.v. = small virgate)
1124	6	11	10	57	84	(expressed as small virgates)
1284	5	10	10	55	80	virgates
1776					84	yardlands

There were four holdings in 1086[23]; a place called Calme has also been assigned to Clipston by Bridges and modern historians. The Domesday Survey does not state which parish Calme belonged to, merely placing it between the entries for Clipston and Kelmarsh. It consisted of half a hide belonging to the abbot of St Edmundsbury and is found listed under Kelmarsh belonging to the abbot in the 1124 survey[24]. Calme, therefore is a 1086 version of the name *Kelmarsh*, being similar to the later abbreviated medieval name-form of *Kelm'sh* and *Kelm'*, but spelled with a *C* in 1086.

Comparison of the 1086 and 1124 sizes of the estates establishes that there were reckoned to be 16 small virgates to a hide, a total 5.25 hides, and by implication 84 small virgates (because the 1124 crown holding was stated to be 6 small virgates (1.5 virgates in 1086) and St Edmundsbury was 10 small virgates in 1124 (2.5 virgates in 1086)). The total of yardlands in Clipston and Newbold in 1776 when the parish was enclosed was found to be 84[25]. The total number of virgates in 1284[26], at 80, is seemingly at variance with the earlier figures, but comparison between the values for 1124 (in small virgates) and those of 1284 shows that in 1284 the values were rounded to the nearest 5 for each individual estate, making an apparent loss of 4. The conclusion is that four different assessments taken in four different centuries over 700 years presented the same answer for Clipston and therefore all the assessors were looking at the same fully formed and unchanging townships.

Details of the Domesday and 1124 surveys help to unravel the relationship between Thornby, Chilcotes and Cold Ashby; Chilcotes is a lost vill now represented by a westward tongue of Thornby parish where the fields are called *chilcots*. Domesday assesses Thornby under William Peverel, as 1 hide belonging to Guilsborough manor and 0.5 hide under the jurisdiction of Naseby[27]. The count of Mortain held in Cold Ashby 0.5 hide and 1.5 hides entered next to each other[28] at the end of a group of manors that later became part of Dodford barony. In 1124 Thornby was rated at 1.5 hides of the fee of the earl of Leicester, 1 hide of the fee of Peverel and another 0.5 hide[29]. The last two are the Peverel estate of 1086. The Leicester lands of 1124 in this area normally had belonged to the count of Mortain. Evidently these 1.5 hides were the Domesday property entered under the count of Mortain; they were not part of Cold Ashby in 1124 (see below). The total hidage of Thornby was therefore 3.0.

23 Thorn and Thorn, 1–15i, 4–10, 8–10, 35–2.
24 VCH i pp. 383–4.
25 NRO ZA 1244.
26 *Feudal Aids* iv (1906) p. 11.
27 Thorn and Thorn 35–19b, 35–20.
28 Thorn and Thorn 18–50, 18–51.
29 VCH i, p. 380.

The assessments for Cold Ashby and Chilcotes in 1086 and 1124 are shown below (with the correction made for Thornby). Details of yardland holdings in 1230 are also given[30].

	Cold Ashby			*Chilcotes*		
	Coventry Abbey	*Count Mortain*	*William Peverel*	*Goeffrey la Guerche*	*Count Mortain*	*Total*
1086	2.5h	1/2h	1.5v	2.5v	1v	4 hides
1124	2.5h	3v	1v	0.5h	—	4 h
1230	38 y	10y	4y	8	[4?]	60 + 4? yardlands
Yardlands	*37.5*	*11.25*	*3.75*	*7.5*	*at 15 to a hide*	

It seems that 16 yardlands were taken to the hide, although none of the holdings is exactly correct, except for that of William Peverel, and the totals are superficially 4 hides equating to 60 yardlands, or 15 to the hide. Although the 1230 estates sizes are in fair agreement at 15 to the hide, a better relationship if established if 16 be taken, because the 'lost' virgate of Chilcotes would have been 4 small virgates, making the total to 64, ie an exact 16 yardlands to the hide.

This analysis would make Chilcotes part of Cold Ashby; it was presumably deserted and added to Thornby parish by 1230. A terrier of 1210 for Thornby indicates that the lands were not, however, part of Thornby field system, but Chilcotes township could have been in Thornby parish by then. The major part of Thornby being assessed as Cold Ashby in 1086 may imply that all three townships were originally in Cold Ashby, or maybe Domesday simply missed out the intended name (as it does for Strixton). The Pipewell cartulary implies that Chilcotes was part of Cold Ashby because entries for both are intermixed, whereas Thornby has its own separate entries.

Elkington, now deserted, belonged almost entirely to Pipewell Abbey soon after the mid twelfth-century. In 1086 there were three estates totalling 2 hides. The largest holding of 1 hide and 3 virgates was assessed at the same size in 1124 and appears in the Pipewell cartulary as 42 (small) virgates in *c.* 1220[31], from which it follows that there were 24 yardlands to the Domesday hide. The other two holdings are given as 4 and 2 small virgates in 1124, which strictly should have been 4.5 and 1.5, but they had been rounded off to whole numbers still giving the correct total of 6, making up the grand total given in the cartulary as 48.

	Count of Mortain	*Guy de Raimbeaucurt*	*Geoffrey de la Guerche (Welford estate)*	*Total*
1086	1 hide 3 virgates Hugh the sheriff	3/4 virgate Hugh de Keynes	1/4 virgate Nigel d'Aubeny	2 hides
1124	1.5 h. 1 large v.	4 small virgates	2 small virgates	
1230	42 virgates	[4.5]	[1.5]	48 virgates

30 BL Cott. Calig. A xii, ff.128–39.
31 BL MS Cott. Calig. A xiii, f.19.

The details of hides and yardlands for Harlestone estates are as below[32].

	Owner	*Size*
1086	The king	0.5 hide
	Count Mortain	0.5 bovate (1/16H?)
	Count Mortain	1.5
	William Peverel	1.5
Total		*3.5 (plus 0.0625?)*

Henry Braye states[33] that there are '27 yardlands per hide and 1 yardland outside the hide', of which he had half the extra one and the abbot of St James had half from the king's fee. This presumably means there were 28 yardlands in all, so 8 yardlands correspond to a hide of 1086. Each estate should contain to 4, 12 and 12 yardlands which by 1300 had become 4.5 belonging to the king, 2 to the Berkhampstead fee, 10 Dodford fee, 10.5 Newbottle fee and 1 extra.

The low number of 8 to the hide (*cf* 24 at Watford and Elkington) probably reflects that the 1086 assessors were aware that the yardlands of Harlestone were large (66 acres, see Gazetteer), and that to obtain a uniform hide from vill to vill the number of yardlands in a hide should be low in this case.

Watford was assessed at 2 hides in 1086[34] and 4 hides in 1124[35]. A survey of 1276[36] lists the names of all the holders of yardlands which total 96 5/8 (for 96) yardlands. The parish contained the townships of Murcott and Silsworth as well as Watford (see below, chapter 8); Watford and Murcott each contained 24 yardlands in 1705 (glebe). However Watford was half enclosed by that date[37]. The total for Watford was therefore probably 48 yardlands, leaving 24 for Silsworth. It seems that there were 24 yardlands to the hide in 1124; very probably the 1086 assessors recorded Watford township as 2 hides and omitted the subordinate townships.

The values for Weston by Welland and Sutton Bassett are of interest for a long continuity. Weston was twice the size of Sutton in 1086 (4 and 2 hides), and both were shared between the same two owners in the ratios of two-thirds: one third. At enclosure in 1802 the townships had 50 and 25 yardlands, maintaining a precise relationship over 7 centuries.

Unvirgated land

Hemington had unvirgated land which the Domesday assessors accounted, as shown by the following analysis.

There were two manors at Hemington, one each belonging to Peterborough and Ramsey abbeys. In 1086 each was assessed at 3 hides. A 1276 rental of the Ramsey manor accounts for 19.5 yardlands. The demesne is not then mentioned but the *inland* was 79 acres in 1518. At this date the acreage of open-field land, said to be 10 'villein' yardlands, was 328.25 acres, so there were *c.* 33 acres to the yardland, which agrees well

32 Thorn and Thorn 1–19, 18–22, 18–43, 35–3d.

33 *c.* 1300; Dorothy S Willis, *The Estate Book of Henry de Bray, c.*1289–1340, Camden Soc., 3rd ser., 27 (1916) p. 9.

34 Thorn and Thorn 57–62.

35 *VCH* i p. 387.

36 *Cal. Close Rolls Edward I, 1272–9*, pp. 326–31.

37 In 1644, Bridges ii, p. 585; close names occur in 1648, NRO BHK 248, shown on NRO map 3161 (1740).

enough with the 36 acres stated in 1240[38]. From this the demesne can be taken as equivalent to 2 yardlands, so the Ramsey manor was 21.5 yardlands in all, concording with the stated 3 hides of 7 yardlands each in 1240.

For the Peterborough manor, shared between three knights[39], there is no overall description, but an extent made in 1290 gives one of the three fees as having 0.5 yardlands each of free and villein land[40]. So the whole manor would have 3 yardlands, assuming the three fees were equal in size.

Ramsey Abbey	Demesne	2
	Free	8.5 *including*
	Abbey of Thorney	1
	Priory of Hinchingbrook	1.5
	Villein	11.5
		21.5
Peterborough Abbey	Free	1.5
	Villein	1.5
		3.0
Total	*24.0*	

The total calculated agrees well with the 24.5 given for the township in 1588[41]. The apparent small size of the three Peterborough holdings is most surprising and does not tally with equal-sized holdings stated for both abbeys in 1086 and 1124. The matter is resolved by consideration of the large acreage, 224, that went with the de Hemington manor in 1290. Normally this would be stated as being demesne and probably given in yardlands; at 36 acres to the yardland this is equivalent to 6.2 yardlands. If each of the three fees had the same amount then there would have been land equivalent to 18.6 yardlands. If this be added to the 3 virgates above, the Peterborough holding was 21.5 yardlands, exactly the same as that of Ramsey abbey.

Such a large area of unvirgated land has not been encountered before in Northamptonshire, and presumably was once (seignurial) woodland or waste that had been assarted and brought into cultivation after the vill had been virgated, but before 1086. This difference from the rest of the county may be caused by three factors, the dominating monastic ownership, the settlement of Danes in the ninth century, or the presence of woodland and assarts. The monastic influence seems the least likely, there being no particular reason why a monastery should have a different type of field arrangement. Danish settlement was widespread between Northampton and Market Harborough, yet in that region regular numeric relationships exist between yardlands and hides, as already quoted for Clipston, Cold Ashby, Elkington, Thornby and Watford. The presence of former woodland most likely accounts for the invirgated land at Hemington, there being large areas of assarted intake made after the township was virgated.

38 Hart and Lyons, *Cart. Rams.* iii p. 211; 1276 extent, Buccleuch roll C10 in NRO X387A; demesne survey 1517–18, Buccleuch 25–59 in X8678.
39 Mellows *Henry of Pytchley*, pp.lii-liv.
40 NRO Buccleuch 25–71 in X889.
41 *Id.* 18–156 in X388.

Reduced assessments

Round has fully discussed the occurrence of 'reduced assessments'. The county was rated at 3,200 hides for taxation purposes by the early tenth century, and had been reduced to 2,663.5 hides by *c.* 1075; this was further reduced to 1244 hides before 1086[42]. More detail has been provided by Hart[43]. At the vill level the reduction operates in the Domesday 1086 assessments so that, in the south-west of the county, a return of say 2 or 4 hides would have recorded that there were 5 or 10 ploughlands. Round believed that the ploughlands represented the earlier 'unreduced' assessment. More complex ratios are evident in other parts of the county[44].

Hart analysed the figures in more detail and came to the conclusion that the ploughland represented the pre-1086 hidation in the south-west of the county and the Danish carucation in the north east[45]. Original Saxon charters for Badby (dated 944) grant 30 hides (in several townships) that are found listed as 30 ploughlands in 1086[46].

Kettering was rated at 10 hides (called *cassati*) in a royal grant to Peterborough abbey in 956, and the same in 1086[47]. A survey of *c.* 1130 stated that there were 40 yardlands with 22 plough teams and a demesne of 4 ploughteams; 40 yardlands are described in an account roll of 1310[48]. The ratio here is 4 yardlands (virgates) to the hide, as normally found in other counties. For most estates in Northamptonshire this would have been described in 1086 as 4 hides, there being 10 yardlands to the hide. A fieldbook of Kettering made in 1739 gives detail of the precise structure of the township. All the furlongs had a regular tenurial cycle divided into four parts called hides. Three of them had 10 'yardland parts' (lands, equivalent to yardlands). The fourth hide generally had 13.5 lands because 3.5 lands had been added to it, but the other 10 lands were regular. The total of 47.25 yardlands was made up of these 43.5 plus another 3.75 'promiscuously scattered in the hides' (see the Gazetteer for more detail). There was therefore a regular cycle of 40 yardlands with other irregular parts added to it. The cycle represents 40 yardlands in 1739, in 1310, in 1130, and grouped in fours is the same as the 10 ploughlands of 1086 and the 10 *cassati* of 956. The correlation between the 10 'cassati' of 956 and the later yardlands shows that the yardland assessment of townships can be taken back to at least the mid-tenth century. The ploughlands of Domesday are the number of yardlands divided by 4 in this case.

Recent interpretation of Domesday assessments

A 5-hide unit was first noted by Round as being a common underlying assessment of townships in many parts of the country. In Northamptonshire the 5-unit occurs in the ploughland figures, especially in the western half of the county. Round assumed that such regularly occurring units were artificial, and therefore the 1086 assessments of manors (and hence townships) could not be realistic valuations.

42 J. H. Round in *VCH* i pp. 258–63.
43 Hart *Hidation* 1970, p. 25, giving studies of each hundred and of particular estates, pp. 47–77.
44 VCH i pp. 263–6.
45 Hart *Hidation* 1970, p. 28.
46 *Id.* pp. 35–7.
47 W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 1885–9, no. 943; Thorn and Thorn 1–17. Note Hart (*Hidation* 1970, p. 34) suggests that the charter, existing in a 12th-century copy, may have had its assessment modified to be the same as 1086, If true then the correlation of yardlands in the following discussion can be taken back to 1086 and not 956.
48 Quoted in F. W. Bull *A Sketch of the history of Kettering*, 1891, pp. 4–5 from Society of Antiquaries MS 60; 1310 rental NRO F(M) 233.

In the last few years, the Domesday figures of several counties have received statistical analysis using computerised techniques. Some discussion has arisen whether the parameters (hides, ploughlands etc) are real evaluations of the resources of each estate in 1086 or whether they are interdependent and largely artificial fiscal assessments, not describing the value of an estate or manor at the time. McDonald and Snooks[49] considered that Round, and most writers after him, were wrong in assuming hidation was artificial and unrelated to the size of a manor. They considered hidage was based on the capacity to pay, being assessed at the manorial level, the hundred and county values being calculated by addition of each separate manorial amount. Different rates of taxation found in different counties were explained by the operation of 'beneficial hidation', so that the number of hides was reduced in those cases where it was intended to give sime kind of 'tax rebate'.

Hamshere[50] replied that the assessment data are highly inter-related, doubting that they could be used mathematically in the way that McDonald and Snooks had used them. Hamshere did not believe that hidation was free of artificiality and built from the manorial level, but that it was imposed from above, a hidage ratable value being given to a county and filtered down by hundreds, estates, manors and townships. He reconsidered the '5-hide unit' discovered by Round, noting there are no fractional hides on estates rated above 15 hides but many fractions occur on estates with smaller hidages. The hidage therefore was imposed from above.

Leaver[51] noted that since vills were not independently assessed then there was doubt about the validity of the regression curves produced by McDonald and Snooks. He, too, queried whether Round was correct to see the manor as a subdivision of a uniform multiple of a 5-hide assessment for whole vills. Each 5 hide unit may have been for military taxation initially (1 man being provided) then changed to a tax for raising an army against the Danes, in which case it could be an ancient unit of assessment. He queried whether William I was operating an inherited ancient fiscal system or whether his subjects were taxed on an up-to-date assessment based on a valuation of assets.

The Northamptonshire evidence given in the above examples show that there is a significant relationship between the number of yardlands and the Domesday assessments of townships. The Domesday hides are not therefore meaninglessly artifical fiscal 'guesses' of what a holding was worth, as shown by the careful valuing of a 57 yardland estate at Clipston as 3 1/2 hides and 1/4 virgate. The measurements were intended to be precise. The Domesday commissioners could have asked the representatives of each estate how many yardlands it contained and then calculated the hidage, normally taking 8, 10, 12, or 16 etc., to the hide. Such a process explains the existence of individual estates with fractions of hides, since many of them would be of irregular size by previous free-market processes of sale and purchase. However since these hides relate to the number of yardlands in Northamptonshire, it is unlikely that they were created in the eleventh century but were a fundamental part of the township and field-structure. That

49 J. McDonald and G. D. Snooks, 'Were the tax assessments of Domesday England artificial?, the case of Essex', *Ec. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. 38 (1985) pp. 352–72.

50 J.D. Hamshere 'Regressing Domesday Book: tax assesssment of Domesday England' *Ec. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. 40, 1987, pp. 247–51 and 'Domesday Book, cliniometric assessment and taxation assessment' pp. 262–66.

51 R.A Leaver 'Five hides in ten counties; a contribution to the regressional data '*Ec. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. 41, 1988, pp. 525–542.

is to say that when a field system was set out a township was allotted as 4 hides (or say 48 yardlands) and the fields laid and made to fit accordingly.

In other words the fiscal structure recorded at Domesday was already established in the Saxon period and was an integral part of the structure of the field-system. Any artificiality or regularity in the hidage of a township was already there, created when the vill and its fields were first laid out, or when they had been reorganised in a deliberate planned manner some time well before 1066. The evidence would seem, surprisingly, to support both recent arguments; the 1086 assessments were intended to be realistic valuations of individual holdings and at the same time the hidage of the whole vill had previously been allotted as a simple round-figure number, presumably as the result of an hierarchical edict, and probably connected with the organisation of vills into hundreds.

More analysis has recently been made of the significance of the ploughland in other counties[52]. Ploughlands have not been used much in regional surveys of Domesday geography, partly because it is not clear what they mean and because the values assigned to individual estates do not add up to the stated total. In northern England the hidage and ploughlands are identical even if the manor was waste, which gave rise to the interpretation that ploughlands were an earlier assessment. It has been suggested that they were new (1086) assessments of the real value of estates. The present tense is generally used in Domesday to describe them and they seem to assess more than just the arable lands. So in Berkshire there were extra resources of sheep grazing on the chalk downs, and in Holderness fishing was an additional source of income. Higham[53] has suggested that ploughs and ploughlands are a measure of what arable land was available.

The Northamptonshire ploughland values (Table 9) do not support the newly postulated interpretations. The work of Round and Hart suggesting that they are old assessments for this county still seems fairly convincing. Table 9 conclusively shows that the number of yardlands is intimately connected to the hidage yet no underlying numeric pattern can be seen for the ploughland: yardland relationship away from the south-west. Neither do topographical considerations of potential resources seem to have any consistent effect. If resources were being assessed then the lower level of ploughlands would be expected in the opened-up, arable countryside of the west of the county, devoid of unused pasture and without woodland to assart. However, this is the region with the highest ratio of ploughlands to the hide. The north-east, with its considerable woodland, and the Peterborough region with 9,000 acres of fen, should have a high potential value. The reverse is found to be true in terms of ploughlands. At the township level there is no high ploughland value in those places where the later yardland area is high, suggesting that 'waste' land was available in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This is highlighted by Ravensthorpe and Teeton with their disparate yardland sizes (80 and 25 acres, Table 8), assessed at 5.5 and 4 ploughlands in 1086 that make no acknowledgement to any potential resource at Ravensthorpe.

Ploughlands are not used after 1086. Monastic and secular cartularies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for Peterborough, Ramsey and Clopton estates continue to refer to hides, the number of component yardlands, and the acreages of the yardlands.

52 Sally P.J. Harvey 'Taxation and the ploughland an Domesday Book' pp. 86–103 in P. Sawyer, ed., *Domesday Book a reassessment* Arnold 1985.

53 N. J. Higham, 'Settlement, land use and Domesday ploughlands', *Landscape History* 12, 1990, pp. 33–44.

These were the units that mattered locally, being related to rents and taxation; ploughlands are not recorded.

The low number of hides in Northamptonshire townships is consistent with the studies that have shown the county to have had a reduction in its fiscal assessment before 1086. This reduction may have been to allow for temporary impoverishment. When a recovery had been made it was presumably intended to raise more taxes, so that the burden was evenly applied over all the country. In this case it would be necessary to record the hidage values for each estate before reduction so that they could be restored; the ploughlands may well be those values. The 'old' hidage was never restored, since the Domesday values continue to be referred to until the fourteenth century.

Chapter 7

Land use and resources

Northamptonshire has three main types of landscape. The most widespread is the champagne area, where arable agriculture was dominant. The forest regions of Rockingham, Salcey and Whittlewood had more than 70 percent of their area covered by woodland and in a few cases, like King's Cliffe, the vills were almost surrounded by woods. Arable was important to the vills, but did not have the same constraints as the champagne area. The third region is the Soke of Peterborough, which had access to an extensive marsh in Borough Great Fen as well as a tract of high heath ground.

The resources of each parish vary regionally according to where they lie; whether located near the meadows of a river or in a forest. Wollaston, lying on the slopes of the Nene Valley, had 566 acres of grass, most of it being riverine meadow (20 percent of its total area[1]) and no woodland. Benefield had no river meadow but more than half of its 6,000 acres was unploughed, much of it being wood. In Rockingham Forest, woods and deer parks covered three-quarters of the area of Brigstock, the remainder being open field.

Probably in the early days of Saxon settlement, when farms and vills became established, most places had areas of arable, wood and waste, which allowed them to have a self-contained, mixed farming economy with adequate resources of fodder and fuel. As population increased more land was taken in for arable with clearance of wood and rough grazing areas. By the high Middle Ages there were shortages of resources within many champagne townships and various arrangements were used to overcome the difficulties.

Arable

For parishes in the central Nene Valley and most of those west and north-west of Northampton all the land was cleared and ploughed leaving as permanent grass relatively small areas alongside brooks and rivers. The physical evidence of ridge-and-furrow being so widespread does not prove that the whole area was ploughed in the same year; – there could have been a long rotation period with some land set to grass for several years. However the champagne parishes with a high proportion of arable show from their documents that all the potentially arable area was ploughed either on a two or three-year crop rotation before the end of the thirteenth century; there was no long period of fallow or grassing down. Examples are Braybrooke 1198, Thornby[2] and Muscott[3] *c.* 1230, Hemington and Clopton *c.* 1250, Brockhall *c.* 1270[4], Brixworth

1 Hall *Wollaston*, 1977, p. 143.
2 BL Add. Ch. 22, 470.
3 NRO Spencer 1009.
4 NRO Spencer 1021.

c. 1270[5], Naseby *c.* 1290; later well documented cases being Barnwell *c.* 1350 and Wollaston 1370[6]. It seems that the areas marked as arable on all the figures drawn in this volume were in regular use by the thirteenth century.

In the Nene Valley continuous arable usage was not much changed until enclosure. There was some introduction of grass after 1400, mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, amounting to about 10 percent of the arable area in the riverine townships, and in the west of the county it was as high as 40 percent. The formation of this grass has been explained already (Chapter 2).

Land use in recent centuries can be studied from the data provided by field books. The extent of the vill closes, the arable, leys and meadow, are all described and can be readily mapped. Examples have been published for Hardingstone (1660[7]), Ashby St Ledgers (1715, Figure 2) and Brockhall (1606[8]). Field books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries confirm how extensive ploughing had been, but there had been significant changes since the Middle Ages, with contraction of arable at the township peripheries as well as encroachment by village closes on arable immediately adjacent to settlements. The extent of cow pastures and leys can be seen on the plans. The three examples are typical of open-field townships in the champagne part of the county.

The 'all arable' townships produced large quantities of grain, beans and peas, but most other resources were extremely scarce. Rough grazing could, to a certain extent, be satisfied by the fallow, but it was with apparent concern about lack of adequate pasture that a 1526 survey of Crick noted 'in respect of commons they have none except what they pay rent for' (the fallow of the yardland arable or hired pieces of demesne meadow[9]).

Meadow and pasture

Although the arable lands of the open fields were the most dominant part of the system, meadow and pasture were important too. Meadow laid near rivers and major streams and was liable to annual flooding. Pasture was, in the early days, unploughable grassy ground by the side of springs and small upland valleys. It also included woodland pasture, unploughed grounds next to and among the medieval forests. Later, after the fourteenth century, pasture included leys and larger pieces of converted arable, the cow pastures.

Meadow was divided into strips and allotted in exactly the same way as the lands were. Individual divisions are not visible on the ground because they were unploughed and no ridges or furrows developed to leave a physical record. Sections of meadows were often marked by holes (Wollaston) or stones (Little Bowden) to help identification at hay time. Animals were kept out of meadows intended for hay, and after the crop was gathered the meadows became open and commonable.

At Wollaston, in 1788, officers of the manor called *meadowmen* marked out meadows into strips a few days before hay time. Previously, at Whitsun, they had put boughs into holes that marked divisions called hides (the holes would have been difficult to find later when the grass had grown tall). The same method was described in 1647; a dispute

5 *Ancient Deeds* iv, (London 1902), nos. 5019, 5025.
6 Hall *Wollaston*, 1977, pp. 141–2; more references will be found in the Gazetteer.
7 Hall *Hardingstone* (1980), p. 124 (fig. 2).
8 Hall 'Fieldwork and documentary evidence' 1984, pp. 43–68; p. 48.
9 PRO E 36 179.

between two meadowmen, showed how important it was to get the meadows marked out accurately, and how expensive it was do do it. The bailiff wrote to the lord:

> John Baringham was apoynted by my father but is so far shorte of . . . George Curtis who is so redie in the medo and so perfect in lay of the sorth [swarth] with my help so no one can say there is any mistake. John Baringham could not lay them he gave George Curtis 5s. a day to help me[10]

A court order of 1633 ensured that no one was to pull up a meadow knot (a 'bough' or branch used as marker) unless a hole was made where it had been[11]. Holes were used as markers elsewhere; the glebe arable lands at Cranford St. Andrews, in 1628, were identified by 'every land . . . being marked on ye hades ends . . . with a round hole digged in ye ground neare a foot deepe[12]. In 1261, at Wollaston the meadows were in the charge of the hayward who had to attend when they were cut[13].

Some meadows had their strips let out each year by lottery and were often called 'lot meadows'. At Hardingstone in *c.* 1660 the meadows had recently been laid out in a different manner to that used previously[14]:

> here be your lots as they were lately changed for the laying of it together, next you shall see your lots how your ancestors held it before

The former divisions that had been assigned by lottery were then listed. Each of the five meadows was divided into 8 parts called hides, and each hide divided into 8 parts. Much more commonly the meadows were assigned in a fixed regular sequence, as recorded at Ashby St Ledgers in 1715 and Finedon 1739.

At Warkworth there were three townships that shared a meadow called Ash Meadow, for which there were complex mowing arrangements[15]. The meadow was marked out into 15 portions on the Saturday after midsummer day by 2 meadowmen from Warkworth, 2 from Overthorpe and 1 each from Grimsbury and Nethercote. Each portion, which corresponded to pieces (lots) cut from an arrow, had 8 mowers allotted to it. The meadow men had entertainment provided by the lord, 3 gallons of ale being given to them after they had measured the portions. The meadows were then marked out by treading a path between the divisions, after which beef and 3 more gallons of ale were provided. On Monday the portions were mowed, after the lots were drawn. In the evening a feast was provided with cheese, cheese-cakes and new milk cheese with more ale.

Where a township had insufficient meadow, arrangements were sometimes made with places that had ample meadow and hay resources. The example of Bozeat having detached meadow at Grendon is described below.

Dodford had little meadow in its township, but had meadow in Brockhall, where there was more available alongside a major tributary of the Nene. The meadow of the lord of Dodford is referred to in fifteenth-century terriers of Brockhall[16]. This meadow may have been simply a purchase or a very old arrangement made possible because

10 Hall 1977, *Wollaston* pp. 144, 149.
11 Hall *Wollaston* 1977, p. 145.
12 NRO Cranford glebe terriers.
13 Hall *Wollaston* 1977, p. 144.
14 Hall 'Hardingstone' 1980, p. 123 from NRO B(D)85.
15 Bridges i p. 219.
16 NRO Spencer 1056; Th 183; see the Gazetteer.

both townships belonged to the same estate; in 1086 the Count of Mortain held them and Brockhall church was claimed to be a chapelry of Dodford in *c.* 1230.

Weedon Bec, next to Dodford, was similarly short of adequate meadow, and an arrangement was made with the lord of Stowe to rent some of his meadow that ran in a long tongue on the north east of Weedon parish. The rent is listed as income in the 1327 survey of Stowe (inquisition) described in Chapter 1, and as a payment in Weedon account roll of 1304–5[17]. At the time of the enclosure of Weedon (1774) this meadow was transferred from Dodford and became part of Weedon parish.

Hemington, lying on a high clayland plateau, well away from the river, had insufficient pasture. A 1290 survey shows that the demesne pasture (10 acres) was all in Hemington, and that another 14 acres of meadow was dispersed in various other townships, including Barnwell, Warmington, Southwick and Yarwell (Gazetteer).

Enlargement of arable land often caused encroachment on common pasture. At Cold Ashby in *c.* 1230 Eustace de Watford had created an arable furlong next to the road leading to Welford; this land should have been part of a common pasture called Syfletemor. The abbot of Pipewell, the principal owner of Cold Ashby, made an agreement with Eustace de Watford. He was allowed to keep the furlong beyond the moor, so making permanent the reduction of common grazing land[18].

Borough Fen, lying at the north-eastern tip of the county, was a large tract of marshland, once extending to about 9,000 acres. Although often wet and marshy in winter it provided good summer grazing, as well as supplying turves for fuel, willows for basket making and rushes for thatching. The fen was commonable to all the parishes and townships within the Nassaburg Hundred[19] as well as Peterborough abbey manors farther away. Turves were carried to Pilsgate early in the fifteenth century[20], and 32 Kettering cows were tended 'in the marsh' in 1310[21].

The Nassaburgh Hundred, otherwise the Soke of Peterborough, is one of the county's distinctive regions, and it is convenient to consider its economy as a whole. The adjacent parishes of Easton on the Hill and Collyweston were similar, and link it with Rockingham Forest. Like the Rockingham Forest villages, the Soke differs from the western and central parts of the county. Its geology is principally limestone, which contained sand on high ground where the rock has become decalcified. Most of the high land was left as a dry sandy heath and used for common grazing. There were also meadows with common grazing rights by the rivers Nene and Welland, and south of Maxey island was Westing meadow. As well as these plentiful resources, which were assigned to each adjacent township, there were unlimited grazing-, fishing-, and fowling-rights in Borough Great Fen for all the parishes of the Soke, as already mentioned.

These resources made the Soke townships very different from the pasture-starved places in the west. The differing land types were used to their best advantage in all cases. The heath ground was left as permanent pasture and not used for arable. The rich limestone-based loams of the river slopes were used entirely for arable; there were no leys or unploughed ground within the block of arable, and very few balks (see Helpston

17 Eton College Records 27–146; the catalogue dates this document to 1359 (32–3 Edw III) but reference to the *earl* of Lancaster shows it to date from 33 Edw 1.

18 NRO FH 145 f.135 from BL Cott. Calig. A xiii.

19 Bridges ii p. 489.

20 BL Cott. Faust. B iii f.156.

21 NRO F(M) 233.

in the Gazetteer). Only sheep grazed the fallow, and this was primarily to supply it with manure, not because the animals were desperate for somewhere to graze. Kine were not allowed in arable fields but grazed only in the meadows and Borough Fen.

All this provided a viable economy involving transhumance which probably accounts for the late enclosure of most of the area. Upon any enclosure there would have been limitation of farms to fixed parts of the township and loss of valuable common grazing rights. The ownership of the area also had an influence on the agriculture. Most of the Soke belonged to Peterborough Abbey until 1539–41 since when the land has operated as three estates, those of the Dean and Chapter of the Reformation Cathedral, and as the private estates of the families of Cecil and Fitzwilliam.

The estates could control land within a township and throughout the area in ways not available to small yardland freeholds and tenancies elsewhere. Yardlands themselves disappeared at an early date and in the case of some of the Fitzwilliam property, farms were made up of lands from more than one township. The confusion became so great that the townships of Helpston, Etton, Woodcroft, Glinton, Peakirk and Northborough were all enclosed at the same time (the Award was made in 1819). Even the parish boundary between Etton and Helpston was changed, being redesigned as straight lines with right-angle bends, ignoring the ancient open-field boundaries that coincided with the original parishes.

The settlement pattern is rather dispersed, with several townships and hamlets belonging to one parish. Notably large are Peterborough with Newark, Eastfield, Dogsthorpe and Longthorpe; Castor with Milton, Ailsworth, Sutton and Upton; and Barnack with Pilsgate, Walcote and Southorpe. This reflects the earlier multiplicity of Saxon sites and is comparable with the Towcester region. In both cases the explanation seems to be the presence of a large land-owner, removing any impetus for small lords to create their own territory in the form of a small township. The geographically widespread resources of grazing would also resist the creation of nucleated independant townships.

Wood

The three extensively wooded areas of Northamptonshire represent the three medieval royal forests of Rockingham, Salcey and Whittlewood. In 1086 there were remnants of another extensive area of woodland, the *Bruneswald* that laid along the eastern border of the county from Bozeat to Warmington, and spread into the counties of Bedford and Huntingdon. Its name still survives at Newton Bromswold. A further smaller area of woodland occurred on the high clay ground between Northampton and Kettering, considered to be part of Rockingham Forest in the thirteenth century. It survives as as woods of Mawsley, Badsaddle, Wythemale, Hardwick and Sywell, and once spread into Mears Ashby and Walgrave.

Nearly all the townships lying near medieval woods have tongues of land reaching to them so as to obtain a share of the resources. The west of the county had no extensive woodland, but a few places retained small areas of wood within their townships. Stowe, Farthingstone and Weedon Bec shared a contiguous block of wood (the Weedon part was pulled up in the nineteenth century). Dodford and Grimscote (in Cold Higham) also had portions of this wood. Places such as Badby, Everdon, Helmdon, Maidford and Preston Capes each had single pieces of their own wood. Analysis of furlong names

reveals the former presence of several other small areas, such as *shetshawe* in East Haddon.

The documentation of the Royal forests is extensive and that for Rockingham after 1500 has been fully described by Pettit[22]. It is not intended to give any detailed account here except in so far as the woods relate to the open fields and their economy. There are three types; townships that had their own woodland within the fields, those that shared wood, those that had their own wood but detached from the township and lying elsewhere. The extent of late Saxon woodland, now no longer surviving, can be worked out from the furlong names and tenurial details recorded in field books.

Townships containing woodland

In forest areas the woodland, as well as being a resource of timber, had a major effect on the arable economy, which made the villages rather different from the champagne regions. Parts of the royal forests were used exclusively by the crown or its officers, but large areas were used by the forest villages for commoning 'great beasts'.

The lord of Apethorpe and his tenants, in 1551, could pasture cattle in Rockingham Forest without number, provided they were marked with a brand. Sheep were not allowed to pasture in the woodland but could be kept overnight in wet weather. Swine had to be ringed. The arable was reckoned to be good for corn, and commoning was restricted to supply sufficient manure, unstinted commoning being bad for the land. Nassington woodland rights were similar. Details of pasturing rights and related matters for King's Cliffe in 1592 are given in the Gazetteer.

The availability of extra grazing resources made the forest villages more prosperous than champagne districts. Fuel was free, and the farmers could have large numbers of cattle, horses and pigs. Arable was not overstocked, and animals were allowed on it only for manuring to best advantage.

The woods at Pipewell were not maintained as permanent forest, but were cut down from the time of the founding of the monastery in 1143 until the fourteenth century, and the land converted to arable. In 1143 timber from the wood was used for monastic buildings at the East Grange and the West Grange, along with a brewhouse, a hospice, a kitchen each for the convent and the abbot, and an infirmary each for the monks and the convent,[23].

Lords of the manor bought wood from Pipewell in the early fourteenth century, among them Walter de Langton, bishop of Chester, lord treasurer of England, who had timber for his residence at Thorpe Waterville. John de Hotot, with the assent of the abbot, 'beautified' and rebuilt his manor-house at Brampton (Ash,[24]). Henry de Stokes, cleric, built and repaired his house at Stoke and built his church at Ravensthorpe[25]. Thomas Latimer of Braybrooke enlarged his great chamber at Braybrooke and abbot Stephen Brown of Pipewell built new parsonages at Desborough and Harlestone. Brother Thomas Carpenter of Pipewell made a hall and chamber for one of the Pipewell granges, and used more wood for barns, sheepfolds, a windmill and a watermill[26].

22 Pettit *Royal Forests*.
23 NRO FH 147 f.2.
24 Bridges ii p. 281.
25 Bridges i p. 536.
26 NRO FH 147. f.3.

Sir Thomas Tresham cut down woods at Rushton in *c.* 1598, recording sales to people from a variety of places, especially, as would be expected, those with no woodland of their own. Henry Boune of Addington, took timber from a half-acre of Ladywood, Henry Wo[o]d of Woodford took 20 poles. Dyckons of Aldwincle had 10 poles, and 20 poles were taken by Hopkyns of Denford. There were other sales to persons from unspecified places. Another account lists wood bought by the Raunds manorial lords Robert Catlyn and Robert Gage in 1593[27].

These examples show the supply side of wood management (perhaps it was really depredation) in Rockingham Forest, resources going to the corn-growing parishes. At Raunds a manorial court order was made to ensure that every tenant had sufficient wood stored for the winter; Ladywood was perhaps one of the places where it was purchased.

Parishes adjacent and lying among the three medieval forests were concerned with woodland management and appointed officers. At Whittlewood, Silverstone manorial court had a regular woodward officer who presented offences 1426–36[28].

Woodland administration details are described by Pettit[29], the local court dealing with offences and orders being called the *swanimote*. A court held at King's Cliffe in 1505 presented that William Fermor of Woodnewton cut green trees within the forest, and Robert Lowther, rector of Blatherwyke cut down an elm large enough to fill 6 carts. The parker of Cliffe, the foresters of Morehay Lawn, Westhay, and the woodwards of *Elreswood, Estowod*, Collyweston Wood, Laxton wode, and Fyneshade reported that 'all was well'[30]. Court orders at the King's Cliffe swanimote of *c.* 1592 are given in the Gazetteer.

Easton Maudit has woods called Horn Wood and the Hicket, that were once part of Salcey Forest. The old name for the Hicket was the Thicket, first mentioned in 1314 as Thykkehat[31]. Horn Wood covers 60 acres and once had a wall around it. In the centre are the remains of a lodge house, which when excavated in 1965 (pers. comm. Graham Clayson) revealed a rectangular structure associated with thirteenth-century pottery.

The woods belonged to the Easton Maudit and Strixton estate of Winemar in 1086[32] and was 3 by 2 furlongs, which is exactly 60 acres. Custody of Hornwood and the adjacent assarts was granted to the Abbey of St James, Northampton, in 1255[33]. Hence the wood was sometimes referred to as the Abbot's Wood in the sixteenth century and later[34].

Much of the high ground of Easton was or had been woodland as late as the thirteenth century according to grants mentioning assarts near to Horn Wood[35]. The presence of iron-smelting sites, radio-carbon dated to the thirteenth century, farther south confirms the presence of woodland[36] and the furlong names of Brerheg, Eldehay,

27 BL Add. Man. 39,836 ff.87–8; f.259.
28 NRO Duchy of Lancaster court 15 Eliz 1 in X707; XYZ 1390, m.17; XYZ 1391 m.5.
29 Pettit *Royal Forests*, pp. 18–33.
30 NRO Bru. E. xxiii.2.
31 NRO XYZ 1784.
32 Thorn and Thorn 40–2; Round VCH i. p. 376.
33 BL Harl. Ch. 56 F 1.
34 NRO LB 39 m.2; Bridges ii 163.
35 BL Harl. Ch. 53 C 39; 56 F 1.
36 D. Hall, 'The excavation of an iron-smelting site at Easton Maudit, Northamptonshire', *Beds. Archaeol. J.*, 16 (1983) 91–5; for a distribution of ironworking sites see D. Hall 'The countryside of the South-east Midlands and Cambridgeshire' in D, Miles (ed.) *The Romano-British Countryside*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 103 (1982) pp. 337–50.

Hertewell, Stockwelle, Stub and Wold further attest to an extensive area of cleared woodland. The 1255 grant also refers to woodland belonging to William de Wolaston, lord of one of the Wollaston manors. It seems that other lords and manors had rights, or had made purchases, in Easton, which was the main source of wood for the area.

The abbot of St James cut down part of Horn wood in 1527 and the lord of Easton, John Veer, earl of Oxford, noted that the abbot's predecessors used to give timber from 1 acre of wood for the right of access over Easton ground. At an earlier felling in 1515 the abbots's surveyor, Robert Belchier, had paid £6 13s. 4d. to the earl's steward, Sir Edward Montagu, for the ancient right[37]. The management of this part of Salcey Forest is similar to other woodlands, with a regular cycle of felling part of the timber (a section was called a sale) arranged by local gentry acting on behalf of distant landlords. By 1544 the wood was property the Duchy of Lancaster, presumably via appropriation from St James' Abbey. The Duchy tenant at Higham Ferrers, Thomas Rudd, was later in possession, and in 1572 he felled the wood. Christopher Yelverton, lord of Easton, recalling his manorial rights, noted that Thomas Rudd paid 1 acre of the wood for passing over the ground of Easton.

The Duchy of Lancaster made a survey of Horne Wood in 1623 sending John Gage, of Raunds, deputy steward, Thomas Jennyson and Thomas Rolte 'to repair to Horne Wood in Bozeat and Easton, parcell of your manor of Higham Ferrers in the tenure of Thomas Rudd'[38]. They found:

> diverse and sondrye small runted spyer trees ... very prediudicial unto growth of underwood ... fytt ... for [no] other use than to make hovell parts and rafters for hovells.

They thought that 200 of them could be spared for staddels and they were only worth 10s. In woods of the neighbourhood all 'runted spyers' were cut down to let the underwood grow. In 1633 the wood was in the tenure of Christopher Yelverton who paid a rent of 43s. yearly[39]. When he received licence to empark Easton, Horn Wood was disafforested with the rest of manor[40].

There were common rights in many areas of woodland, as well as the obvious use (usually by the lords) for timber. A dispute, in 1522, between the inhabitants of Lowick and landowners of Aldwincle about the commons and woods that laid between them illustrates some of the uses[41]. The following items, taken from depositions made by the older inhabitants, show that at different times the woods were used for pasturing horses, cattle, and sheep, as at Apethorpe and King's Cliffe.

One of the areas claimed by Lowick was Bought Wood lying between Breche corner and Titchmarsh Wood. Master Chambers of Aldwincle put his own bays and sheep there and kept out Lowick animals. The villagers went to the earl of Wiltshire at Drayton (the lord) who told them to impound animals found in Bought Wood. Twenty loads of wood were delivered to Drayton out of the part of Bought Wood butting on Langhill and Collys Wood.

Lowick also had the common and ground called Bentley, recently enclosed, Thomas Watts of Aldwincle used to sell great oaks out of Langhill Wood to Thomas Montagu,

37 NRO LB 61 m.4.
38 PRO DL 44 1060.
39 NRO YZ 7446.
40 VCH iv 14a.
41 NRO SS 2527, 2529.

and because of the huge size of some of the trees a sawpit was made, which should not have been done because the ground belonged to Lowick. John Jeys kept a herd of Lowick sheep in Harehawe, and Thomas Jolyvet, 67, ever since childhood had put his father's plough beast in Harehawe common and was never denied entry. Aldwincle cattle were kept out of Harehawe. Other herdsman kept herds in Harehawe and said that Bought Wood was common to Lowick. When 'parson Peryn'[42] was 'newly entered' into Lowick church he was entitled to the tenth oak. He was unable to provide a cart and team for great trees which were left so long that they made hollows and became full of holes, and were eventually taken by the parson of Aldwincle. Richard Colbeest and George Jolyvet said that Bentleys was cleared for the cattle of Lowick and that a fence and hedge was made to keep out Aldwincle animals.

Apart from townships lying next to the three medieval woodlands, there were many other places that had their own wood within the township, such as Badby, Cransley, Daventry, Everdon, Helmdon and Little Preston.

Shared woodland

The problem of timber shortage in some medieval townships was resolved by sharing a piece of woodland with another vill. Naseby was completely arable by *c.* 1290, and had timber provided from Rothwell wood. Both Rothwell and Naseby were part of the Clare estate, and there was a wood on the high clayland north of Rothwell until the seventeenth century. A survey of *c.* 1521 states[43]; 'there is a goodly wood called Rothwell Wood wherynn be many fine oaks and other buyldyng tymber worth to be sold by estimate an hundred pounds ... some woodde muste of necessitie be saved for mayntayning of the lordeships of Naseby and Rothwell and other lordeships in thoses partes where [there] is noe wood to be had for mony'.

Places like Naseby, devoid of resources within their townships, could be supplied from other townships, if they belonged to a large estate.

Bozeat, Grendon and Easton Maudit had shared woodland at Bozeat. Part of it is referred to in *c.* 1220 when John Mauduit, lord of Easton, gave the wood called Stanway in the fields of Bozeat to St James Abbey, Northampton, and the gift was confirmed in 1255[44]. The precise location of Bozeat woods is given in 1737 when there were closes called Bozeat Stocking, 60 acres, and other old enclosure of meadow, pasture, wood and underwood totalling 118 acres, called Abbots Stonyway, Barrs Wood, Miletree Wood, Loose Knoll, Bozeat Stockings and Bozeat Stockings Meadow[45]. This last block was 'in the parishes of Bozeat Easton Maudit and Grendon and lay at Hornwood' and is marked on the enclosure map of 1799[46]. The use of the terms 'in the parishes or fields of Easton and Bozeat can be traced back to 1391 and in all three parishes to 1435, and 1575[47], and frequently thereafter[48].

The names show that all this enclosure was woodland in earlier times. That more than half of it was shared between the three parishes demonstrates an ancient sharing of resources. Grendon would need wood for a timber and fuel supply, yet there was none

42 William Peryn 1483, Bridges ii p. 247.
43 NRO Buccleuch 224 in Box X881.
44 BL Harl. Ch. 53 C 39; 56 F 1.
45 NRO YZ 1463.
46 NRO Map 2839.
47 NRO NPL 12, 17, 691.
48 NRO X3836, 1577 terrier in a deed of 1705; E(S) 760 (1580); 1708, deed in X5379

within its own territories; likewise Bozeat had no river meadow of its own, but it had 30 acres in Grendon meadows, lying by the river Nene.

Detached woodland

Dodford possessed woodland in Farthingstone parish. A detailed description of the Dodford demesne, made in 1541[49], located a wood called Castle Diggs 10 acres, Lodge Hill next to two closes called Ley Close, 6 acres, and Hyllings Close, 25 acres, that extended to Stowe Wood. Tithe was paid by Dodford manor to the vicar of Farthingstone in 1473[50], presumably for this woodland. Dodford was the centre of a Saxon estate that included part of Farthingstone, held by Leofric, Ordgar and Thorbern in 1066, and had passed to the Count of Mortain by 1086, undertenanted by William de Keynes. The Farthingstone wood may have been acquired in Saxon times or perhaps the same estate always had interests in Farthingstone. The Keynes' lordship in Farthingstone is emphasized by the castle earthworks set isolated in the woods, almost certainly built in the twelfth century.

There are many similar examples where townships had a piece of detached woodland, especially if they were near one of the three medieval forests. Cogenhoe, Great Houghton[51], Earls Barton and Rothersthorpe, all had pieces of Salcey Forest. At Rothersthorpe a wood is mentioned in 1086, and in 1295 it is specified as being in Salcey Forest, which is further located in 1567 as Thorpe Wood lying in two coppices in the parish of Roade[52]. The wood is now pulled up but still remembered, being marked on Ordnance maps as Thorpewood Farm.

Townships without any woodland

Crick and Clay Coton, both completely arable townships, were exceptionally short of fuel and building timber. A survey of both, made in 1526, reported that 'there are no woods and the houses are in great decay for want of timber'. It was the lord's responsibility to provide timber for the windows and doors of the houses, the tenants having to carry it[53]. It was impossible for these vills to be self-sufficient, and wood had to be bought in, there being no detached or shared wood available.

The only source of timber, apart from purchase, was in the hedges of the paddocks that went with each house. Although the crofts were unable to provide all the wood needed, good use was made of what was available. At Ravensthorpe a house with 3 tie beams of adequate strength was built in 1377, using timber growing on the toft belonging to the messuage[54].

Saxon woodland

The Bruneswald

In the late Saxon period a wood called the *Bruneswald* straddled the high clay ground on the south-eastern border of the county. Its name is preserved in the modern place-

49 NRO K694.
50 NRO K733.
51 D. Hall, 'Great Houghton parish survey' *Northamptonshire Archaeol.*, 14, 1979, pp. 80–88.
52 NRO Clayton 162.
53 PRO E 36 179.
54 NRO LT64.

names of Newton Bromswold, Leighton Bromswold (Hunts), and formerly at Luddington Bromswold and Warrington Bromswold (Bucks), the last two having now lost the 'Bromswold' element. The extent of the wood can be reconstructed from the many *wold* names that survive in townships where it once lay.

The eastern part of Barnwell forms a long tongue on the high ground, called the *Wold*, one of several such extensions formed by neighbouring parishes that probably shared a block of the *Bruneswold*. In 1086 Barnwell had woodland 6 by 3.5 furlongs (195 acres), almost certainly lying at the *wold*; it was cleared by the thirteenth century and completely ploughed with ridge and furrow. While the wood survived it would have served the Ramsey abbey manors at Barnwell and Hemington, and probably places farther away as well.

Clopton lies on high boulder clay ground that once supported part of the *Bruneswold*. The furlongs show a normal checker-board pattern over most of the township[55], but to the east of the vill there are three large triangular areas of furlongs with long strips. These were once woodland according to such names as *sinewold* and *Winewic srubbes* recorded in 1255[56]. The Domesday Survey of Clopton mentions no wood, and a demesne terrier of *c.* 1255 shows that the manorial lands spread throughout the regular fields and the irregular old woodland area. The settlement history of Clopton appears to be that, first, much of the countryside was cleared and dominated by a Roman villa (lying to the west of the present village). The villa site was occupied until the Middle Saxon period (according to pottery evidence) and abandoned when the present vill and its fields were planned and laid out. The new village laid hard against woodland which protected it from cold east winds searing over the high plateau in winter. The wood was cleared and added to the open-field arable before 1086.

Raunds furlong names show there had been open grassland or woodland in two parts of the high clay ground, the *Denford wold* next to Denford and *the wold* towards Keyston. The full extent of these two areas can be worked out using evidence from furlong names. A number of them include the element *mere* even though they are not on the parish boundary. It seems that the names refer to the boundary of the former woodland, and supporting evidence comes from an analysis of the tenurial arrangements of a 1739 field book. In the furlongs of the *wold* areas there are larger groupings of demesne lands than near to the vill. This indicates that the two *wolds* were allotted at different times and had a different history. Their extent, as indicated by the tenurial arrangement is indicated on Figure 9. The date at which the woodland was grubbed up was probably during the late Saxon period, since no wood is mentioned at Raunds in the Domesday Survey of 1086.

Chelveston and Caldecott have high ground next to Bedfordshire called the *old*, and divided, in 1789, into three furlongs extending to over 300 acres. The wood would have protected the vills from east and north-east winds, as at Clopton. It was probably cleared before 1086, there being no wood accounted in the Domesday Survey for either Chelveston or Higham Ferrers (of which Chelveston and Caldecott were a dependent manor and a chapelry).

55 For a plan see D. Hall, 'The late Saxon countryside – villages and their fields' in D. Hooke 1988, p. 110.
56 King, *Miscellany* 1983, pp. 48–50.

Other woods

Within the county there are detached regions of high clay ground that once supported woodland, as in the Huxlow Hundred, and between the River Ise and the Naseby branch of the Nene, both considered to be outliers of Rockingham Forest in the thirteenth century.

In the Huxlow Hundred, the parishes of Cranford St John, Burton Latimer, Finedon, Great Addington, Little Addington and Woodford share a block of boulder clay. All the furlongs on this clay have *wold* names, yet many of them are recorded as arable in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Part of the land at Cranford St John is described in a charter of 1154–69 (see Chapter 1), which gives furlong names showing that the ground was then cultivated. It seems that the wood was cleared in the late Saxon period, since none of the townships had woodland in 1086. The extent of the wood has been illustrated; it formed a valuable resource as shown by Woodford parish which has a long tongue of land reaching to the wooded area.

Chapter 8

Estates

Estates can be studied at a variety of levels, from the smallest entity, the yardland, to the large holdings of powerful magnates and monasteries. It is necessary to distinguish between the fundamental agrarian units of the yardland and township, and the 'political' possessions of lords and others, which included whole and parts of townships. Estates of the church, parishes, cause complications when they do not coincide exactly with one or more townships; some examples are given below.

Furlong patterns and field-system spatial layout, as recorded in fieldbooks, offer much information about townships and estates. The examples given below illustrate what can be discovered and show that many places are much more complex than they appear.

Townships revealed by morphology

Some township boundaries can be determined from the pattern of furlongs alone, there being discontinuities either side of a smooth line, indicating that the line acted as a constraint when furlongs were laid out, and therefore must predate them. Such an example is the eastern part of the township boundary of the three deserted vills of Cotton, now in the parishes of Raunds and Ringstead[1]. The complex furlong arrangements in both Ringstead and Raunds become much simpler near a slade that separates the modern parishes. This is likely to be the township boundary of a field system belonging to the Cottons, once members of a medieval estate called the Gloucester Fee. The remainder of the boundary cannot be distinguished from the physical form of the furlongs alone because of the simple field pattern on the Nene Valley slopes. However, the Raunds part of the boundary can be extended from evidence in the 1739 field book. The analysis is explained in the Gazetteer, and it can be seen that there is a striking concentration of Gloucester Fee lands near to the Cottons. An area with domination by Gloucester land forms a line across the field system (east of *long furlong, meadow furlong* and *pondmore hill furlong*, Fig. 9), west of which there is no land in the fields belonging to the demesne of Burystead, the Duchy of Lancaster manor. The southern extent of this boundary is further confirmed by the furlong called *Cotton mere*.

From this evidence, Raunds had absorbed part of the Cotton township (the remainder going to Ringstead) by the eighteenth-century. No record of the process or the date of such a change occurs, but *mead[ow] furlong*, one of those belonging to Cotton (according to the boundary just defined), is mentioned in a case of trespass in a Duchy court roll of 1433[2]. While reference to most of the Raunds topography would be

1 Hall *Medieval Fields* 1982, p. 29.
2 NRO X705, court roll 12 Oct. 12 Hen VI.

expected in the court rolls of both the Duchy and Gloucester estates (because the property was intermingled), there is no reason for the Duchy to be concerned with trespass in Meadow Furlong unless it was in the Raunds field system. It seems, therefore, that absorption had occurred before 1433.

The township boundary of the deserted village of Silsworth in Watford is likewise obvious for much of its extent by a curving line having differences in the furlong pattern on either side. The boundary is confirmed by seventeenth-century descriptions of Silsworth enclosed ground, which complete the south-eastern part where the furlong pattern does not give much help[3].

Deer parks also affect the landscape. A park created at Hartwell in *c.* 1520 took land from the open fields and cut across furlongs indiscriminately[4]. Fotheringhay Park was made in two stages, the oldest, mentioned in 1230[5], contains no remains of open-field furlongs and was probably taken out of woodland or woodland pasture. The park was enlarged at a date as yet undiscovered, and encroached on the fields, which are still preserved within it on the east.

Newton Bromswold furlongs on the west side of Higham Park treat its boundary like that of a township (Fig. 6). This demonstrates that the open fields of Newton did not extend to the Park until after 1166, because land had been taken out of Newton in *c.* 1110, and the boundary as it now exists was created when the Park was enlarged in 1166[6]. The woodland of Newton recorded in Domesday was probably near the Park, and neighbouring Rushden[7] had furlongs with 'woodland' names.

The above cases illustrate how fieldwork and mapping can identify examples of early estate boundaries. Further detail comes from the written record.

Parish and tithe

A parish consists of an area which paid tithes to a particular church. Most present day parishes were formed by the twelfth century. In the simplest cases a parish consisted of one manor and one field system, such as medieval Ecton or Kettering, and there were more after 1500 as manors within vills were merged; Geddington in 1716 (the Duke of Montagu purchased the crown manor to add to his existing possessions that had belonged to Bury St Edmunds monastery), and Wollaston in 1540 (two manors acquired by the College of St Mary, Leicester, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were combined when given to the Duchy of Lancaster). Slightly more complicated are places with one vill and one field system but with more than one manor. Medieval examples of this type are Finedon, Helmdon and Kislingbury.

In the early days of Saxon Christianity, a single minster church would control a considerable area. In later centuries more churches were founded, leading towards one church for each vill and field system. Survival of an early arrangement is found at

3 Hall, 'Field systems and township structure' 1989, fig. 11.1, p. 198; survey of Silsworth in 1678 (NRO ZA 800), which relates to 'modern' field names compiled from Maps 3159 (1760), 3158 (1771), 3162 (*c.* 1820),T41 (1847), 1932 Field Name. Note, ZA 800 places Northingworth Close, lying at the north-east angle of Watford against Silsworth, in Silsworth township, but this is an error, arising because Northingworth was always let with neighbouring Vicars Field. The latter, with Cooks Field, is stated to be in Silsworth in 1626 (BHK 144); Watford was then unenclosed.

4 D. Hall CBA Group 9 *Newsletter* 5 (1975), 7–9.

5 Gover et al. *PNN* p. 202.

6 Hall and Harding *Rushden* 1985, pp. 97–101; 108.

7 *Id.* pp. 79–81; 87–90.

Fawsley, where payments in acknowledgement of the superiority of the mother church were due from many surrounding parish churches as late as the sixteenth century. Fawsley appears to have been a minster church for most of the Fawsley Hundred[8].

The simple arrangement of one field system belonging to one manor and one church was never reached. There are many examples of parishes consisting of two settlements each with its own field system, but only one church. Badby and Newnham were a single parish, served by Badby church, although the chapel of Newnham had parochial status. Brockhall and Muscott was a similar two-township parish, served by Brockhall church, with complictions because some of Muscott tithes were due to Norton[9]; Muscott was transferred to Norton in the nineteenth century. There was, however, nearly aways a chapel at the vill without the parish church, so that the practical scheme of every vill having its own religious building sited within it was achieved, even though the status varied.

The grant of a tithe, a tenth of all the produce of the fields, gardens and the off-spring of animals, was in the gift of the lord of the manor. If there were two or more manors in a township, the lords of each estate usually supported a single church in the vill. However this was not always the case, particularly if one of the manors belonged to a monastery of Saxon foundation that had sufficient wealth to construct its own building. Two churches once existed at vills that had a secular manor and a manor in the hands of the monasteries of St Emundsbury (Maidwell), Peterborough (Irthlingborough and Aldwincle) and Ramsey (Barnwell).

At Maidwell there was a single field-system and vill, the secular lord and Bury St Edmunds abbey each having a church located at closely adjacent sites, the monastic one having long since disappeared. An example of such arrangement surviving with two churches in one churchyard can be seen at Swaffham Prior, Cambs. Aldwincle has two churches, one at each end of the village. This was a two-township, two-manor vill and the churches relate to the separate manors. Barnwell had one field system but two manors each with a church at a separate site, St Andrews belonged to the Ramsey abbey manor and All Saints (now partly ruined) belonged to the crown manor. The Ramsey manor was part of Polebrook Hundred and the crown manor lay in Navisford Hundred, and so the hundred boundary was intricately intermixed within the fields.

More complex cases exist showing the influence of the lord on the ecclesiastical arrangements of manors. Ravensthorpe parish had two field systems each with its own settlement, Ravensthorpe and Teeton. Coton, a vill in neighbouring Guilsborough parish, had its arable land intermixed in Guilsborough township, but the tithes of Coton had been given to Ravensthorpe church, making it part of that parish. Coton is located near to Ravensthorpe and had the same lords in 1066 and 1086; this seignurial interest is likely to be the reason for the arrangement. Like Barnwell, Ravensthorpe parish lay in two hundreds, Guilsborough and Nobottle Grove Hundreds.

Guilsborough is even more complex. There were three field systems within its parish, those of Nortoft, Guilsborough and Coton, and Hollowell. All the tithes went to Guilsborough church except those of Coton, which as explaned, belonged to Ravensthorpe. Long Buckby and Watford parishes are similar to Guilsborough. Watford was a three-township parish, consisting of Watford, Murcott and Silsworth (see below for an analysis). All the tithes went to Watford church except for 11 yardlands of Murcott. This

8 Baker, i pp.377; 386–7.
9 Baker i 119; 419.

hamlet lies adjacent to Long Buckby, and the tithe of the 11 yardlands (probably demesne) was given to Long Buckby[10].

In theory the tithe of each yardland could be granted or sold individually. It rarely occurred other than with gifts to churches and monasteries, and after the Dissolution there was always a tendency for the lord to concentrate any dispersed tithes into his own hands. At Wollaston, in the twelfth century, most of the tithe was given to Delapre Abbey, Northampton, and a third of the tithe of the demesne was given to St Andrew's Priory, Northampton. After the Dissolution these tithes came back to the lord of Wollaston. In contrast at Earls Barton many yardlands had their tithes sold off, often to the owners who then paid no tithe. It was so complex that Thomas Cook, owner of most of the tithe in 1740, had a survey made to show which open-field land paid tithe to him[11].

In towns where there were many parish churches, particular yardlands paid tithe to their designated church, according to the endowment. At Northampton all four medieval churches belonged to St Andrew's Priory, making matters fairly simple, but at Cambridge the complexity of an urban system can be seen from a fourteenth-century field book[12].

Township and parish

Multiple vill parishes

Examples of the complex way that vills and townships relate to parishes are described below; many parishes contain unsuspected townships.

Creaton township has two vills Great and Little Creaton, the last being in the parish of Spratton. A township with separate fields for each vill is suggested by the assignment of yardlands to one or the other vill in the enclosure papers of 1781[13]. However doubt arises because it is difficult to see why Little Creaton was enclosed with Great Creaton; if Little Creaton were a separate township in Spratton parish it should have been enclosed with Spratton. The matter is resolved by examination of terriers which show that the yardlands of Great Creaton had lands in furlongs throughout the field system area of both vills. A quality book of 1781 lists all the furlongs and shows that they were divided into five fields[14]. There was not a grouping of the fields to form one two- and one three-field system, as the five names might indicate; Creaton had a five-field arrangement of the type found at Newnham, with three large fields and two small 'rye' fields.

Some terriers state that yardlands are 'in Great Creaton and Little Creaton'[15] or in the 'feilds and precincts of Great Creaton and Little Creaton and Spratton or some or one of them'[16]. In both these cases the owners lived at Great Creaton, and the yardlands would be expected to belong to Great Creaton (rather than Little Creaton). A glebe terrier of 1684 simply says that the land is for Great Creaton, probably thinking in

10 Hall 'Field systems and township structure' 1989, p. 201; see Watford in the Gazetteer of this volume.
11 NRO FHT 15.
12 J. R. Ravensdale and C. P. Hall, *The West Fields of Cambridge* (Cambridge Antiquarian Records Society 1976).
13 NRO A179.
14 NRO A178; identified using a field-survey plan.
15 NRO XYZ 4530; 1662.
16 NRO XYZ 1549; 1665.

parish terms, but the land once went through the same five fields (pieces formerly in the small rye fields having been 'lost').

The structure was, therefore, two vills, one field system (township) and two parishes. The lands assigned to Little Creaton were dispersed throughout the fields even though they were in Spratton parish. This is the same arrangement as found with Coton in Guilsborough, and for part of the township of Murcott in Watford.

The Towcester area is a region of complex settlement, where there are several parishes with multiple vills, like Pattishall, which also contains Dalscote, Eastcote and Astcote. Its field systems have not yet been spatially identified. Neighbouring Cold Higham contains Grimscote and a deserted settlement at Potcote. Identifiable boundary points described in a 1482 terrier show there was then one field-system for Cold Higham and Grimscote. Potcote was already enclosed and was therefore most likely to have been a separate township. Open-field furlongs referring to Potcote occur in charters of the fourteenth century and the seventeenth-century glebe states that tithes were due from the old enclosure of Potcote and from the fields of Cold Higham *and* Grimscote. So in the parish of Cold Higham there were two townships and three vills.

Bridges' description of Watford, in *c.* 1720, implies a complex parish: 'to Watford belong Catesby an inclosed manor, now reduced to one house; Cumberford a depopulated village in an enclosed manor, now reduced to one house; five houses in Murcott; [and] Silsworth a depopulated hamlet consisting at present of one house ... '[17]. Fieldwork showed that there were three separate vills, Watford and Murcott, surviving as shrunken settlements, and the deserted site of Silsworth. No separate physical identity could be discovered for a settlement that might be associated with the Catesby manor or the Cumberford depopulated village mentioned by Bridges. Detailed studies show that the three settlements each had their own independent field system, two of them three-field and Watford being two-field. The hamlets were subordinate to Watford manorially.

The township structure can be elucidated from several surveys and maps. Silsworth lies at the north of the parish and is separated from Watford township by the curving boundary described above. Murcott township boundary is marked on a map made when it was enclosed with what was left open at Watford in 1771. It is confirmed as the open-field township boundary by the coincidence furlong names in a terrier[18] and the surviving field names (from the sources listed under Silsworth, above). The independence of the townships is confirmed by terriers and charters, where named furlongs of one do not overlap with the other.

From the details of the manorial descent[19] it can be worked out that Cumberford manor was one quarter of the Watford manor and manor-house, split off by descent to a daughter; it has no separate physical identity from Watford in terms of site and present-day earthworks. Even the 'manor house' of Cumberford's manor was part of the main Watford manor house. Catesby's manor is Silsworth, which descended through a daughter to the Catesby family of neighbouring Ashby St Legders.

The most complicated case so far encountered is Warkworth, where the division into townships each with different tithe connections, almost defies it being called a township or a parish in any normal sense. The enclosure act of 1764 gives a concise statement of

17 Bridges i p. 589.
18 NRO L56, 1686.
19 Hall 'Field systems and township structure' 1989 pp. 201–2; Bridges ii pp. 587–8.

the structure[20], showing that there were three townships (tithings), each in different parishes. Warkworth, 960 acres, paid tithes to Warkworth church; Middleton Tithing, 950 acres, consisting of most of Overthorpe, paid tithes to Middleton Cheney parish; and Banbury Tithing, 990 acres containing Nethercote, Grimsbury and Huscote, paid tithes to the church of Banbury. All three townships paid highway rates to Warkworth. As though that were not complicated enough, the Warkworth township parsonage belonged to Marston St Lawrence church[21].

The earlier antiquity of the townships is hinted at by a gift by John Lyon, lord of Warkworth in 1345, to Chacombe priory of rent out of land in Grimsbury and Nethercote, confirming the identity of this field system[22]. The impropriate rectory of Grimsbury, Nethercote and Overthorpe is mentioned in 1588[23]. The close connection of the original group of townships is shown in the arrangements for cutting hay in *Ashe-Medow*[24], which was marked out by 2 mowers from Warkworth, 2 from Overthorpe and 1 each from Grimsbury and Nethercote: two for each township. The townships co-operated in the meadows and were enclosed together. Disruption occurred in 1889[25] when the Banbury township was appropriated to Banbury as a suburb, and so is now in Oxfordshire.

Upper and Lower Heyford were also complicated, and are described in the Gazetteer. The above are examples of parishes where there is more than one settlement, and show various degrees of complexity, as would be expected. It is often, but not always, found that there is a township for each settlement, so that a parish containing two vills will contain two townships, one associated with each vill. This is true even when the areas involved are very small, as with Brockhall and Muscott, or if the settlements lie very close together, as at Chelveston and Caldecott.

Analyses of what would be expected as simple cases of one parish, one manor, one nucleated vill, and one township often present surprises. Hardingstone and East Haddon, although apparently nucleated vills located in the middle of their fields, were both double three-field parishes, split in the first case across the village street and at Haddon down the length of the street. Even the small parish of Bradden, 1,100 acres, had a double field system, also divided by the village street. In none of these examples does the manorial descent since 1086 account for such a township structure, and it is likely that the explanation relates to unrecorded events during the the Saxon period.

Lost estates

Detailed field-system studies reveal 'lost' townships in a medieval parish, where the settlement site, even if identifiable, was not located near any present vill. Kislingbury has a 'tail' at the south of its field system that may have been a separate township. One of the furlongs was called Hardwick, and this could have been the name of a vill (worked out from a 1612 fieldbook, see the Gazetteer for details), since an undated thirteenth-century charter describes several lands confined to this one area[26].

Higham Ferrers parish has an extension to the west call Buscott. Buscott was split in

20 Baker i p. 738; NRO SSF Bundle 3.
21 Baker i pp. 642, 742.
22 *Ancient Deeds* iii B3979.
23 Baker i p. 749.
24 Bridges i p. 219.
25 Kelly's *Directory* 1894, p. 285.
26 NRO YZ 3637; a plan is published in Hooke 1988, p. 109.

ownership between Higham and neighbouring Newton Bromswold, although it was entirely in Higham parish[27]. No vill site can be located or is referred to in any document. The first reference to Buscott is the grant of a few lands in the thirteenth century[28]. Higham can be studied using the fieldbook of 1567[29]. Buscott is different from Higham because of the tenurial characteristics. The main open field of Higham was split between holdings so that an owner of a single yardland did not have two adjacent lands. By contrast Buscott was divided into small blocks of several lands and was held by lessees of Higham demesne. In other words Buscott was not part of the former villein land, but was seignurial. The Newton half was already enclosed by 1567, but that of Higham remained open and was divided into three parts and added to the three fields of Higham for cultivation (Fig. 7).

The reasons for such a complex arrangement are of interest. Buscott was fairly certainly a separate township, presumably once with a vill. It may have been an original site of Newton, before Newton was relocated on the high claylands at its present site and so became a 'new town'. Alternatively Buscott may have become depopulated with the inhabitants moving more or less equally to Higham and Newton, its nearest neighbours. After a few generations the families farming the lands would be considered 'natives' of their new abodes and, by default, Buscott lands would belong to the neighbouring townships.

Buscott presumably dates from the late Saxon period. It is not mentioned, or its existence implied, in any estate or taxation document. If it were the former site of Newton, then it was certainly of pre-Conquest origin, because Newton was already in existence by 1066[30].

Multiple estates

The grouping of several adjacent settlements, each possessing different resources, into a convenient economic unit has been termed a 'multiple estate'[31]. Under such a system each particular sub-unit (township) would provide its own specialized resources such as meadow, wood, or corn from good quality agricultural soil. Such arrangements are known in the Celtic regions and there is evidence for a Celtic ancestry in more peripheral regions of England[32] and on the Continent[33].

The Fawsley Hundred was identified by Baker as a Saxon estate based on the royal manor of Fawsley, which included most of the Fawsley Hundred[34]. Other similar groupings are suggested from the Domesday Survey, and have been studied by Foard[35]. Earls Barton was held by the thegn Bondi, which was probably his *caput*; there is a notable Saxon church with a motte next to it. In 1086 the neighbouring vills of Great

27 Newton Bromswold enclosure papers 1800, NRO Box X3474.
28 BL Harl. Ch. 111 D 45.
29 NRO Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol. 47; see the Gazetteer under Higham Ferrers.
30 Illustrated in Hooke *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* 1988, p. 114.
31 P. H. Sawyer *English Medieval Settlement* 1979, pp. 1–8; G. R. G. Jones in *id.* pp. 9–34.
32 G. R. G. Jones in Hooke *Medieval Villages* 1985, p. 104; G. R. G. Jones in Rowley *The Origins of Open-Field Agriculture* (London 1981), pp. 202–25.
33 Hooke *Medieval Villages* 1985, Chapter 12.
34 Baker i pp. 377, 386–7.
35 G. Foard, 'The Administrative Organization of Northamptonshire in the Saxon Period', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology) 4, 1985, pp. 185–222.

Doddington, Wilby and Mears Ashby belonged to Earls Barton, and Bondi also had Ecton. The name Barton shows it to be the 'barley' or corn producing *tun*. Mears Ashby, named after ash trees had woodland; the field book of 1577 establishes that there was woodland at the north next to Hardwick Wood[36]. Adjacent furlong names of *long stocking, over stocking, short stocking and thornwood* show that the wood was once larger. The northern part of Ecton had heathland according to the furlong names. Here, then, is a group of several parishes three of which could provide fish from the River Nene and hay from the meadows, and others could provide timber and furze for kindling[37].

A problem with such a concept as the multiple estate is how did it arise; was there an early and deliberate creation of a large estate with different functional settlements, producing resources that were most readily available in the immediate locality or was such an estate built up by purchase, aiming to create an economically independent unit.

The Higham Ferrers Hundred may be taken as a case study. The Domesday returns for Higham Ferrers Hundred could be interpreted as representing a multiple estate based on Higham, then in the hands of William Peverel and in 1066 the property of Gaetha, countess of Hereford. The situation in 1086, with only partial ownership in most of the townships in which the estate lay, can be viewed either as a glimpse of aggregation or disintegration. Subsequent events, examined to see if there was a trend one way or the other that might be extrapolated before 1066, reveal the following.

The Peverel-Lancaster estate was administered from four central submanors in 1298, an arrangement that was very likely in existence in 1086 and 1066[38].

Disintegration evidence

Raunds	The demesne of Raunds indicates that the two principal manors once formed a single one. A third small manor (Hall or Gages) appears in the thirteenth century. There are no known manorial sites for the Peverel–Lancaster lands at Ringstead, Hargrave or Stanwick, and all the lands in these dependent townships became freehold.
Higham	Chelveston and Caldecott were a chapelry of Higham; Chelveston manor was let out as a freehold in the thirteenth century. Buscott was shared with Newton Bromswold.
Rushden	Rushden was retained in demesne with the Park.
Irchester	Irchester had few changes; there were two townships (Irchester and Knuston) and complex freehold manors at Irchester (which included the hamlet of Chester). Parts of Bozeat and Easton Maudit were attached to this manor, the Bozeat land being granted to St James' monastery, Northampton, founded by William Peverel.

Integration evidence

Raunds	Ringstead and Raunds adsorbed the Cottons field system by the fifteenth century, but the Lancaster estate did not acquire the vills.
Rushden	Rushden absorbed the crown Finedon soke lands in the early twelfth century.
Irchester	The overlordship of Wollaston was purchased in the thirteenth century.

No Peverel-Lancaster aggregation policy is discernible; the history of the estate is one

36 NRO ZA 3709.

37 Illustrated in Hooke *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* 1988, p. 105.

38 For more detail see Hall *Wollaston* 1977; Hall and Harding *Rushden*, 1985; Hall et al. *Raunds* 1988; Kerr *Higham Ferrers*, 1925, Kerr *Irchester*, 1913 (articles published in a newspaper, collected as a volume at NRO YZ 1253).

of static administration with effective ownership being eroded. On the other hand the estate could not easily have acquired other manors; the remainder of Stanwick belonged to Peterborough abbey, and the remainder of Raunds and Ringstead belonged to the Gloucester Fee. This estate had developed its own static administration, and became even more eroded than that of the Lancasters. The Bidun Fee held Newton and Mill Cotton.

Stanwick and Hargave monastic lands were not available before 1540. The rest of Irchester was freehold. Wollaston Hall manor disintegrated. Unless the Lancasters were prepared to enter the property market at a local yardland level there was not much available. There is no evidence that they did so, the estate was left to its officials who had no brief to change anything.

To look for estate-building policies we have to turn to a period when personalities dominated, as with the redistribution of estates among the Norman followers of William I, or the acquisition of estates by monasteries, when those of Saxon foundation, such as Ely and Ramsey, can be seen enlarging their possessions during the 10th century.

Field system evidence

If we study the field systems of the Higham sub-manor, it is possible to see the allocation of resources in a different way. Let it be assumed that Gaetha's predecessors obtained a substantial tract of land that became the manor of Higham (presumably also containing Newton), and laid out the settlements and townships of Higham, Buscott, Chelveston, Caldecott and Newton to manage the then available resources (Fig. 11). Buscott was so small and on the edge of marginal land that it is difficult to believe it was ever viable except as a pioneer farm. Chelveston and Caldecott were so close to each other as to make the creation of two field systems unnecessary. Newton, from its name, must have been later than any initial creation, probably a resettlement of Buscott. It is therefore unlikely that there was a single planning act to create such a diverse series of townships. A much better interpretation is probably that the vills and fields resulted from individual acts of 'pioneering' settlement, and were not formed by any 'planning' processes.

The Higham Ferrers 'multiple estate' seems best interpreted as a substantial property formed by aggregation (purchase) in the late Saxon period. Such an approach is supported by Bonney[39]. Much must have happened before we see it in 1066, such as the Raunds manor splitting into two. There is no evidence that the estate has early origins.

Tenurial organization

We have so far studied estates and parishes and their component townships. Let us now turn to a lower level and study how yardlands were distributed within a township.

Field books with regular tenurial cycles

In many field books the disposition of tenants' and occupiers' names appears at first sight to be at random with no sense discernible as to who has which land. For some parts of Yorkshire, Charles Varley wrote in 1766:

39 D. Bonney, 'Early boundaries and Estates in Southern England' in P. H. Sawyer *English Medieval Settlement* 1979, pp. 39–51; p. 50.

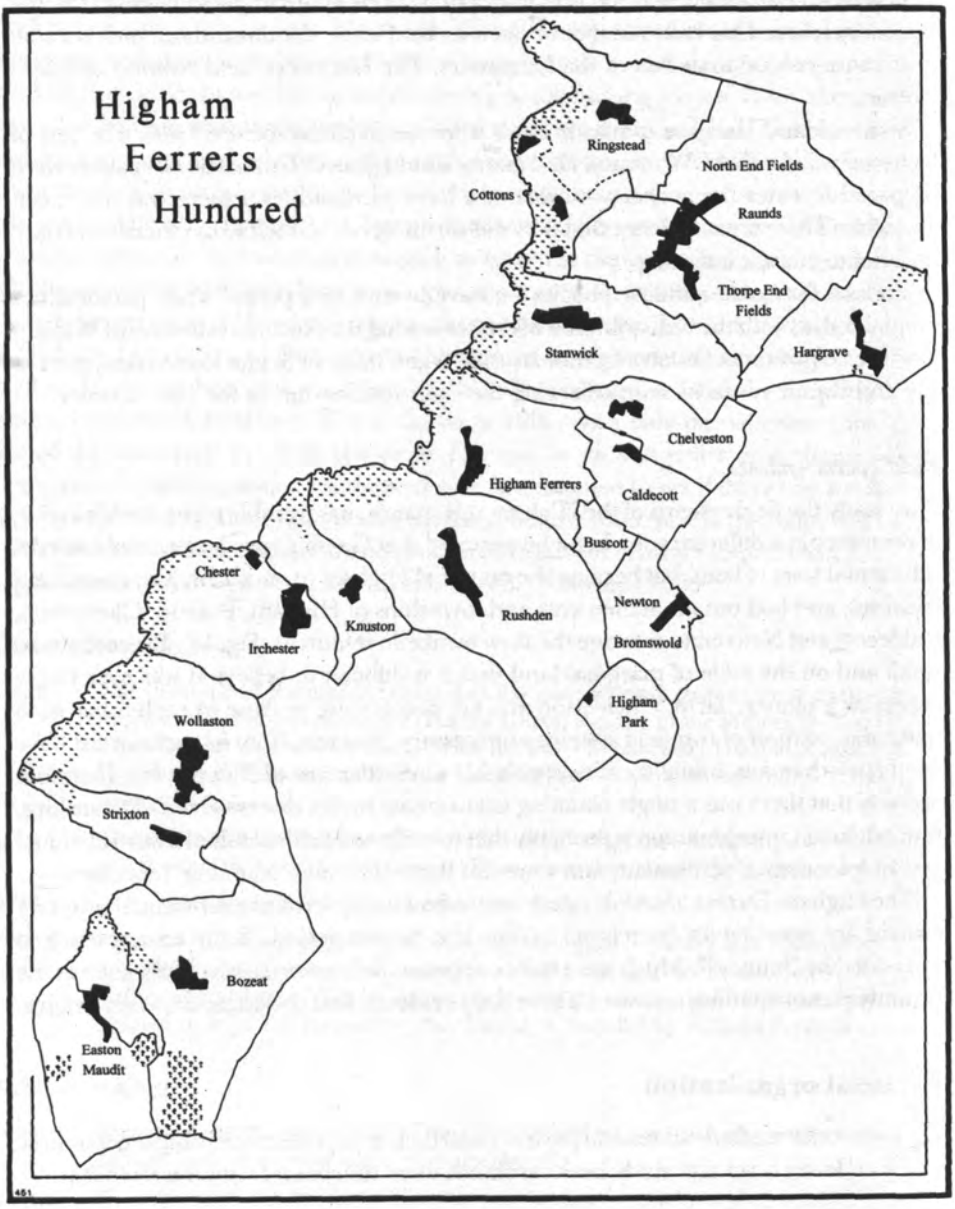


Figure 11, townships in the Higham Ferrers Hundred showing the extent of medieval settlement, meadow and woodland.

'none will have perhaps above one or two ridges lying together in one place, but alternately mixed or interpersed throught the field, insomuch, that a farmer had no way to know his own ridges'[40]

This would be a fair description of many Northamptonshire eighteenth-century field books, such as Raunds or Ashby St Ledgers, until they are further studied. However, a number of Northamptonshire townships do readily exhibit a regular structure which survived until enclosure in the seventeenth or eighteenth century; there is a regular tenurial sequence with the same series of names repeating itself over and over again in the furlongs.

The clearest case is Ecton which has a map dated 1703[41]. At Ecton there are strips of land marked on the map called 'hides' which lie in cycles of 11 that repeat themselves throughout the furlongs of the parish. At first sight these could be interpreted as strips of the open fields with names marked on. Further consideration shows that the strips are of unlikely width (*c.* 80 yards) and that the names cannot be related to the inhabitants of 1703. The hides are actually groups of 10 lands lying together[42].

Within the hides there was a fixed order of holdings, the neighbours each side always being the same (provided that they held a full yardland). Such an arrangement was in operation from at least the thirteenth century; an undated charter granted 'one messuage ... and one virgate of arable land in the fields of Eketon between the land of Robert de Catteworth on one part and the land of John le Hird on the other'[43]. John le Hird was also a neighbour of the messuage and possibly the houses as well as the lands were laid out in the same fixed order. All the surviving terriers of Ecton land from the thirteenth to eighteenth century show the same fixed regularity. For instance a terrier of half a yardland (27 entries) made in 1664, had as neighbours John Morris always on the north and west, and Edward Hensman on the east and south[44]. Another terrier of 1706 describes 46 lands, nearly all single roods of arable and ley, and had Ralph Freeman on the south and east on all occasions and William Barker on the north and west in all but one position[45]. The whole township had been laid out in a regular manner with a given yardland always having the same position. The hides have a medieval origin as shown by charters that record their names in the fifteenth century (see below).

Hardingstone East Fields had a regular tenurial sequence of 32 names recorded in a fieldbook of *c.* 1660. The 1660 order of survey was not the same as the earlier tenurial sequence; sometimes the cycles begin with the first name of the furlong and on other occasions a few names are missing, or the order is reversed. Sometimes a name is missing within the sequence, replaced by another name, but the sequence is picked up one or two names further on. Such variations can be explained by exchanges or by yardlands being split between owners. If it be assumed that there was an original layout of 32 names in fixed sequence, corresponding to 32 yardlands with dispersed lands, then if one of the yardlands were split between two owners the position in the sequence would

40 E. R. R. Green, 'On open town fields', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, 9, 1961, p. 85.
41 NRO Map 2115; studied by the Danish historian Goransson, who was looking for parallels to the regular systems found in Denmark; S. Goransson, 'Regular open-field pattern in England, and the Scandinavian Solskifte', *Geografiska Annaler*, 43 (1961), pp. 80–104.
42 Stated in deeds; NRO E(S) 83–4 (1609).
43 NRO E(S)155.
44 NRO E(S) 1.
45 NRO E(S) 462.

be occupied by two names occurring more or less alternately; this is as found. The whole set of regular sequences unite to form a regular cycle on the large scale[46].

A regular order, in various stages of disintegration, can be found in a field book of Mears Ashby, 1577, where there was a cycle of 40 lands corresponding to 40 yardlands. Many of the positions are shared by several names as at Hardingstone. The oldest example of a regular tenurial cycle fully recorded in a township field-book is Muscott in the parish of Brockhall. It has an undated field book that can be shown to have been made in 1433 for the purposes of an exchange of demesne leading to consolidation for enclosure[47]. The lands to be exchanged are marked in the book margins and deeds of exchange survive dated 1433[48].

Within the terrier is a hidden tenurial sequence of 19 names. Like Hardingstone some names are missed out from time to time and often the sequence is in reverse order. On occasions one rood corresponds to an entry, so that if there were a 0.5 acre entry it would have to be accounted as two names and the next land would be the 3rd name and not the second. Yet sometimes the lands fit the sequence irrespective of size. The origin of the regular order must be very ancient to have have reached the degree of disorder found in 1433, and the surveyor of 1433 ignored it. Only a few Muscott furlongs can be identified so full analysis is limited to the north east of the township. There are furlongs that have 1 or 2 cycles of the 19 tenurial positions. More discussion is given in the Gazetteer.

Great Billing has an interesting example of a regular order in the seventeenth century. There is no field book, but recorded in a glebe book, of *c.* 1684, without explanatory comment, is a diagram showing two sets of 43 lands with the occupiers' names written in. The unit strips are called roods but some of the holders with two units adjacent had united them as a double unit called a 'land'. The sketched plan does not state that it was a scheme for a tenurial cycle of lands, but this can be demonstrated because the 43 are further subdivided into groups of 20, 10 and 13, each group being divided by a balk. The glebe is marked as the 19th, 20th and 36th rood, and a glebe terrier of 1684 states that 2 yardlands lay in half acres in the 20-rood hides, next to the balks that divide the 20-rood hides from the 10-rood hides, and one yardland lay in the 13-rood hide 5 roods from the balk on one side and 7 roods from the balk on the other[49]. This description agrees precisely with the sketched scheme, and the terriers describe the positions of the lands in all the furlongs, showing that the scheme operated over the whole township.

Other places without a field book have meadow lists or schemes showing, either directly or indirectly, that a regular tenurial cycle did exist. The meadows of Ashby St Ledgers, in 1715, had regular cycles of 40. Byfield meadows, in 1662[50], were divided into poles and the names of the owners of each were listed. The name-order is fairly repetative with the glebe near to the 43rd and 44th positions. For three of the meadows the name-sequence runs in reverse order relative to the others. In all, the meadows were divided into five and a half cycles of about 72 poles, the half cycle being selective of people; it does not name all of them with half-sized pieces of meadow.

46 Mapped in Hall 'Hardingstone' 1980, fig.2, p. 124.
47 NRO Th 183, Spencer 1056, in the Gazetteer.
48 NRO Th 1321 is an original charter, copied with the remainder in a cartulary of *c.* 1587, Th 2047 pp. 19–23.
49 NRO Great Billing glebe terrier, 1684.
50 NRO 56P/91.

Taking all 5 full cycles, the first 4 positions are always occupied by Richard Norris and William Healy, and the 5th is George Harris in 4 cases. Seven people have the 6th place (some halves) heralding a region of apparent irregularity. However many of the names occur in the same sequence, but one or two poles out. The glebe is fairly constant, as are the 7 poles belonging to one Nason (formerly Cawcutt, probably demesne). Most striking are two adjacent 1.25 poles, the only quarters in the whole sequence; they lie in the same positions in all the meadows. A regular order is therefore certain, and was presumably not obvious to the 1662 surveyors, or they would have taken each meadow in the same order. The cycle is consistent with there being 72 yardlands in the open fields, since the glebe 2 poles are equivalent to 2 yardlands.

A meadow list for Little Stowe (in Stowe Nine Churches) has a regular order, and the neighbours of the glebe are consistent with neighbours described in a terrier of 1684. Newnham regular meadow list of 1552 is given in the Gazetteer.

Analysis of fieldbooks with irregular tenurial layout

Careful study of fieldbooks that appear to have no order sometimes reveals evidence of a disintegrated structure; see Chapter 10 for Ashby St Ledgers and the Gazetteer for Higham Ferrers.

Examples of field books without any discernible regularity are Raunds and Kislingbury. At Raunds the explanation is to be found in the breakdown and re-aggregation of farms that was allowed by the Lancaster estate in the fourteenth century. Property transactions of sokage tenure recorded in court rolls and listed by individual farms in a rental of 1552 were measured in acres, yardlands not being mentioned. Rushden, part of the same Lancaster estate, has a record of *c.* 1350, listing its yardlands. A single yardland was shared by 2, 4, and in one case, 16 people. This is presumably the beginning of a complete breakdown, there being no yardlands mentioned for the major, copyhold, part of the estate from the fifteenth-century onwards. The court rolls show, that as with Raunds, there was a very active property market.

It is possible that nearly all of the apparently disordered field books have some relict structure, but it is so disguised as not to be obvious by inspection. The data need to be analysed mathematically using electronic techniques.

Analysis of terriers

When there was a regular tenurial order the owner of a single yardland always had the same neighbours on either side. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries yardlands at Newnham and Ecton, instead of being described by a terrier, furlong by furlong, were defined by stating who the neighbours were, which was quite sufficient, because they belonged to a tenurial sequence, and furlong names were not needed. The Newnham yardland in 1198 was said to lie in the fields next to the yardland of William son of Stephen[51]. This statement implies that there was a fixed order of tenants.

Most townships do not have field books or other statement confirming a regular tenurial order, and terriers of individual farms have to be studied for tenurial arrangements. The evidence of single yardland terriers is less full than a field book, but if there had been a regular order then the neighbours would always be the same. It is frequently found, especially with medieval terriers, that the neighbours are the same on either side

51 Pipe Roll Society 24 (1900) p. 147.

of the lands in each furlong, thus implying a regular order. This was the case with a yardland terrier of 1361 for Shipton, Bucks., published by Seebohm. In 66 entries one neighbour was the same on one side and only two occur on the other, 43 and 23 times each. Seebohm interpreted this as evidence of a regular sequence[52].

Before claiming that the occurrence of a few neighbours in a terrier is proof of the presence of a regular tenurial cycle, other explanations must be considered. There may be few landowners in the township, so even if the strip order was random, there would still only be reference to two or three neighbours in a terrier. The approximate number of landowners in a vill therefore needs to be ascertained from taxation lists, rentals, court rolls or other records.

Another example giving rise to only two neighbours would occur if a holding had been split between three persons. Such examples are rare, and it could have been done in two ways. Each land in, say a yardland, could be split into three lengthways, making three narrow lands. The other method would be to allot every third land to one of the parties. Only a few cases of the first method have been found in Northamptonshire, one at Ecton[53], specified that 49 lands were to be split lengthways, to take 1.5 yardlands out of 6 in 1608. This is an unusual event because it is a tedious method of division involving going out into the fields, measuring, and setting furrows down every land. The second method could be done as a paper exercise, using an existing terrier. It would not lead to the new owners being regular neighbours of each other. Flore gives an example of the usual method of dividing open-field properties. A 1683 terrier of half a yardland describes 46 lands and leys. Half of the property was subject to a mortgage and its terrier describes 27 of the 46 lands, which were not split physically[54].

Since very narrow lands, other than balks, are not common, the lengthways splitting of a yardland into three parts to give only two regular neighbours must have been rare indeed. Two regular neighbours could, nevertheless, be achieved by splitting a three-yardland holding, providing that it comprised of three or more, adjacent yardlands. However, such holdings are also uncommon (except for dispersed demesne).

The reason that this point has been laboured somewhat, is because cases of splitting property between heirs have been noted previously and used as dismissive evidence of the the existence of a regular tenurial cycle. A proven example of longitudinal splitting between heirs, at Chippenham, Cambs., in the thirteenth century lead to the comment 'at first sight, this looks like a much battered survival from the original allotment of strips; in fact it may not be the product of co-aration, but the division of holdings between heirs[55].

Only a very low proportion of property transactions are concerned with the splitting of holdings, and even fewer (almost none) of the specialised type of division, that give rise to regular neighbours. Since a regular order of neighbours clearly exists, or is implied, in most of the thousands of terriers examined, the statistical probability is that regular tenurial cycles existed in most townships, probably all, at one time. This observation is strongly re-enforced from the tenurial cycles listed, mapped, or observable in field books.

52 Seebohm 1883, pp. 24–5.
53 NRO E(S) 383b.
54 NRO YZ 9375–6.
55 M. Spufford, *A Cambridgeshire Community; Chippenham from Settlement to Enclosure*, Occasional Papers, Dept. of Engl. Local Hist., Univ of Leics., XX, 1965, p. 22.

The two townships of Aldwincle provide suitable examples of terrier analysis. The glebe terriers for the parish and township of St Peter describe 53.75 acres plus meadow. The neighbours in 1684 are very regular, being mostly widow Wood and Richard Elstow. In Fingerfoot Field there are 20 parcels and so 40 neighbours described (one each side); 5 of these are topographical with 4 other people mentioned once and the other 31 positions being taken by widow Wood and Richard Elstow. A regular order is therefore strongly suggested, with two people occupying 89 percent of the positions.

A 1632 terrier of the glebe of the parish and township of Alwincle All Saints has numerous neighbours. In Meer field 51 parcels with 102 neighbour positions have 18 that are topographical, 31 are missing and 54 are shared between 17 people. These 54 positions have 6 people mentioned once, 4 twice, 2 thrice, 2 five times, and one person mentioned in each of seven, eight and nine times. Therefore 3 people occupy 24 of the 54 positions (44 percent) and 4 people hold 34 (63 percent). It seems there was once a regular order, but by 1632 it was in a state of disintegration. However, there is further evidence that there had been a regular order, in spite of the variation of the neighbours, because on three occasions the glebe is stated to lie between a neighbour on one side and *the fifth land* on the other. Another entry states that the glebe is 5 lands 'off the way' demonstrating that the glebe occupied the 6th position in a regular sequence.

The degree of validity of such neighbour analysis of single terriers can made using the 1577 field book of Mears Ashby. There was once a regular cycle of 40 lands (listed in the Gazetteer), in which positions 1, 9, 26–8 are invariable throughout, and other positions have a variety of occupants. Had a terrier of position 27 survived, then it would give the result that two people each occupied 50 percent of the positions and that therefore a perfectly regular order existed. A terrier of position 31 (assuming all the the tenurial cycles were similar to the three examples printed) would indicate a random order with, say, 33 people occupying 3 percent of the positions each. The reality lies between these extremes, a regular order being discernible in the field book, with a moderate degree of break down.

The test for a regular order of neighbours in a Mears Ashby terrier of 1636 gives the following. There were 11 neighbours occupying 34 named positions, 4 people occupied 1 place, 1 two places, 2 three, 2 six and one 10 places (the lord). From which 1 person holds 29 percent, 3 people 71 percent and 5 people 88 percent. Since a regular order is known from the 1577 field book, the 1636 data represent the proportions of neighbours that may be expected, so that, for other townships, where 3 people occupy 70 percent of the positions, it may be assumed that a regular order had existed and would be identifiable in a field book. In the analyses given in the Gazetteer and listed in the Appendix a regular tenurial order has been assumed if 3 people occupied 60 percent, or more, of the positions.

General conclusions on tenurial cycles

The existence of a regular tenurial cycle at any particular time does not prove that it was necessarily an original feature of the layout. Thirsk, arguing from the flexibilty of the land market, found it impossible to believe that a regular order could have survived

from several hundred years before the thirteenth century[56]. A regular order could have been introduced at any time by a deliberate act of 'remodelling'. Several cases, from the sixteenth century onwards, are claimed for various parts of the country[57]. However, checking of the sources given shows that the examples, where they are not unsubstantiated personal opinion[58], are only concerned with slight alterations, exchanges for consolidation of holdings prior to enclosure, or a change in the number of fields and cropping arrangements. The latter has been discussed already and has nothing to do with altering the order of lands.

In Northamptonshire there is widespread evidence for a regular order in the fields, and the earlier the source the greater is the regularity. Analyses of field books and terriers (following the 60 percent level of regular neighbours explained above), listed in the Appendix suggest that 93 townships out of a total of 116 (80 per cent) for which data have been worked had a regular tenurial order. Those with information before 1425 had a regular order in 23 out of a total of 25 cases, or 92 percent; only Dodford and Raunds have irregular medieval terriers. The implication is that most, probably all, townships had their fields set out in a regular order at an early date. With the passage of time the only change is from order to chaos, the degree of increasing disorder varying, as would be expected, from township to township. A regular order would therefore seem to be a very old and fundamental feature, and in some townships the regularity continued for a long time. There was a regular order at Newnham in 1198 and a regular cycle of 40 in the meadows of 1552, and in leys of 1706[59]. Ecton is similar with a regular order implied in a thirteenth century grant and a charter of *c.* 1290; the tenurial cycle survived sufficiently intact to be mapped 400 years later, in 1703.

It is difficult to believe that such a fundamental change as the re-arrangement of lands into a regular order would not leave a record, as noted by Titow[60]. It would be more tedious to perform than enclosure; there would have to be a survey of all the existing lands in terms of soil quality, value, location, tenure and title. These are the same processes required by eighteenth-century enclosures except that there would be the same number of parcels after re-arrangement as before. The whole process would be expensive and pointless with no improvement of agriculture and no increased rentable values to act as an economic driving force.

There is not a single case known in the whole country at any date where lands have been arranged in a regular order throughout the furlongs[61]. The implication is that such arrangements were made before the time of detailed estate records, that is before *c.* 1200.

Hides as tenurial sub-units

The regular ordering of lands is the system known in Denmark as the *solskifte*, or 'sunshift' system, so called because the cycles were always considered to run clockwise, from west to east or north to south, which is 'towards the sun'. Some townships exhibit

56 J. Thirsk, *Past and Present* 32, 1964, p. 21.
57 Baker and Butlin *Field Systems* 1973, p. 647.
58 M. M. Postan, *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* vol. 1 *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages* p. 555.
59 NRO Th 563, 168.
60 J. Z. Titow, 'Medieval England and the Open-Field system', *Past and Present* 33, 1965, pp. 86–102; pp. 90–4.
61 Evidence from Scotland to the contrary relates to different agricultural systems, G. Whittington in Baker and Butlin, 1973, pp. 541–2.

more substructure, with subdivision of a complete tenurial cycle into units called *hides*, as described in the Gazetteer for Great Billing and Ecton. Hide names for three villages are:

Ecton	*Hardingstone*	*Earls Barton*
Marys	Swinsets	Hall
Corrall	Doylies	Boon
Lawrence	Barrole	Thorpe
Stannymans	Follits	Holmby
Dickins	Bouden	Demeane
Abbits	Sickarsbies	Acreman
Hall	Poles	
Billings	Caudwell	
Badgers		
Parsons		
Holton		

The Billing division into 20, 10 and 13-rood hides cannot be related to any known manorial structure, since there was always a single manor there from 1086 until enclosure in 1778. It may once have been related to tenure.

A plan of the Ecton hides has been published[62]. The furlongs were mapped in the usual way and hide information added from the 1703 plan[63]. This plan does not mark hides at the north which had then been put down to pasture. The complete sequence can be reconstructed by studying the furlong names in earlier terriers which show that the hides once ran through the pasture area of 1703. If Holtons hide be considered the beginning of the cycle then a regular *solskife* system exists, always moving to the right, as was the normal medieval practise.

Ecton, hides are mentioned in 1464[64]. Two of the names were those of monastic holdings, *abbots and maries* belonging respectively to the abbot of Warden, Beds., and (possibly) St Mary, Delapre. *Halls hide* was demesne and *parsons hide* contained the glebe. The other names are probably those of medieval owners; members of the Laurence family are witnesses to Ecton charters in 1357 and 1360[65], and the Billing family witnessed charters in 1397 and 1464[66].

Hardingstone East End Fields had a regular cycle of 32 lands and these were grouped as regular sub-groups of 4-lands called hides, each of which had a name. The names apear to be those of medieval owners or occupiers; there is no contemporary dating, only the name-forms themselves.

Earls Barton hide names are mainly tenurial, referring to the demesne, two manors, the land of the hamlet of Dowthorpe, and the bondhold (boon) land.

The hides have an exact parallel with the Danish *bolskife* system[67]. Since this system is unknown in Germany, Holland or Belgium (E. Ulsig pers. comm. 1981), it seems reasonable to look to the tenth century for an explanation of its occurrence in Denmark and England, when ties between the countries were close. Support for this early date

62 D. Hall, 'Fieldwork and field books' 1983, pp. 115–131; p. 125.
63 NRO Map 2115.
64 NRO E(S)1 and 79.
65 NRO E(S)156, 164.
66 NRO E(S)179, 185.
67 S. Goransson, see 'Regular open-field pattern', f.n. 41.

comes from the large number of Old Norse name-elements in the furlong names of the parishes, particularly the use of the *dale* instead of the English *slade* for a valley.

Few other places have such comprehensive records of hide subdivisions except the four named hides at Kettering, and the unnamed hides at Clopton and Mears Ashby. There are references, sometimes passing, to hides in lands or in meadows at many places. The complete list of places (18) where hides have been noticed is:

Mears Ashby, Aynho, Earls Barton, Great Billing, Clopton, Cranford St John, Denton, Doddington, Ecton, Hardingstone, Little Houghton, Irthlingborough, Kettering, Ravensthorpe, Rushden, Sywell, Wellingborough, and Wollaston.

Most hides lay in the Nene Valley, but probably such hide divisions were once widespread. Those at Clopton, Denton, and Kettering closely relate to Domesday hides.

Chapter 9

Origin of open fields

Previous studies

The literature of pre-enclosure fields is immense; discussion about their origin has taken place for over a century and doubtless will continue[1]. Firstly, it is necessary to make a brief review of theories previously put forward to explain open fields. Less than 50 years after the end of the main enclosure movement in 1840, when almost every parish in the country had been enclosed, open fields were recognized as worthy of study and their implications for manorial and social history were considered.

Seebohm, writing in 1883, studied Hitchin, Herts., as a model. Although the data are rather late for a 'medieval' system (1816), Seebohm was able to describe the main elements, showing that at Hitchin the landscape comprised of long narrow strips, or lands, grouped into blocks called furlongs, the furlongs themselves being grouped into three large areas called fields, which were open and hedgeless. The fields occupied most of the available area and were cultivated on a three-year rotation, one year being fallow. The meadow land was divided into strips as well, and there were common grazing rights over both meadow and fallow at certain times. He also noted that the arable strips were separated by narrow strips of grass called balks and assumed that these were a medieval feature; in this he was incorrect, although the error has often been repeated and passed into many standard works subsequently.

Seebohm thought that strip-fields were the consequence of communal ploughing, each person providing an animal or the plough, and getting one or more of the ploughed strips as a reward[2]. He drew upon Welsh laws, since such fields occur in Wales, and he thought that the system was older than the Saxon era, having Roman or even Iron Age antecedents. He met a problem when examining German evidence because he expected that the Saxon homeland in northern Germany would have field systems with the same characteristics as Hitchin, that is a regular two or three-field arrangement with common grazing. Such fields were unknown in the north, but were common in central Germany, where there had been Roman influence, hence the postulation of a Roman origin.

In 1892 Vinogradoff, studying medieval tenure, thought that strip fields were created for equalising shares in terms of land quality, and were part of an arrangement intended to emphasize the superiority of the community over individual rights[3]. He too drew on Celtic models as prototypes where land was held by tribal or kindred groups with temporary occupation of strips by individuals.

1 A. R. H. Baker, *Ag. Hist. Rev.* 31 (1983) pp. 159–64.
2 Seebohm, 1883; 1912 edn., pp. 65–6, 113–4.
3 Vinogradoff, 1892, p. 237.

Maitland did not believe there was any evidence that a communal tenure of land ever existed[4]. He showed that the only examples were lands held by burgesses of some medieval towns, and that their origin was late, in the fourteenth century, and that no such cases existed in Saxon or earlier times. He accepted that strip fields were a reasonable method of share holding, but stressed that the existence of intermixed holdings did not imply that ownership was communal; each land remained the private property of the owner.

Gray, in 1915, gave much more detail on the variation of English field systems[5]. He defined six different types, the regular two- or three-field arrangement (such as Hitchin) being confined mainly to the Midlands. He supposed variations in different parts the country were of tribal origin, and thought that the Midland system had been introduced by early settlers from the Saxon homeland. At the same time he considered the possibility that the Celtic infield – outfield system was an early prototype for the development of a two-field cropping arrangement.

Bishop, in 1935[6], looked at assarting processes in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Yorkshire. He showed that newly cleared parcels of land were held by freeholders and were described as additional acres belonging to the regular holdings of bovates and oxgangs (equivalent to yardlands); so there were grants of bovates and, say, 5 acres of assart. It was suggested that assarted land would be gathered together to add more yardlands (oxgangs) to a particular vill. He noted that for some villages there were thirteenth-century furlongs (flats) with the same personal names as the twelfth-century land holders (eg Gikelflat at Balderby), and postulated that a piece of land held in severalty by Gikel as his own property, had, a century later, become incorporated into the subdivided fields. Such a mechanism could be envisaged at an earlier date, small groups of people creating strip fields piecemeal, furlong by furlong, over a long time. In Bishop's examples there seem to be no topographical studies, so it is not possible to know whether *Gikel flat* was so named because it was located next to Gikel's house on the edge of the village, rather than because he had once owned the land. Bishop proposed a mechanism for assarted property to become open-field land held in multiple ownership, citing cases of holdings already shared between many owners which might be further split between sons and widows to form fragmented pieces eventually leading to strips.

The Orwins approached open fields from a practical viewpoint in 1938[7]. They saw strips as being the physical result of using a plough with a fixed mouldboard throwing soil to one side. Back and forth ploughing over short distances was not very convenient and a long strip would be a preferred shape. They viewed assarting as an important process in the fragmentation of fields, and saw the Saxons as pioneers in a wild countryside, analagous to Europeans settling in North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, wresting arable out of untamed land.

Much interest in field systems has taken place since 1950, with more evidence from regional studies. Thirsk (1964) did not think that mature common fields, which she defined has having four essential elements; sub-division, rights of common over arable, common waste, and a village assembly (manorial court) to control the process, could have been created *ab initio*. She also stressed that systems appearing similar in the late

4 *Maitland, 1897; 1960 edn. pp.* 404–10.
5 Gray 1915.
6 T. A. M. Bishop, 'Assarting and the growth of open fields', *Ec. Hist. Rev.* 6 (1935) p. 13.
7 C. S. Orwin and C. S. Orwin. *The Open Fields*, 1938.

Middle Ages may have had different origins. Partible inheritance, the division of land equally between sons and partners, were seen to be prime factors in causing subdivision of what was once a sizeable piece of ground or assart[8]. A partible inheritance scheme of division followed the suggestions made by Bishop, it being assumed that what he put forward as 'somewhat speculative' was a proven fact; many subsequent writers have continued this incorrect assertion. Complete mature systems were suggested by Thirsk to be as late as the thirteenth century, and created by rearrangement of earlier irregular parts.

Titow disagreed with Thirsk's theories, suggesting that a regular order could have been made when the Saxons formed their townships[9]. He pointed out that there was no evidence of partible inheritance and division amongst coparceners which could be invoked as a mechanism of subdivision. He did not think that regular ordering of lands was a late organization or it would be known from historical sources, and pointed out that there was plenty of evidence for an early equal distribution of lands between cropping units.

Baker and Butlin edited a series of essays in 1973, which showed the variety and complexity of British field systems[10]. There are pockets of subdivided fields, even in the Midland area, and whole regions, like East Anglia and Kent, where holdings are not scattered around the township, but concentrated in a particular part. More detail for areas in the North became available, and Gray's classification and extent of types had to be revised.

In 1975 McClosky considered the problem of scattered arable lands.[11]. He suggested that the scattering of lands was an aversion of risk to crops by such events as thunder storms and plant disease. It would also protect against the variability of English soil types, so that, for example, a scattered holding would prevent all the crop being planted on a part of the township with light land and risk being stunted in a dry season.

Dodgshon gave an account of the origin of British fields, in 1980[12]. He put forward township splitting as being a mechanism of creating regulated fields. Small townships, resulting from such splitting, may well have been bereft of grazing resources, and would have to develop a common grazing arrangement including use of fallow. Such a major event would give occasion for villagers to make any necessary improvements, and probably involve a new allotment of strips.

Rowley edited a volume of papers describing possible origins of open fields in 1981[13]. Fox discussed the Midland system and pointed out that an essential feature was equal distribution of arable holdings between the great fields, and the regular laying down of one field to fallow. He showed that such arrangements were widespread in lowland England by the twelfth century, and may have been present in the tenth century. He agreed with Thirsk that an organized mature system probably had involved a reordering, necessary when arable had encroached on pasture to such an extent that the only

8 J. Thirsk, 'The Common Fields', *Past and Present*, 29, 1964, pp. 3–29.
9 J. Z. Titow, 'Medieval England and the Open-Field System' *Past and Present* 32, 1965, pp. 86–102.
10 Baker and Butlin *Field Systems* 1973.
11 D. N. McClosky 'The persistence of English Common Fields' in Parker, W. N. and Jones, E.L. (eds). *European Peasants and their masters* Princeton N.J. (1975).
12 R. A. Dodgshon, *The Origin of British Field Systems*, London, 1980.
13 Rowley, *Origins* 1981.

way of obtaining sufficient grazing was to use the fallow. However, the date for such changes needed to be put back before the Conquest.

Harvey described field systems in Holderness, showing that they were very different from the checkerboard Midland types. The concensus opinion from these observations, and other papers by Gelling describing the place-name data and Hooke's reassessment of evidence from Saxon charters, was that the Midland system of sub-divided fields seemed to be the result of a planned operation, taking place in some regions around the eighth and ninth centuries.

Dahlman considered fields from a theoretical viewpoint in 1981, using published information[14]. He questioned the belief held since the eighteenth century, following the attitudes of enclosers, that open fields were an inefficient method of allocation of resources; if true then why did they ever exist? Since a 'strip' was one day's work with a plough then there was almost no more effort required to plough dispersed strips than there was walking on several occasions to plough a large plot of an undispersed farm. He refuted all previous theories of their origin, replying to Seebohm that if a heavy plough needed 8, 10, or 12 oxen belonging to several people to form a ploughteam, and the ground was afterwards assigned according to how many beast were provided, then in light-soil regions there ought not to be any strips, because one man could provide his own beast. He also pointed out the partible inheritance theory of a mechanism of reducing private assarts into scattered parcels, as suggested by Bishop and developed by Thirsk, would, if continued indefinitely, lead to infinite division, whereas parcels were stable in size[15].

Dahlman argued that at the time lands became intermixed it was likely to be the best method of achieving what was desired, being mixed farming with production of arable crops alongside animal husbandry. Scattering of lands could not then have been considered inefficient or it would not have occurred. In chronogical order he suggested that the following events would have happened[16].

1. Communal grazing of waste; this was the cheapest way of controlling grazing animals, no fences being needed and the minimum amount of labour was required.

2. Communal control would be developed over the grazing, since stinting would become necessary as it became scarce (with increase of animal population).

3. Common grazing on fallow arable would develop when the reduced areas of meadow and waste were no longer adequate.

4. Since grazing has to be performed on a large area, the fallow would be divided into two parts to control them; this lead to a scattering of strips so that no farmer could upset the system by withdrawing his consent to allow grazing.

He saw the (supposed) late dates of highly ordered, regular tenurial systems ('formal restructuring') as the result of a desire to re-enforce and protect scattering.

14 C. J. Dahlman, *The open field system and beyond* (Cambridge 1981).
15 *Id* pp. 31, 34.
16 *Id.* pp. 143–44.

The Northamptonshire data

Archaeological evidence for Saxon settlement

Since 1960 archaeological fieldwork in various parts of the county has revealed the existence of hundreds of previously unknown prehistoric, Roman and early Saxon sites scattered around the fields of modern parishes[17]. For the most part the furlong pattern completely ignores the presence of these sites, and furrows cut into archaeological remains. This has been demonstrated for many Roman buildings, where the footings of stone walls have been carved into curving waves by furrows, showing that subdivided fields were not introduced by the Romans, as believed by Seebohm.

It is proven from the fieldwork results that Saxons did not arrive in England to find an empty and wild countryside. The Romans farmed large areas of the country, including Northamptonshire, continuing the work of Iron Age people who were the first to spread out from river valleys and colonize claylands. It is, however, true that the largest and most important sites of both periods were centred not on the clay, but on the good quality agricultural soils found along the slopes of major river valleys, especially the Nene valley.

The first Saxon settlers probably had a primitive agriculture; they preferred rich soils found along the valleys, and sites (identified by pottery) are almost exclusively located on river gravels, limestone, or Northampton Sand and Ironstone. These soils are easily worked with simple equipment, as in the early prehistoric period. The distribution pattern of the sites is quite unlike that of the later villages, but exactly like that left by previous waves of settlers. There were many small new sites of status little more than farmsteads, and there was some continued use of large Roman sites, where Saxon pottery sherds are often found. Such a distribution would suggest that the Saxons accepted what they found, settling on major villas and farms and founding some new farms of their own. The pattern of Saxon and pre-Saxon settlement on the gravels of the Welland valley has been published[18]. There are many small early sites and Saxon sites are more numerous than medieval vills and are not obviously related to them.

The pattern for the Welland Valley is not repeated throughout the county. A similar situation can be found north of Northampton on the ironstone soils, but in the region south of Rockingham Forest, where clay predominates few Saxon sites can be found out in the modern fields, and where observations of ground disturbance or excavations have taken place, the Saxon remains are located under and within the 'modern' settlement. This is probably because exposures of good soils were limited and the medieval vill continued the exact site of the Saxon settlement. Examples are Grendon, Wollaston, Higham Ferrers and Raunds.

Late Saxon settlements, by contrast, as revealed by fieldwork, have a very different

17 Some of the evidence is published in D. N. Hall and N. Nickerson 1966 'Sites on the North Bedfordshire and South Northamptonshire Border', *Beds. Archaeol. J.* 3 (1966) 1–6; D. N. Hall and J. B. Hutchings, 'The distribution of Archaeological Sites between the Nene and Ouse Valleys', *Beds. Archaeol.* J. 7 (1972) 1–16; D. Hall, 'The countryside of the South-east Midlands and Cambridgeshire' in D, Miles (ed.) *The Romano-British Countryside*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 103 (1982) pp. 337–50; D. Hall, 'Survey work in Eastern England', in S. Macready and F. H. Thompson (eds.) *Archaeological Field Survey in Britain and Abroad*, Society of Antiquaries of London Occ. Paper 6, (1985) pp. 25–44; D. Hall and P. Martin, 'Brixworth, Northamptonshire, an Intensive Archaeological Survey', *J. British Archaeol. Assoc.* 122 (1979) 1–6; *id.*, *Durobrivae* 8 (1980). A compilation for all the county exists in the *RCHM* inventory volumes 1975–81; much additional information has been revealed by further field survey since their publication.

18 D. Hall in Hooke 1988, pp. 102–3.

Table 11 Names and location of deserted Saxon sites

Parish	*Grid Reference*	*Field name*
Brixworth	SP 7375 7025	Shiredalecotes
Courteenhall	SP 7667 5440	Cotton
Fotheringhay	TL 0520 9430	Walcot *on a Roman site*
Hardingstone	SP 7400 5870	Oscot
Harringworth	SP 9325 9814	Bosley
Lamport	SP 7505 7465	Cotton
Whiston	SP 8500 6010	Sawcot
Wollaston	SP 9052 9430	Waltonacre *on a Roman site*
Below are late Saxon sites (*), or estates with no habitation site identified (†)		
Oundle*	TL 0080 8840	Hardwick
Higham Ferrers†	SP 9810 6715	Buscott
Kislingbury†	SP 7020 5715	Hardwick
Thornby†	SP 6540 7450	Chilcotes

distribution. In a study, field-by-field of about 80 percent of the county, only a single site of tenth- or eleventh-century date has been discovered deserted in the fields. This lies in a field called Hardwick in Oundle (TL 0080 8840). All other occupational evidence of this date comes from underneath or on the edge of present villages, or from vills now deserted but which survived into the late Middle Ages. In other words, the pattern of settlement revealed in the Domesday Survey, being substantially as now, had been created during the late Saxon period, when the smaller sites were abandoned.

The furrows of the open fields, that clearly relate to the medieval vills, ignore Middle Saxon sites in the same way as they overlie those of Roman and earlier date. However, many of the sites where the characteristic, hard, sandy Saxon pottery sherds can be found on the ground surface often reveal a furlong name containing the element *cot*, or a name that contains a possible Saxon personal name. This strongly suggests that those who first laid out strip fields knew that the Saxon settlements had existed. An example where the Saxons were certainly aware of the previous existence of what went before occurs at a Roman villa at Flore. On the site are many large sherds on early Saxon pottery, showing that they dwelt there. The village, although now in a different location, takes its name from *flora*, 'floor'[19], the floor presumably being a mozaic.

Strip fields are therefore to be dated towards the end of the Middle Saxon period. Few of the sites have yet been excavated to give firm dating evidence. A cemetery at Harringworth was datable to the sixth-seventh century[20] and a nearby settlement may relate to it. In Buckinghamshire a site at Pennyland, Great Linford, revealed huts of the eighth century[21]. Sites in the field area of Raunds have been dated to the ninth century[22]. All these sites were cut by furrows and none of them had wheel-made pottery, introduced during the ninth century. They therefore seem to have been abandoned before that date and the furrows of the strip fields cannot be earlier than the ninth century.

19 Gover et al. 1933, *PNN* p. 82.

20 B. Adams and D. Jackson, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Wakerley 1968–9, *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 22, 1989, pp. 69–178.

21 R. J. Williams *Pennyland and Hartigans*, Bucks. Arch. Soc., Monograph series 4 (1993).

22 Pers. comm. G. Cadman; Raunds excavation report forthcoming (English Heritage Archaeological Report).

Examples of Saxon sites with furlong names that may be the name of an abandoned settlement are given in Table 11.

The physical mechanism of settlement movement would probably vary from region to region. At Raunds and Wollaston the main Saxon sites remained, or developed into the medieval vills without a major shift of location. Townships with several dispersed Saxon sites had many left deserted out in the fields, and the community collected together at just one of them.

In the Towcester region, already commented on for its multiplicity of hamlets, names containing the place-name element *cot, cote* are common, and there seems to have been resistance to site relocation. It is probable that all the *cote* places have Saxon origins and have continued their existence; most of them have separate townships. Proof of such a theory can only come with archaeological observation of ground disturbance in the villages. The best evidence from fieldwork so far has been to discover Saxon pottery in a ringwork enclosure next to Cold Higham church, showing that this vill has an early origin. Not far away, in Pattishall, previously unknown Saxon sites were found north of the vill (SP 6660 5466 and 6685 5480), yielding yet more settlement sites in a parish that has four surviving vills. There is every liklihood that the Towcester region *cotes* represent a Saxon settlement pattern that has survived.

There is no proof currently available that nucleation of vills and the laying out of strips were part of the same process, but it does seem probable. The date of abandonment of the Saxon sites, as shown above, is before the ninth century, and historical evidence (from charters) for the existence of intermixed strip fields occurs in the tenth century[23]. There is, therefore, little time to have two separate major events, and both were probably simultaneous, part of the same process of re-allocation of scarce resources.

Long lands

If we turn away from Northamptonshire briefly, and away from the Midlands, the pattern of strip holdings can be very different. There are examples of field systems of a much simpler type with few furlongs and where lands are of great length. On the Yorkshire Wolds, at Wharram Percy, Burdale and Wharram le Street, there are many examples of lands up to 600 yards in length; the whole area was divided, in principle, with lands on high plateaux running from dale to dale[24]. Most of Wolds are now ploughed but ridge and furrow survives in a few fields and in spinneys, and is proved to have been much more extensive from aerial photographs taken in the late 1940s. Today lands can be only be seen after arable fields are well weathered, say by February, when they can be observed as soilmarks stretching away in gentle curves over great distances. There are almost no earthwork divisions or furlong boundaries. The documents support this in that very few furlongs are mentioned. A plan of the township of Butterwick in Foxholes parish, prepared from archaeological fieldwork corresponds very well with a plan made independently by reconstruction from the data in a fieldbook of 1563[25]. Thus ground observation and historical records confirm a large scale and simple arrangement.

23 D. Hooke , 'Open-field Agriculture', in Rowley 1981, p. 58.
24 Hall *Medieval Fields* 1982, p. 52.
25 M. Harvey, 'Regular open-field systems on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Landscape History*, 4, 1982, pp. 28–39; Butterwick plan p. 31; field survey by D. Hall and P. Martin for the Wharram Percy Project.

Similar long lands have been decribed at Holderness, Yorks, where they run from the vill to the township boundary, being a mile in length in some cases[26]. The situation for Yorkshire has been summarized by Sheppard[27] where many townships with lands up to a mile in length, and Maztat has recently published plans of some East Yorkshire townships[28].

The silt Fenlands of Cambridgeshire have lands defined by ditches that run without a break between wide droveways up to a mile apart, the strips being 12–20 yards wide[29]. The modern field boundaries at Middleton near Pickering, Yorkshire, have long smooth curves that suggest there were once two very large blocks of strips up to 2,200 yards in length[30].

Examples of townships and fields planned in a most remarkable way can be found in Saxony, eastern Germany. At Hassegau a series of townships occurs with vills lying in two rows each having a long smooth township boundary that can only have been formed by a deliberate planning process[31]. One series of townships had linear east-west 'row' settlements lying in the middle of their territory and the arable was divided into two series of long strips that reached from the vill to the boundary, one set on the south and one set on the north. The strips were up almost a mile in length[32]. This type of settlement is associated with military colonization during the eastern expansion of the Carolingian empire in the eighth and ninth centuries. The tithes of the vills had been given to the royal abbey of Hersfeld before 780, showing that they existed by that date. Large scale planning of townships and field systems therefore occurred both on the Continent and in England.

Other German examples of long lands occur near the Elbe, here dated to the twelfth century[33] and Postan has referred to ninth century planned long lands made in areas of forest clearance in France and Germany[34]. There are also parallels in southern Sweden and eastern Denmark[35].

It would seem that in regions away from the Midlands arable lands were laid out over very large pieces of countryside. By implication this was done in a planned way in a single operation, very probably allotting lands to the owners and tenants in a regular manner. Returning to the fields and lands of the Midlands and Northamptonshire we seem to have a completely different system, and it is worth considering if this were always really the case, or whether, a simple layout of fields once occurred in these regions also, even though such long lands have not been described in a Midland context before, nor recorded in any document.

26 M. Harvey, 'The origin of planned field systems in Holderness, Yorkshire' in Rowley *Origins* 1981; first noted by Maztat and Harris in 1969, see Maztat 1988, f.n. 28, below.

27 J. A. Sheppard 'Field Systems of Yorkshire' in Baker and Butlin 1973, pp. 145–187; 149–50 with plan.

28 W. Maztat, 'Long strip field layouts and their later subdivisions', *Geografiska Ann.* 70B (1988) 133–148.

29 D. Hall and J. Coles, *Fenland Survey*, English Heritage 1994, pp. 147–8.

30 Illustrated in Hall *Medieval Fields* 1982, p. 51; also noted by P. Allerston, 'Field and Village in the Pickering District of North Yorkshire', M. Sc. Thesis, University of London 1966.

31 H-J. Nitz 'Settlement Structure and Settlement systems of the Frankish Central State in Carolingian and Ottonian times' in Hooke 1988, pp. 249–273; fig 12.2; for other central European examples of long strips see H-J. Nitz, 'The intentional spread of common-field systems', *Geografiska Ann.* 70B (1988) 148–159.

32 Nitz in Hooke 1988, fig. 12.3.

33 A. Krenzlin, 'Dorf, Feld und Wirtschaft im Gebiet der Grossen Taler und Platten ostlich der Elbe', *Forschungen zur Deutschen Landeskunde*, 70, 1952.

34 M. M. Postan (ed.) *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. 1966, *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* 1, 46.

35 *Id.* pp. 461–6.

Evidence for long lands in the Midlands

Physical evidence showing that very long strips once occurred in the Midlands comes from the alignment of lands in furlongs. While most lands have the ploughing 'aratral' curve at each end there is, never-the-less, often a general alignment of lands with those of the next furlong or furlongs. This is easiest to see in cases where the topography allows a series of furlongs to lie one above the other on a slope, with lands in the same orientation. Such alignments cannot be seen on the ground and aerial photographs have to be studied.

Examples are readily visible from photographs of different parts of the county taken in April 1947. Near Gayton and Blakesley, there are 3 furlongs in alignment, the Blakesley example lying on a long curve. At Staverton there are 4 furlongs on the same alignment, and the same number occur at Weston and Weedon, also lying on a gentle curve and four modern fields deep[36]. The Weedon Lois furlongs can be compared with a 1594 map (at All Souls College, Oxford), where they are seen to be exactly the same. Such an arrangement cannot be achieved by piecemeal accretion of furlongs, but only by subdivision of long lands.

At Raunds six furlongs lie one above the other with strips running in the same general orientation, with well developed ridged boundaries between them. The lands of each furlong have a reverse-S ploughing curve at each end.[37]. An aerial photograph shows the furlongs to be part of one smooth curve nearly a mile long. Another example has been published for Wadenhoe where long curved lines have been interrupted by a medieval road[38]. The surveyed plan of Doddington shows that the furlongs lay one below the other and were probably formed out of very long lands (Fig. 12)

Evidence for changes in the orientation of lands in a few furlongs can be found. At Crick an earthwork field of ridge and furrow has had its lands ploughed in two directions at right angles, forming a checker-board of small mounds. This was doubtless done because the farmers of that particular furlong were dissatisfied with the drainage and hoped to get a better gradient by changing them. Such processes presumably occurred regularly in the early days of breaking long lands down into smaller furlongs. Historical evidence of the same process can be found in the area known in the eighteenth-century as Pecks Haden in Raunds (Fig. 9).

Alignments in furlongs are evident on some open-field maps, provided they are sufficiently accurate to be sure that there really is alignment, rather than a mere coincidental general trend. Late maps are usually the most reliable. A plan of Little Addington illustrates examples, where many furlongs have the same general alignment (Plate 4). Wollaston 1774 map has 14 furlongs lying in an exact line[39]. Similar alignments can be seen in published plans. That for Crimscote, Warws., made in 1844, shows alignment through at least 5 furlongs at the north west and 4 in the south east[40]. In both cases only one furlong lies with lands orientated at 90 degrees to the others, and both are called 'cross furlong', as at Little Addington.

Regular tenurial cycles of lands in the fields, already described, present evidence of the existence of long lands. The cycles of 32 lands at Hardingstone and other cycles at

36 RAF CPE/UK/1991 nos 2172, 2086, 2274 and 1094 respectively; prints at NRO in Box X80.
37 Hall *Medieval Fields* 1982, p. 50.
38 *Id.* p. 50.
39 Hall 'Fieldwork and field books' 1983; Wollaston p. 119, at the northwest of the plan.
40 B. K. Roberts in Baker and Butlin *Field Systems* 1973, p. 196.

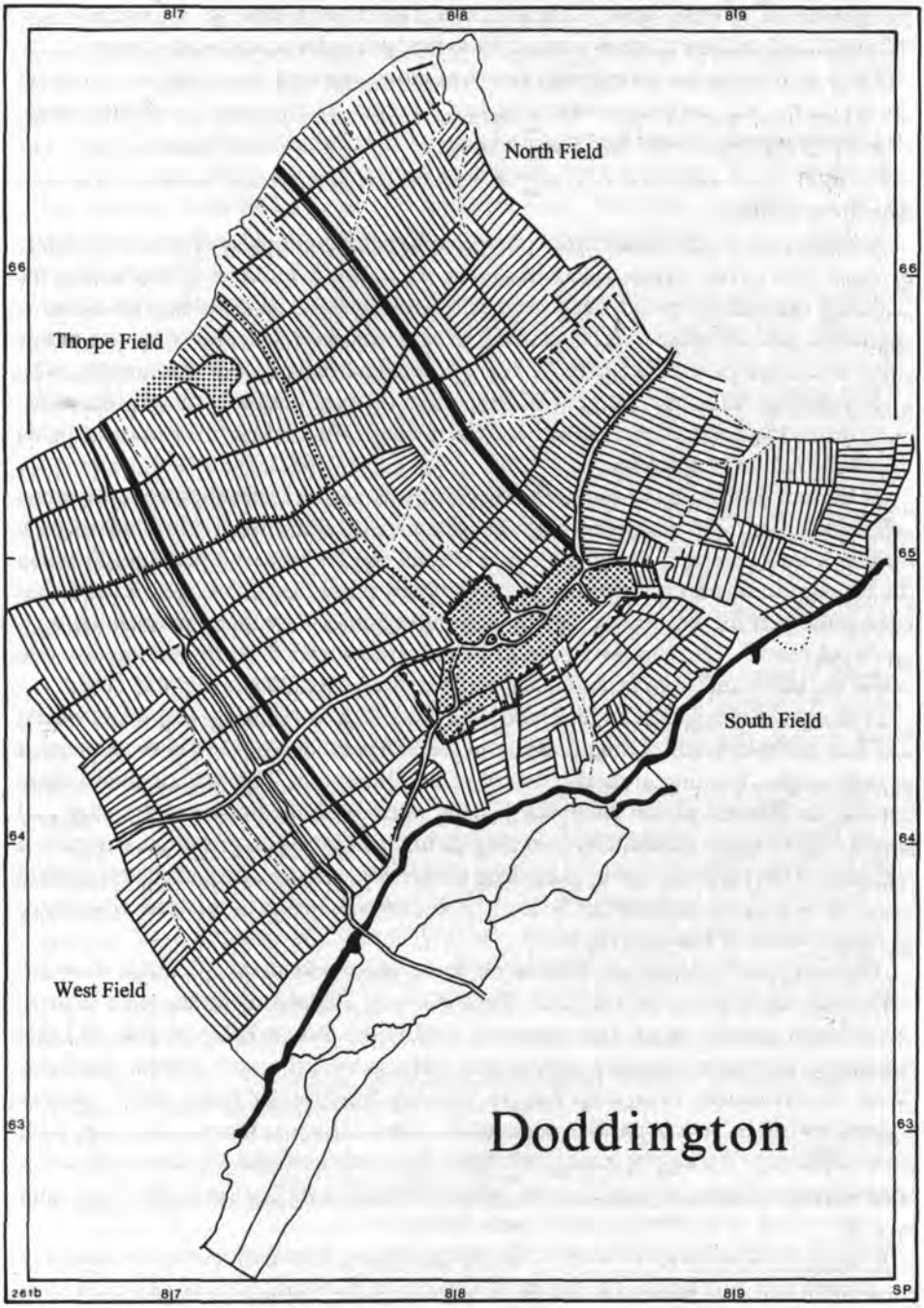


Figure 12, Great Doddington furlong plan showing a large-scale layout. The thick black lines emphasize the alignment of lands in nine furlongs suggesting that the furlong divisions are secondary.

Muscott, Ecton and Mears Ashby, 'set up' long lines in the field plans (see Fig. 13), irrespective of whether some furlongs have been moved through 90 degrees. The information is an exact historical analogy to the aerial photographic evidence.

There is, therefore, a variety of evidence to show that 'long lands' did once occur in the Midlands, and that they represent the earliest stage of a redesigned landscape, at the end of or after the Middle Saxon period.

The dating of furlongs

Approaching retrospectively, from the historical evidence, it is known that medieval fields reached their final complete form by the thirteenth century. This is proved at, for instance, Broughton, Hemington, Naseby and Thornby where thirteenth century charters refer by name to all the furlongs that occupy the whole field area. Not every thirteenth-century furlong can be identified on the ground, but this does not matter because there are certainly enough names to correspond to all those mapped. Detailed evidence from the twelfth century is sparce; the demesne of Braybrooke is described in 1198 and a charter giving some furlong names at Cranford St John dates from approximately 1160. In both cases there is no reason to believe that the fields were incomplete, and similar in every respect to those marked on a map of 1748 for Cranford, and described in a field book of 1767 for Braybrooke. No furlong names are available before 1160, and it would have to be demonstrated by physical evidence that a furlong boundary of the later medieval type was buried by a feature datable to before, say, 1150.

The furlong names themselves strongly suggest that larger units had been divided from the frequent occurrence of pairs, or more, of related names such as *Upper Whines* and *Nether Whines*, *Above* and *Below Holme Way Joint* (at Wollaston in 1430[41]). The word joint is the seventeenth and eighteenth-century name for a furlong boundary, probably indicating an awareness of an 'act' of division where lands had been split into shorter lengths. At Raunds the subdivision is seen to involve several furlongs when there are references to the first, second, or even third joint[42]. There is no medieval Latin word for 'joint' (in contrast to 'headland', *forera*) which probably points to its being a late and secondary feature, although joints must have been formed by the thirteenth century according to the known existence of the 'final' furlong pattern by that date.

Information from Saxon charters is limited. Those of Northamptonshire give no direct evidence about field systems. The correspondence between the Kettering 956 assessment and that of 1086 is good but does not prove the existence of subdivided fields at the earlier date. Likewise Domesday refers to one hide at Denton belonging to Yardley Hastings, and a seventeenth-century terrier shows where this laid within the fields of Denton. It seems likely that the field system was intermixed in the same way in 1066, and when the land was granted to Ramsey abbey in *c.* 1020, although it cannot be proved.

A boundary charter of 1021–3 for Newnham describes furrows and headlands that correspond to right-angled bends in the present day parish boundary. A draft enclosure map of 1764 has furlongs indicated, showing that the kinks are caused by the boundary making its way around the furlongs. It seems, then, that furlongs were probably in

41 Hall *Wollaston* 1977, pp. 156–161; names written on plan of f.n.39.
42 NRO ML 124, the Raunds field book, which has several examples of these name forms.

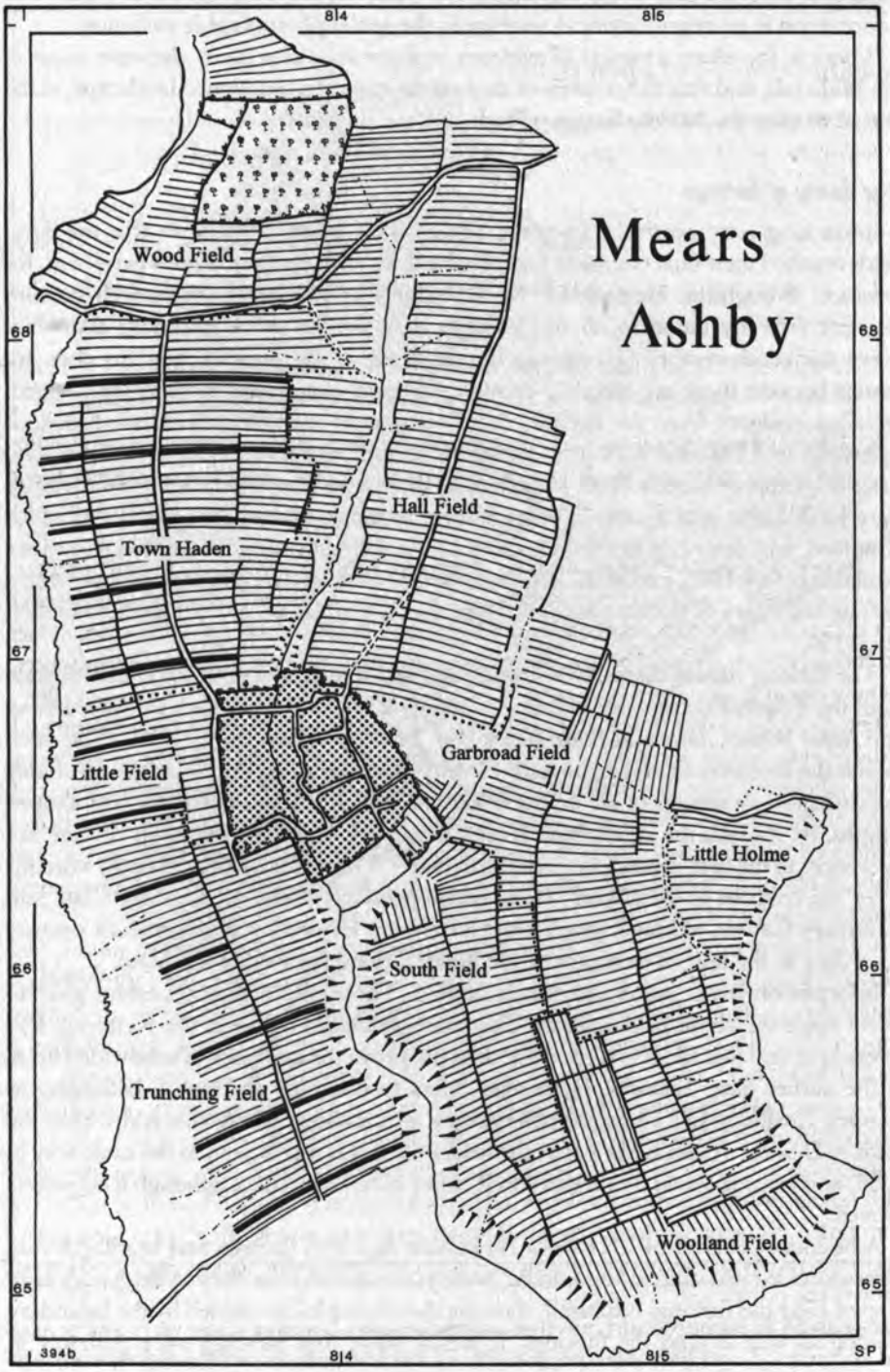


Figure 13, Mears Ashby fields and furlongs showing a compact demesne (Hall Field) and regular tenurial cycles of 40 lands in the west of the parish.

existence by the eleventh century, and so must have been formed fairly soon after long strips were laid out.

Possible origins of open fields

The Northamptonshire studies have produced four new pieces of evidence that have to be accommodated in any explanation of the formation of open fields.

1. The archaeological data give an approximate chronology for the formation of subdivided fields at the end of the Middle Saxon period, say the eighth century.
2. The strips were laid out over large blocks of landscape, later becoming reduced to a checkerboard pattern.
3. A regular tenurial order of lands occurred throughout field systems, only being interrupted by block demesnes, or by areas of waste brought into cultivation later.
4. The number of yardlands in a township does not change and is related to both the physical structure of the fields on the ground, and to Domesday and other fiscal assessments.

It is considered that these points have been proved in the previous chapters and the discussion above, and that therefore fields were laid out in the late Middle Saxon period in a planned, large scale manner, with a fixed regular tenurial order. The scheme has attractions in that it would be simple to set out and easy for each farmer to know where his new holdings lay.

The dating afforded by the archaeological evidence suggests a time towards the end of the Middle Saxon period, but before the introduction of wheel-made Saxo-Norman pottery (believed to be the ninth century, say *c.* 850). So the fields were probably created in the eighth century. What is certain is that there is no evidence for strip fields being introduced by the early Saxons or continuing from the Roman period. They did not exist in Roman Britain or early Saxon England, nor are they known in the Continental homelands before the eighth century.

It then follows that many of the previous explanations for the origin of subdivided fields are inapplicable. We no longer have to look for evidence of every furlong being created by assarting. Partible inheritance, for which there is no evidence in Northamptonshire (other than amongst daughter coheirs), is not responsible for dividing a block of land into parcels; lands were stable even if yardlands were broken down.

The later development of the fields and furlongs removes the difficulty of having to seek explanations and examples of prehistoric and Roman fields evolving into furlongs. In spite of attempts to do so, there are no convincing cases of Saxon 'pre-subdivided' fields (enclosures defined by banks or ditches surving on marginal land or revealed as cropmarks). None of the many plans published by Bowen and Fowler[43] provide a likely precursor; nowhere are there prehistoric or Roman fields on the scale of medieval fields. Some of the most extensive sets of Roman fields known in the country lie in the Fens at March and Christchurch in Upwell, Cambridgeshire, but they cover only about 300 and 200 acres. These have been put forward as a model of Roman fields but they do not

43 H. C. Bowen and P. J. Fowler (eds.), *Early Land Allotment in the British Isles*, 1978, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, vol. 48.

look at all like furlongs and they did not develop into strip fields. They were almost certainly pasture fields used for cattle raising and relate to specialized sites in the region, lying near a major transport route[44].

A few cases of ditches underlying furlong boundaries have been described[45] but they are so few that they cannot account for furlongs, being no more than an ancient feature that was visible and was probably convenient for a boundary point, presenting an obstacle to the plough or interfering with the drainage of furrows. Since most furlong boundaries are not an original feature of the fields, only the headlands and not the joints, there is no need to seek older boundaries under them, no more than Roman precursors would be sought underneath the hedges and ditches of eighteenth-century enclosures.

Dahlman has provided a theoretical approach for a process leading to the necessity of fallow grazing. The driving force must have been population expansion and the lack of sufficient land to practise both animal husbandry and arable cultivation at the same time. The scattering of strips is still the most difficult item to account for, common ownership and common grazing of meadow being easy enough to deal with. The occurrence of large regular fields in eastern Germany, the more remote parts of Yorkshire and the Fens does not quite explain the case for the Midlands. The large and long strips prove that such systems did exist, and as early as the eighth century in Germany. However many of the examples quoted are the intake of somewhat marginal land. It is certainly true of the Fens where the longest lands and most regular fields occur in new intakes of fen, made probably in the twelfth century. In Germany, the fields were part of a colonization, and the Carolingians probably cared little what was there before and what they were obliterating.

This is not the case for the English Midlands, where we need to explain a change made from holdings, presumably farms held in severalty, becoming scattered by the wish of the owners or the vill community. No absolute answer can ever be given, because the reasons, doubtless political and economic, were not recorded. The suggestion by Dahlman, that scattering of arable prevented any particulur farmer withdrawing his ground from communal fallow grazing, so ensuring that a finely balanced mixed farming economy was not disturbed, seems a possible explanation. Scattering also provided equal sharing of land quality and helped avoidance of 'local risks'.

Conclusions

There seems, therefore, to be fairly general evidence that land holding in strips dates from the eighth or ninth century in the Midland region. It may have occurred as part a major concentration of settlement to fewer sites and abandonment of some smaller ones, so forming the sites, if not the actual structure, of the later medieval vills.

The driving force for such a major change of land use (greater than the changes caused by Parliamentary enclosure if the settlement sites were moved at the same time) is not certain. It may have been population pressure and the reduction of waste for animals to graze, so necessitating the use of fallow grazing. If there were to be common grazing over fallow arable, then large areas of land would be needed; such an

44 Hall *Fenland Landscapes*, 1987, fig. 23, sites 32–3; *The Isle of Ely and Wisbech*, fig. 102, forthcoming, East Anglian Archaeology monograph.

45 Bowen and Fowler *Early Land Allotment* 1978, p. 159 (f.n.43).

arrangement would be unworkable, if for instance, all the 12 small Saxon settlements at Brixworth tried to operate their own fallow grazing in an unenclosed landscape. The animals from one small area of fallow would trespass on the crops of the neighbouring farms. In contrast, with a single large area of fallow, the control of animals would be easier.

How such massive changes were wrought is unclear. It is possible that it could be done by agreement by a 'village community'. That such communities existed in the Middle Ages and organised the agriculture is proven at Harlestone, Broughton and elsewhere, and it is possible to imagine such communities at an earlier date agreeing to change their agricultural system, since there would be improvement for each individual farmer.

Equally, the driving force could have been seignurial. Although the manorial system in the ninth century was not established in the way it later appeared, it is likely that there was some kind of hierarchy with rent and tribute (provisions rather than work service) being paid to a thegn. There was certainly a hierarchy by the tenth and eleventh centuries when large ('multiple') estates existed, and whole townships were being given by nobles to monasteries, as shown by the cartularies of the abbeys of Ely and Ramsey and elsewhere. There were lords, or their stewards, in control of townships and such people were likely to be in a position to change agricultural systems.

It is not, of course, implied, by the suggested dates and mechanisms mentioned above, that all townships formed subdivided fields at the same time or produced a mature two- or three- field system occupying the whole landscape of the type familiar by the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. It is likely that each township would change when it was best suited to do so, exactly as with enclosure, the whole process possibly taking several centuries. The area involved in the newly divided fields would likely be the same as had been arable before, so if there were still woodland or other waste, it would be be left. If, subsequently, the waste became assarted and brought into the fields then the new areas would often form a different block or alignment of strips. This is well illustrated by the field pattern at Clopton. At Raunds the tenurial character of a former wooded area, rather than strip alignment, marks it out from the main core of furlongs. Woodland areas would be expected to have complex arrangemants of fields and furlongs if a process of assarting were added to earlier fields and the whole never rearranged and rationalised. Geddington is a good example of this with complex fields in the fifteenth century not all of them being occupied by the copyholders and some of the land certainly being demesne assart. Similarly there were multiple fields named in 1563 at Glapthorn and Cotterstock. Field systems are simpler away from the wooded areas in the west of the county, as would be expected if the ground had been mostly opened up before subdivided fields were laid out.

Chapter 10

Ashby St Ledgers

Ashby St Legders is given here as an extended study to illustrate how the survival of good estate records can be used to unravel a complicated township structure, and to follow changes in agricultural practise. The records form a complete and compact group, being the title deeds and estate papers of manorial owners and freeholders who held Ashby St Ledgers and parts of neighbouring parishes for more than five centuries. The records are good for the fifteenth century, a period when monastic estates often lack details.

Manorial history

An item of manorial interest is the existence of a second estate and vill in the parish. The main manor, located in Ashby village, descended through the families of Cranford, Catesby, Ianson and Ashley. Its history is well covered by Bridges[1] and Baker[2]. Another manor belonged to Ledger Dyve in 1240, which Baker identified with Ashby Lodge, an area now parkland and farmland lying at the north west of the parish. It was held by the Ianson family until 1680 and afterwards descended to the Arnolds, merging with the main estate when bought by Lord Wimborne in about 1918. A country house had been built by George Arnold in 1722 and was pulled down in about 1922. Court rolls refer to *le lodge* in 1517[3], and two estates within the one parish are confirmed by field-system studies. Most of the records of surveys, charters and terriers deal with the Cranford manor, leaving out Ashby Lodge and its surrounding lands, even in the 13th and fourteenth centuries. However, according to the evidence of a 1715 field book, there had once been a single field system for the whole parish.

As well as manorial records there are the archives of small freeholders. A remarkable series of charters shows the descent of the Boys family from 1376 to 1606 and later records give some of the history to 1715. The family were freemen with lowly beginnings, carefully collecting property by the purchase of several small pieces of land and a few medium sized holdings. Members of the family, usually younger sons, can be seen moving about to different places, some of them becoming carpenters. By 1720 they had been bought out by the Ashleys, and the family moved away from Ashby St Ledgers before 1744[4].

Court rolls dating from 1496 to 1684[5] deal with open-field orders, disputes, and the repair of property. For instance in 1528 it was ordered that 'all tenants ... thacke ther

1 Bridges i. pp. 14–17.
2 Baker i. pp. 241–5.
3 NRO ASL 78.
4 NRO PS 4–55; ASL 1155–1168, and 1232.
5 NRO ASL 781–815.

holdyngs that the tymber and the wallys may be kepte drye . . . .and that the lady bailiff [Elizabeth Lucy formerly Catesby, with 5 others] upon Alsoules day . . . goo about the town from holdyng to holdyng and se whether that every tenant hath kepte his payne'[6].

Open fields

Fields

Two fields occur in the thirteenth century, called East and West[7]. *Hanging woolsbreach (wyssebrech)* furlong lay in the *West* Field in *c.* 1275[8]. The field in which it is later found, North or Fedy Field, could never have been called the West field as part of a three-field system, so confirming that there was an early two-field system.

Three fields occur from the fourteenth century until enclosure in 1764 (Figure 2). They were called, in 1416[9], West Field (later Upper), South Field (Foxholes) and North Field (Fedy). All these names occur earlier (North Field in 1330 and the other two in 1337[10]; South Field is also recorded in 1321 and 1326[11]). It is likely that all three existed at the same time in the fourteenth century, since named furlongs lie in the same fields then as they do in the later three fields. The furlongs of the North Field were said to be in an *East* field in 1439[12], but this is an alternative name for North Field and not another different field. The distribution of lands among the fields was equal in 1469[13] when the West, South and North Fields have 2.75, 2.25 and 2.0 acres each.

Yardlands

Yardlands are listed on several occasions[14]. The 40.5 total of 1688 represents the the whole parish which then belonged to Brian Ianson III. He was impropriate rector and received all the tithe except for the glebe and townland. The total was probably intended to be to 40. In the eighteenth century the Ashleys did not possess the Lodge, and their open-field estate with the glebe was about 33 yardlands. The difference between the totals implies that 7 yardlands were assigned to the Lodge enclosed estate. There are other 17-century parallels for enclosure being assessed in terms of yardlands at Brockhall and Great Billing. The reason was that local taxes were raised on the yardland and an enclosing owner still had to pay his dues.

The total of 40 yardlands is confirmed by the existence of 40 tenurial divisions in the fields (below). They relate to the Domesday assessment of 4 hides and 10 ploughlands, at 10 to the hide, and would seem to confirm Round's suggestion that the 1086 'ploughland' was an earlier assessment, once representing 10 hides each containing 4 virgates. Four virgates to the hide are found in most southern English counties.

6 NRO ASL 795.
7 *Ancient Deeds* iv (London 1902), A4105.
8 NRO ASL 2.
9 NRO PS 16.
10 NRO ASL 12, 8.
11 *AD* iv A7139; A7658.
12 NRO PS 25.
13 NRO PS 37.
14 1688; 37.75 (NRO ASL 140) plus 0.5 townland (given in 1649, ASL 1233), plus glebe 2.5 yardlands, 40.5 in all.
1712; the cow pasture agreement shows there were 33.27, and 33.64 (ASL 154).
c. 1730 Land tax 33 yardlands (NRO D 399).
1752 Tithe book lists 30.75 yardlands (ASL 1236), plus glebe 2.5.
1764 Enclosure papers 32.75.

The size of the yardland in 1635 is given as 38 acres[15], and the estimated size in 1463 was 34.5 acres[16]. Heads at the ends of lands were referred to in 1321[17]. In 1650 hay from these 'hades', as well as balks, snouts and leys were worth 12s. per yardland[18].

The crops planted on a 50-acre estate in 1674 were 20 acres of wheat, 20 acres of barley and 10 acres of peas. Meadow belonging (20 acres) gave 20 cart loads of hay. The closes around the village were normally kept as pasture, but in 1666 one of the small crofts was ploughed up for five years and the impropriator received tithe grain[19].

Some detail of agricultural practise can be obtained from a tithe book of 1744–63 kept by the vicar Edward Maud[20]. He listed each holder of lands and calculated particulars of sheep, calves, garden and other tithes and their value.

The introduction of leys to the arable

The introduction of leys into the open fields can be followed from charter references. No charter gives the actual date of ley formation, but listing the dates when each set of leys was first recorded shows that leys were created during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, culminating with the cow pasture agreement of 1712 (partly printed in Chapter 2).

The dates of leys in each furlong are marked on Figure 2. There was an estimated 7 percent of leys in 1463[21].

Field books

Ashby has three field books[22], two are undated, and ASL 1231 has '1698' written in the text. The most used and worn version is ASL 1232, which was made after the 1712 the cow pasture agreement. Of the tenants named, Samuel Moors, John Boys and John Moor all died in 1715; and the death of John Cures in the same year caused 'Widow' Cures to be named in the terrier[23]. The date of the field book is therefore 1715. The other two versions have been collated with ASL 1232; ASL 1230 appears to be a copy of ASL 1232, and ASL 1231, being earlier, has some different owners and slight differences in lands marked with 'F' for Farm and 'thirds', as well as other small descriptive items.

The 1715 field book begins with a list of leys, continues with the dole meadows, then proceeds with Foxhalls Field, Upper Field and Fedy Field, giving furlong names and lists of the occupiers with the size of the lands.

Meadows

There are six meadows divided into 40 numbered units (called doles), which are assigned to the tenants as below, Table 12. The word 'dole' here must mean meadow belonging or 'doled' to the yardlands. There was not an annual re-allotting of the meadows, as proved by their being described in terriers in a fixed position and not as unspecified roods of dole meadow that changed each year.

15 NRO ASL 87.
16 NRO ASL 20.
17 NRO PS 1.
18 NRO ASL 140.
19 NRO ASL 142.
20 NRO ASL 1236.
21 NRO ASL 20.
22 NRO ASL 1230–2.
23 Ashby St Legders parish register, NRO 15P/4.

Table 12 Ashby St Ledgers meadow divisions in 1715

No.	*Cackmoor*	*Runns*	*Slows*	*Copped wells*	*Foxhalls*	*Patches*
1	Ric Moor	Ric Moor	Ric Moor	Moses Noon	Ric Moor	William Leeson
2	John Boys	John Boys	John Boys	John Boys	John Boys	John Boys
3	id	id	id	id	id	id
4	Sam Moor	Sam Moor	Sam Moor	Sam Moor	Sam Moor	Samuel Moor
5	Abbotts	R Jackson	Tooby F	id	Grubb, Clark	Ric Moor
6	Tooby's F	id	id	Tooby F	Ric Jackson	Abbott, Story
7	id	W Hammond	id	id	Ralph Jackson	John Cure
8	id	Tooby F	R Moor	id	John Moor	Edwards
9	id	id	id	id	Ric Moor	Verney; Jackson & Grubb
10	id	id	Leeson	id	id	Tooby F
11	Edwards	J Abbot	id	John Moor	John Moor	id
12	J Bawcutts	Wid Cures	R Jackson	Abbott	J Bawcutt	id
13	Abbotts Stonys	J Cures	John Bates	id	Edwards	Richard Jackson
14	id	id	Bawcutts	Ralph Jackson & Grubb	John Bates	id
15	R Jackson	Abbotts	Leeson	Leeson	id	John Moor
16	Grubbs Watson	J Bawcutts	J Bates	Abbott	John Bawcutt	Ric Moor
17	Richard Moors	Robt Verney	Robt Verney	id	Ric Moor	id
18	Ric. Jackson	Widow Cures	Ric. Jackson	Ric Jackson	John Abbot	Ric Jackson
19	J Bates	A. Bawcutt	S Moor	Edwards	Town; W Boys	John Bawcutt
20	id	Ralph Jackson	Ric Moor	id	id W Grubb	Ric Verney
21	Leesons	Abbotts	Ralph Jackson	Ralph Jackson	Robert Verney	id
22	id	Robert Verney	Sam Moor	Grubb	Leeson	Widow Cures
23	Ric. Jackson	Tooby F	John Cures	Bawcutt	John Moor	Verneys
24	Samuel Moors	id	Robert Verney	John Armson	J Bawcutt	Grubbs, Watson
25	Bawcutts	Leeson	id	Leeson	Edwards & R Jackson	Widow Cures
26	id	Samuel Moors	John Moor	John Cures	Widow Cures	John Armson
27	Will. Hammonds	John Bates	Grubbs	Grubb, Watson	id	id
28	Edwards	John Cures	Widow Cures & Grubb Watson	John Moor	John Bates	Abbots, Storys
29	Bawcutts	Grubbs	Bawcutt	id	Grubb	id
30	Grubbs	Edwards	Sam Moor	Ric Jackson	Sam Moor	Verney, Grooby
31	John Moors and R Jackson & Grubbs	Robert Verney	J Bawcutt	Grubb, Cures	John Abbott	Grubb, Cure
32	J Bates	id	Grubb, Clark	Widow Cures	Grubb, Clark	Widow Cures and Ralph J, Grubb
33	Robert Verney	Verney, Groobey	Grubb	Ric Jackson	Ralph Jackson	Verney
34	Widow Cures	id	Robert Verney	Grubb	Moor, Grubb	id
35	id	John Moor	Abbott	Widow Cures	Bawcutt	Ralph Jackson, Grubb
36	J Bawcutts	Grubb, Clark	John Moor	Sam Moor	id	Widow Cures; Grubb, Watson
37	Townland;	J Bawcutt	id	id	John Cures	Abbots, Storys
38	id W Boys &	Edwards	id	Edwards	Widow Cures	Grubbs
39	id W Grubbs	R Jackson & Grubb	Leeson	Bates	Bawcutt	Edwards
40	John Moors	Tooby F	Abbott	Bates	Verney	John Cures

From NRO ASL 1232.

The above name-lists show there is an underlying regular tenurial order. The 40 parts presumably relate to the 40 yardlands. Although only positions 2, 3, and 4 have the same owner in all the meadows, many other positions have a limited number of tenants.

The meadow holdings for each person have been collected below, Table 13. Since the 40 divisions represent 40 yardlands, it follows that in six meadows 6 doles are equivalent to a yardland.

John Boys' 12 doles or 2 yardlands is confirmed in the 1688 tithe list[24], which states that his father William was in possession of 2 yardlands that had been transferred to John in 1684. It is unfortunate that so many holdings had changed hands between 1688 and 1715 so that few can be checked. The only other identical holding is that of Mary Story who had 0.5 yardland in 1688; 3 doles in 1715 belonged to 'Story'. Similar sized holdings are found for the Jackson family which had 3.5 yardlands in 1688 and 3.48 (20.75 doles of meadow) in 1715. The Verneys had 3 7/8 in 1688 and 18 doles (3 yardlands) in 1715, and Cures held 2.5 yardlands in 1688 and later 19.5 doles (3.25 yardlands).

It is therefore clear that the meadows preserve a relict tenurial cycle of 40 that related to the whole *parish* of 40 yardlands. Only 3 positions (2, 3, 4) remain constant in 1715. The Story half yardland does not lie in one position but as 6 half doles, being positions 13 and 14 in Cackmoor and 5, 28, 29 and 37 in Patches. If this irregularity was achieved by exchange then it was a complicated affair. More difficulties are experienced in the open-field *lands* when an attempt is made to identify the 40-land cycle in them by using John Boys (positions 2, 3), Samuel Moor (4) and Toobey, who held position 10 in five cases out of six in the meadow.

The meadows were divided in this complicated manner before 1463[25]. A terrier of Thomas Dekyn's land refers to 6 roods of meadow in the same six meadows (except that *runns* was called *waynegod*), and, remarkably, the meadow positions are numbered. Position 16 is referred to 2 times (Cackmooor and Foxhalls), suggesting that once this was the main position for the meadow of the holding. A neighbour on one side, in 1463, was George Boys in two cases, and in 1715 (table above) it was Richard More both times. More remarkably the 1715 owners in position 16 of Cackmoor, Grubbs and Watson, also held the meadow positions (Runns (waynegod) 28 and coppedwell 27) which all belonged to Dunkley in 1463.

This establishes that the division of the meadow, although complicated, was stable and had not changed since 1463, and was therefore medieval. A complex exchange had taken place before 1463. It also shows that the land in the terrier was one yardland, although it is not stated to be. The terrier is defective, but Fedy (North) field contained 45 roods of arable, and Upper (West) Field had 47 roods making the yardland 34.5 acres, assuming all the fields were equal. The actual lands are nearly all half acres and there were already at least 10 roods of leys (7 percent).

Not surprisingly, the meadows can be shown to lie in the same complicted order in 1561, intermediate in date between 1463 and 1715, in an unusually detailed terrier of land belonging to Bastien and George Boys[26]. The meadows are numbered and the following positions occur: Cackmoor 1 and 7; Wainegoads (Runns) 1; Foweloes 1, 8, 9, 20; Foxholes 1, 9, 10, 17. Inspection of the 1715 table shows that these meadow

24 NRO ASL 140.
25 NRO ASL 20.
26 NRO ASL 44.

positions are identical to the meadow of Richard Moor of 1715. There are 14 roods of meadow which should equal 2.333 yardlands.

Lands

The tenurial disposition of the lands in 1715 is seemingly baffling and a regular order is not easy to recognize by inspection. However the discovery that the meadows had a complex, but stable, order, can be shown to hold true for the lands.

The 1561 terrier[27] has the lands in its furlongs numbered as well as the meadows. Bennetts Moor furlong in 'Breer Furlonge Field' (Upper Field) had the first land next to a common balk, the 9th and the (final) headland was the property of the Boys family. On comparison with the 1715 fieldbook it is clear that the balk is one in the middle of the furlong that divides the 'thirds', and that the 9th land and the final headland was then the property of Richard Moor. And so are other listed lands of 1561 all the property of Richard Moor in 1715; the 10th land of 'frintaker', on Nether Bree lands 8 and 14; longchurchill (under churchill) 4; etc.

The complex order of the lands of 1715 is proved therefore to be stable and of ancient origin. It can be taken back to 1463 from the terrier of that date. The earliest terrier of any length is dated 1376[28] and this like all the other later ones has a considerable number of neighbours; there is not a regular tenurial order of 40, but the complex later version. The re-arrangement is likely to have occurred before 1376 and is very probably connected with the Lodge estate formation, perhaps as early as *c.* 1215 when two manors can be identified.

The neighbours of lands in the 1463 terrier are dominated by the lord, Catesby, lying on both sides on most occasions. In 24 entries for Upper (West) Field Catesby is neighbour on one side at all times and on the other 17, with the rest taken by George Boys 2, Robert Hynkley 2 and Thomas Dunkley 4. The neighbours, although more than two are limited, as with the meadows and suggest the same kind of de-regularised order as found in 1715.

Table 13 Ashby St Ledgers meadow doles 1715, arranged by owners.
(Yardlands marked with an asterisk are confirmed from other sources.)

Name	*Dole number*	*Yardland equivalent*	*Name*	*Dole number*	*Yardland equivalent*
Abbott, John	14	2.333	Jackson, Richard	17.25	2.875*
Armson, John	3	0.5	Jackson, Ralph	3.5	0.583*
Bates, John	11	1.83	Leeson, William	9	1.5
Bawcutt, John	20	3.33	Moor, Richard	17	2.83
Boys, John	12	2*	Moor, Samual	14	2.33
Clark	2	0.33	Moor, John	12.5	2.08
Cure, John	7	2.17	Noon, Moses	1	0.17
Cures, widow	12.5	2.08	Story	3	0.5*
Edwards	12.5	2.08	Tooby	23	3.83
Grooby	1.5	0.25	Town	5	0.83
Grubb	16	2.67	Verney, Robert	18	3*
Hammond, William	2	0.33	Watson	2	0.33*
				238.75	(for 240)

Data from Table 13 re-arranged (NRO ASL 1232).

27 NRO ASL 44.
28 NRO PS 4.

Given the above evidence for there once being a medieval regular cycle of 40 in the meadows and furlongs, and that some positions are identifiable, it should be relatively simple to apply it to the furlongs to study their structure. However several problems arise. The regular order has suffered more decay in the lands, there are some names that do not occur in the meadow list, and even the 3 'fixed' positions are not universally so. If these cannot be identified than it is nearly impossible to identify the cycle, there being so many possibilities.

What is clear, by inspection of the longer furlongs (with over 40 lands) where there is a good run of names, is that there undoubtedly was a fixed order of 40 and that it affects the furlong structure. Often groups of lands, particularly 1–5, have the same names, followed by periods of apparent irregularity, then more names consistent with the 40 meadow cycle appear.

In several cases the sequence 1–5 begins or ends a furlong. So in Radmoor, working in reverse order, 1–5, 7, 12, 13, 18, 22. 23 hold good and a new name occurs for 15–17. Two positions then seem to have been lost, then there is a fair fit for (new position) 22–9, 36–8, a new cycle of 1–4 and 11–12 when the furlong ends. Front Acre, starting at the 4th land from the east, goes from 10–1, 40–36, 29–25, 22–20, 8–12 before being irregular on the last 11 lands, which should have contained the beginning. The next furlong to it, Upper Bree, with lands in the same direction, was taken the other way, west to east in 1715, and 4 lands in runs 38, 40, 1–5, suggesting that the 40 sequence ran west to east in both cases, as elsewhere.

Stockwell furlong, north side, beginning from the west (reverse to 1715) begins 1–4, 9, 14, 16, 18–20, 22, 24, 34–8, which seems like a whole sequence for the one furlong. On the eastern side of the township the 40 sequence runs east to west. Fede is the largest furlong with a run of 92 lands. On the east it begins 1–16, 20, 23, 25–6, 32, 34, 37, 39, 5–9, 12–14, 19, 21, 29–31, 35–6, 38–40, 2–4, 8, 16, 17, 30, 33, 40, and 1 is the final eastern headland. That is, this large furlong contains 3 whole cycles, in spite of various irregular parts within it. Many furlongs consist of one or more cycles of 40.

Field orders

The earliest field-orders list is for 1526[29], and a few others from 1514–22 are added below:

There were to be only 4 horses for each yardland (1514).	
Each yardland to have 6 beast (1514).	6/8d.
A cottager could have 1 horse and 2 beast (1514).	1/8d.
No one should have beast or pigs outside a common herd unless they were ringed and staked.	1s. and 20s.
Uncastrated pigs were to be kept in a stable.	3/5d.
There were to be 40 sheep per yardland, fine for default.	10s.
Everyone should make a sty for their pigs.	
All bitches should be splayed.	3/4d.
There were to be no more than 7 score sheep per flock.	10s.
Sheep commons may be exchanged.	6/8d.
Mounds were to made between neighbours for sheep not kept in the herd.	3/4d.
No hog was to feed unless it be ringed.	
No one was to take sheep from other lordships to make up his allowance if he could take in his neighbours sheep[30].	

29 NRO ASL 791.
30 NRO ASL 795, 1528.

In 1649 orders of the usual type were listed[31]. Among them it was noted that all should 'be content to use their lands as far as the holes marked out' (the grass ends to be left unploughed), and balks were to be left 3 feet wide between half acre lands and 1.5 feet between roods. Similar orders were made for 1644 and 1657.

Field and furlong names

The furlong names below are based on the 1715 fieldbook, with abuttals and name forms collected from charters and deeds[32]. The furlongs were identified using the calculated sizes and abuttal data (below), along with the enclosed field names, themselves identified from a survey of 1808[33] which could be related to the names and map in a sale catalogue of 1902[34]. They are plotted on Figure 2, which was made by field survey. The 'widths' given are those of the furlongs in inches on a map of 1:10560, assuming that the lands averaged 8 yards in width.

Demesne

The 1715 field book does not distinguish the demesne, but it can be identified from the information given in tithe disputes. The vicarage of *c.* 1210, owned by Laund priory, Leics., had the tithe of one third of the demesne of both manors, belonging to John de Cranford and Leodger de Dive. It also had the tithe of 1.5 yardlands which Roger de Harwedon held[35]. A dispute of 1673 acknowledged that the vicar had the tithe of grain and hay due from one-third part of the lands of John de Cranford, it being well known where they laid in certain furlongs, the lands being marked by common balks and called *thirds* or John of Cranford's land[36]. The vicar then had the whole tithe of 2.5 yardlands, which was one more than he should have had. This was presumed to have happened 'att ye gunpowder treason when both ye impropriate (rectory) and vicarage had been Cattesbys.'

A glebe terrier of 1720 stated that the land was 10 quarterns and was called the Farm, of which 9 quarterns were in the tenure of William Tooby. The field books (below) do not quite agree which lands belonged to the Farm, and none of them is as full as the glebe description itself, which has been taken as the most reliable version.

The meadow descriptions in the 1715 field book show that the Farm is mainly limited to a few positions, nearly all of it being in blocks of 3–5 adjacent roods in a given meadow lying somewhere between positions 5–12. It is the most fixed of any holding except that of the 2 yardlands of John Boys.

The lands called thirds, listed in the 1720 glebe terrier, are given below and plotted on Figure 2:

31 NRO ASL 804.
32 The main sources are charters and deeds ASL 1–45 (13th–1674; PS 1–49 (1321–1556); long terriers are PS 4, 13, 20–1, 25, 29, 37 (1376, 1412, 1423, 1423, 1439, 1463, 1469), and ASL 20, 23, 44 (1463, 1501, 1561).
33 NRO ASL 352.
34 NRO ASL 768.
35 NRO ASL 1262; A. Gibbons, *Liber Antiquus de Ordinationis Vicariarum tempore Hugonis Wells, Lincolniensis Episcopii* (Lincoln 1888), p. 38.
36 NRO ASL 142.

Table 14 Ashby St Ledgers furlong names

Name 1715	*Land lie*	*No*	*Width*	*Abuttals*	*Name forms*
Foxhalls Field (South Field 1326 and 15th, Foxholes Field 1561)					
Town leys	EW	7	0.1		
Town leys	NS	57	1.58		
Little town leys	EW	18	0.50	HL N	
Mill hill		25	2.05		millhill 1561
Leys shooting midnill		6	0.17		
Midnill	NS	74	2.05		middelhul 1375, mydenhill 1422, meedmill 1561
Blackmilland	EW	16	0.44	E of Lester way	blakemydelond 1400, backmyland 1561
Thornold	EW	82	2.40	Way on N	
Eldersdeane		9	0.25		
Presley slade	EW	3	0.08+	Heads oldinge	
Oldinge	NS	49	1.36		oldynge 15th
Windmill		45	1.25		wynd milnehul 1375
East side millway		30	0.83		mulneway 1349 AD, millwaye 1561
Choakpitts	NS	39	1.08	Mear at end	chalcputtes 1321 AD, chalkepyttes 1412
St Marys leys		14	0.39		
Cox meadow leys	15	0.42			
Cox meadow	NS	23	0.64	Welton way W, HL at upper field side	cockmedowe 15th, coxmeadowe 1561
Larkwell	NS?	27?	0.75	End at wellom way	
Parkside		41	1.14	HL at field side	
Elderslade	EW	36	1.00	HL field side, next way N	eltherslade 1339, elderhull 1422
Wellom	NS	59	1.64	Next wellom way	wollhumwye 1375, woldon hill 1412?
Wooland	NS	44	1.22	Next a common way	wowelond 1375, 1412, wooland 1561
Radmoor	NS	66	1.84		rodemor 1375, 1412, roddemore 1561
Oldnill	EW	16	0.44	Next Northampton way	oldemilne 1375, olden hull 1422, oldemill 1561
Butting between ways	NS	55	1.53	HL home side	ways 1375, weyes 1417
Dry pitts	NS	49	1.36		
Long lamcoats	NS	15	0.42		lamcotes 1320, lambcoets 15th, longe lamcotts 1561
Fowslass NS	NS	54	1.50		ffowlesloes 1422, far f. 1561
Cow pasture					
Elderslade leys		4	0.11		
Oldnill		1	0.03		
Blakwell		8	0.22		blakewell 1375, 1418, blackwell 1501
Blakwell leys	plot	+ 5	0.14+		
Gravell pitts		56	1.56	HL homeward	gravell pitts 1561
Little fowslass		43	1.19		
Fowslass		4	0.11		
Foxalls hyhorns					foxholes highehorne 1561
Foxalls lands		41			
Upper foxalls leys		55	1.53	Parallel to Watling St	overfoxoles 1375
Nether foxalls leys		55	1.53		nether foxholes 1561

Table 14 *continued*

Name 1715	*Land lie*	*No*	*Width*	*Abuttals*	*Name forms*
Other names					
1561					
Long foxholes					
Short foxholes					short foxhole 1501
hallowegrindill					
lancotts					
waterfurroes					
15th					
sosland					
loweslade					
heselislade					
bronsichefurlong 1426					
rodelynys 1415					
millehok 1422					
Upper field 1715 (West Field 1373)					
Long half acre	NS	21	0.58	Buts priest balk, parallel to Leicester way	half aker slade 1373, long half aker slade 1561
Short half acre	EW	24	0.67	HL north	
Bennetts moor	NS	37+	1.6+	HL west	benetusmore 1404, benitts more 1561
Bennetts moor slade		3+	0.1+		
Nether hungerland	EW	18	0.5	S, next fallom wood way	
Upper hungerland	EW	21	0.58		
Frontacre	NS	44	1.22	HL east	thric aker 1373, frintacre 1561
Upper breefurlong	NS	48	1.3		overbrere 1373, long over breer 1561
Nether breefurlong	NS	47	1.3	HL E, abuts Braunston way	nether breer 1561
Rowley	EW	31	0.9	HL N, next Braunston way	rowlowe 1417, rowley 1561
Upper stone	EW	25	0.7	HL S	stoneforlong 1373, stoan 1561
Nether stone	EW	38	1.1		
Stockwell furlong, north	NS	37	1.0		short stokwelle forlong 1373, s. stokwell 1561
Stockwell furlong, south	NS	35	0.97		
Under church hill		33	0.9		churchehull 1413
Rainbow under church hill		9	0.25		
Nether east and west	EW	33	0.9	HL N	
Upper east and west	EW	22	0.6	HL S, cuts shorter	
Hollow way	NS	26	0.6	HL E, next halliwell meerway	Halywelle 1390, halewel 1413, halliwell 1561
Hollow way shoots meer	EW	10	0.3		
Five lands	EW	5	0.2		
Five long lands	EW	5	0.2	?between church hill	
Top of church hill	NS	9	0.25	HL W	Upper end churchill 1561
Little furlong at upper end churchill way	NS	13	0.36		
Little furlong at upper end harvest meadow	NS	8	0.22		
After harvest meadow side	EW	18			Harvest meadow side 1561
Pentebadby	NS	16	0.44		

Table 14 *continued*

Name 1715	*Land lie*	*No*	*Width*	*Abuttals*	*Name forms*
Cross elm	NS	15	0.42	HL W, abuts meerway	
Theythorn	NS	22	0.61	HL W	Thethorne 1412, thenethorne 1422
Harvest meadow slade			4 plots		
After harvest meadow side	EW	9	0.25	HL S	
Offielaws	NS	10	0.28	HL E	
Goarbroad	NS	17	0.47		
Short gorland		14	0.39	HL, probably W	
Long gorland		6	0.17		
Swinsties	EW	16	0.44		
Broxfurlong	NS	5	0.14	HL E	Broxesforlong 1375, brokkes f1417
Little furlong at south end of goarbroad		2	0.06		
Broxfurlong, east-west	EW	31	0.86		Long broxfurlong 1561
Cow pasture					
Windmill leys	NS	27	0.75		Wyndemylneleyes 1412, winemill leyes 1561
Anslows		40	1.11		Anloes 1561
Piece as Bennetts moor					
Grassgraft lands	EW	18	0.5		Grasscraft 1561
Grassgraft leys		51+	1.42+		
Long halfacre	NS	12	0.33		
Theythorn heads		2	0.06		
Presley butts	EW	13+28;	0.36	+0.78	Prestleye 1375, over presley 1561
Presley leys					
Four lands at Welton field		4	0.11		
Little furlong at upper end of goarbroad	3	0.08			
Short broxfurlong		9	0.25		
other names					
15th					
ottebreche 1404, uddebreche 1412					
hertebrere 1404					
Feddy Field 1715 (Feda Field 1561, East Field 1326, 1375, 1425)					
Woolspitt	NS	31	0.86		
Woolspitt rood leys	NS	10+	0.31+		
Plash	EW	39	1.08	HL, S	Plasch 1412, plash 1561
Longbreech	EW	24	0.67		Longebreche 1321 (and shortabr.), longebrech 1412
Just poles	EW	24	0.67		
Stanwell hill	EW	16	0.44		Stanewelhull 1422, long stanwell hill 1561
Costydene furlong	EW	8	0.22		Costondean 1375, costonsden 15th, coston deane 1561
Costyhill	NS	21	0.58	HL W	
Costy pitt	EW	9	0.25		
Hanging woolsbreach	NS	58	1.61	HL E, sh horse close 1560	woolsbreche 1375, long wyssebrech 1400 in North Field, hanging woolfebreach 1561
Short clay furlong	EW	18	0.5	HL N	Short clay furlong 1561
Long clay furlong	EW	39	1.08	HL S and N, ab mill ditch	Long cley forlong 1400, 1422

Table 14 *continued*

Name 1715	*Land lie*	*No*	*Width*	*Abuttals*	*Name forms*
Millditch	NS	36	1.00	Abuts stonehill HL	Milneditch 1375, milnedych 1422, mill ditche 1561
Quachfen		41	1.14		Quatch fenn 1561
Stonehill dene lays		9	0.25		Stonehill deane 1561
Stonehill	EW	36	1.00	HL N and S	Stone forlong 1375, stone 1404, stonhill 1561
Whitnell	NS	38	1.06	Abuts stonhill HL next to Crickway	Short whitwell 1561
Statfold	NS	33	0.92	E end hades of lensway	
Deadmore	NS	48	1.33	HL E	Deddemore 1412, dedmore late 15th, deademore 1561
Longpissell	NS	16	0.44	HL E, abuts short pissell HL	Pishill 1300, long pissill 1561
Short pissell	EW	14	0.39	next dole meadow	
Pissell leys		18	0.50		Pyshull 1398, pissil 1561
Mead hill	EW	41	1.14	Fedy furlong at N	
Squerish land	EW	31	0.86	HL S and N	Squabettlond 1375, squaletteslond 1422, swallettelond 1422, sqarish land 1561
Lensway	EW	23	0.64	HL N and S	
Under lensway	NS	28	0.78	HL W (and E?)	
Stonehill dene furlong	NS	15	0.42	HL E and W	
Costy furlong	EW	21	0.58	HL: N and S	
Smeridoles	NS	23	0.64		Smalidoles 1475, smaldoles 1422, smalledoles 1561
Fede	NS	92	2.56	HL W, head at brook	Lond feydey 15th, feydey 1422
Upper balland	EW	35	0.97	HL N	Foxholes bawalond? 1561
Nether balland	NS	39	1.08	Shoots statfold	
Meadows					
Cackmoor	Cakkemor 1398			Cakemore 1463	
Runns	Wainegoads 1561			Waynegod 1463	
Slowes				Slowes 1463	
Coppedwells	Copperwell 1315			Coppedwel 1463	
Foxhalls	Foxholes medwe 1412			Foxholys 1463	
Patches	Patches 1412			Patches 1463	
Haywards piece					
Backhouse leesons					
Little inlands					
Middle inlands					
Great inlands	inlands 1404				
Statfold meadow					

Based on ASL 1232 (1715) with information from charters and deeds NRO ASL 1–45 (13th-1674); PS 1–49 (1321–1556); long terriers are PS 4, 13, 20–1, 25, 29, 37 (1376, 1412, 1423, 1423, 1439, 1463, 1469), and ASL 20, 23, 44 (1463, 1501, 1561).

Foxhalls Field				*Fede Field*			
Mill hill	16 leys	36 lands	52 total	Costy hill	9 lands		9 total
Thornold	5	69	74	Statfold	25		25
Eldersdean		9	9	Hanging Woolsbrech	27		27
Larkwell	1 headl.	21	22				*61*
Parkside	1 headl.	40	41				
Woolands		18	18	*Upper Field*			
Wellom		15	15				
Butts betw. ways		13	13	Bennetts moor	5	7 leys	12
			244	Anslows	34		34
				Grasscroft	17+ HL		*64*

The total is 369 lands, which paid the 30th sheaf, or one third of the tithe. The thirds were mentioned in 1561 in a terrier with numbered lands that refers to the (demesne) balk in Bennetts More[37]. A balk marked the thirds in Anslow Furlong as early as 1416 when a block of 7 lands laid next to a balk[38].

The blocks of furlongs are typical of demesne, although they are not described as demesne except in the original grant. Very possibly the furlongs in the old enclosure of Mill Field and Horse Close were demesne also.

The demesne blocks lie without any observable physical division that might be ascribed to the two separate lords of the manor. The lords undoubtedly had demesnes lying side by side in the blocks, as at Kislingbury, which would indicate that there was only one manor originally, as is recorded in the eleventh and twelfth-centuries.

The thirds belonged to the Ashleys in 1715, and were held by tenants. They are not described as demesne and had probably been let out with other land taken in hand by the Catesbys in the fifteenth century, held at will, with no particular manorial rights or interest assigned to them.

It can be shown that no manorial status for some of the lands had been claimed since 1412. Terriers of the freehold property of the Boys and Deacon families mention the names of nearly all the demesne furlongs. However since only one furlong, *inland* is entirely demense the names as a whole do not *prove* that freeholders had former demesne land. Inland is one of the furlongs with at least one land in freehold possession (in 1404,[39]), and another is conclusively located in the demesne in the same year at Bennetts Moor, where a freehold land laid next to the Rugby Way (*rogeway*) which is described as 'thirds' in 1715. Another case is at Hanging Woolsbrech which has short lands at the west which were demesne. In 1400, freehold lands laid on *short* hanging woolsbrech. These three examples indicate that the demesne had been rearranged before 1400.

The most likely reason for this change of ownership, as explained previously, is that the demesne had been involved in a large-scale exchange of lands to form the separate estate of the Lodge.

Enclosures

The Lodge

The Lodge estate, first mentioned in a 1519 court roll, is described in 1612 as a pasture of enclosed ground called Lodge Field, 200 acres and the house standing, with the Great

37 NRO ASL 44.
38 NRO ASL 1157.
39 NRO PS 12.

Meadow of Ashby, Dry Field and Little Meadow[40]. No open-field information has been found and it is possible that the estate was pasture, like a park, from its inception. This would explain the name 'Lodge'. As shown above, the Lodge was probably formed by consolidation exchanges made in the thirteenth century.

In 1657 there are details of the Lodge upkeep and tenancy conditions; 'glazing, floors, stairs and partitions; the tenant not to cut, cart or steal trees and bushes, and to give account of all work on stiles, gates, and pens for sheep and hay, and was to keep out hunters and coursers'. He was to look after cattle in his charge on their way to market, and to help with hay and ricks in the meadow[41].

The Lodge was usually used to maintain sheep; in 1674 there were 2,000, which produced 100 lambs for the vicar at 3s each. The shepherds of the grounds sheared the open-field tenants' sheep each year. The Lodge also bred rabbits, for in 1553, 'vicar Holmes' went there to collect tithe rabbits. Occasionally some fields were used for arable; a close of pasture called corn close being ploughed up by Bryan Ianson I in 1615, 'part of the enclosed grounds of Ashby Legder'[42].

Village enclosures

A small park was made next to the manor house in 1458 by William Catesby, taking in a furlong called *le gorno* at the end of the village called Stokerstown End, lying east of the way[43]. It was quit claimed to William by Eustace de Burneby of Watford, and was presumably demesne. Eustace's interest may have been in connection with the manorial descent of lands in Ashby and Watford transferred with Emma de Catesby. Brian Ianson leased, in 1680, Horse Close, meadows called Upper Park, Nether Park, Park Meadow, Pond Close and Hopyard[44].

The field north west of the village, called Mill Field, had been enclosed long before 1532 when it was stated that 'time out of mind' there had been the right for the lord to beat its boundary by riding a horse around the outside, there being a 3 foot space beyond its ditch with wolfpytte furlong[45]. The enclosure was probably made soon after 1416. In that year Emma de Catesby exchanged 1.75 acres of land dispersed in the West and South Fields for 2 acres on the *overhay* next to the land of John de Catesby on which *le longebrech* in the North Field abuts[46]. This exchange concentrated land near to the manor house.

Parliamentary enclosure of 1764

The main part of the estate was enclosed by Parliamentary Act in 1764[47]. Almost the whole estate belonged to the Ashleys and the purpose was probably to regularise the glebe and impropriate tithe.

Hedges were set around the furlongs, forming 11 large plots, of which 10 were between 87 and 136 acres. The formal plots were soon divided into small closes which were divided again into even smaller fields in 1808[48].

40 NRO ASL 85.
41 NRO ASL 90.
42 NRO ASL 142.
43 NRO ASL 58.
44 NRO ASL 102.
45 NRO ASL 799.
46 NRO PS 16.
47 Act NRO ASL 420.
48 NRO ASL 352.

Appendix

Open-field records, accumulating over many centuries, have revealed a wide range of inter-related themes. Combined use of the information from field books and furlong plans reconstructed by archaeological field-survey, have made it possible to identify fields, furlongs and meadows enabling detailed studies of township structures to be made.

The economy of the fields falls into the three natural topographical regional types of the county; the Soke of Peterborough with its fen, the vills of the medieval forests, and the extensive champagne region lying along the Nene Valley and in the west. The Soke and the forest vills had good resources of fuel and grazing and did not experience the extreme difficulties of the west. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and especially after 1570, the champagne region converted arable to leys and cow pasture, so improving the amount of fodder and grazing available. This did not occur in the fen and forest regions; there were no leys among the arable, and animals were allowed on the fallow only to manure it, not because they needed rough grazing. Champagne townships not too distant from forests sometimes had detached parts to provide woodland and woodland -pasture resources.

Northamptonshire townships were mainly two-field in the 13th century, changing continuously until almost all places operated a three-course tilth by the 18th century. More than three fields occurred in many vills after 1500, although they were usually grouped into three blocks for cropping. Forest vills often had multiple fields, probably caused by assarting. The ability of townships to change is illustrated by those uniting to form new and larger arrangements as at Barnack and Weedon Bec, where two townships were united. Raunds and Ringstead shared the fields of the deserted Cottons, and Higham Ferrers and Newton Bromswold shared the fields of the lost Buscott.

A regular order of lands occurred in many field systems; analysis of terriers and field books shows that probably all townships had their lands laid out in a regular manner. An ordered structure seems to have been created before the 13th century, since the older the record the more likely it is to show tenurial regularity. The number of yardlands, in many cases, directly relates to the Domesday assessment of 1086 and to the field-system structure, which leads to the conclusion that fields were created before 1066. They were created after *c.* 750 AD from archaeological evidence, and seem to have been laid out with long lands that later (before the mid-12th century) became divided into furlongs.

At the other end of the life of open fields, when they were enclosed, flexibility is again revealed by the occurrence of partial enclosure. This happened at many places, among them Bradden, which had the greater part of one of its two field systems enclosed in 1509, long before the remainder in 1803. Several places such as Braybrooke, Morton Pinkney, Norton and Stanwick, had one of their three fields enclosed in the seventeeth century. Such action re-created an 'old fashioned' two-field arrangement in the first instance, but there was a rapid change of the two remaining fields back into three,

except in the case of Litchborough, which left its two fields while taking more than 35 years to agree to enclose them.

The evidence of such changes, fossilised over a wide range of dates, may be interpreted as recording a continuous process of change, small units being amalgamated into larger ones. The archaeological evidence shows that there was much alteration of the Saxon settlement pattern. The survival of small townships, such as Buscott in Higham Ferrers and Potcote in Cold Higham, presumably relates to this earlier arrangement of small settlements, as do the double fields of Hardingstone and East Haddon. Different sized yardlands at Wollaston in 1300 may be explained by an amalgamation of two field systems for each of the two separate 'ends' of Wollaston, each associated with its own manor.

Manorial history since 1086 is, amongst other things, the history of feudal disintegration and the building up of private farms and estates. The field-system evidence shows this to have started before 1086; the two manors recorded at Kislingbury and Raunds are shown by the disposition of their lands to have once been single manors. It seems likely that when vills took on their late Saxon physical forms and fiscal ratings there was one manor for each settlement and township.

This account of townships and field systems has been largely confined to unravelling their spatial and physical complexities, and the way that open-fields are related to the available resources. Sifting of so many records has also revealed much evidence on the pattern of land ownership and its changes over time. Social and economic history cannot be included in this book, but some examples of changes in rents and tenure are given, to illustrate the scope of the records.

A rental of individual yardlands at Stowe Nine Churches, made in about 1650, lists new increased rents as well as rents that could be expected upon enclosure[1]. The concern with money may be an attempt to solve the financial problems of the lord, John Danvers, culminating in his 1652 sale. Interest in the dates at which old leases expired is explained by the rents; properties had been let at low (medieval) values of about 12s a yardland, but those already relet were raised to about £8 a yardland and were to be increased to £9 as long as Stowe remained open-field, and to about £20 if it were enclosed. The rental therefore shows an estate changing from a medieval condition, in terms of rented values, to one exposed to current agricultural prices. Yeomen paying such low real rents, 7.5 percent of the going rate, were in a good position to increase their wealth in the seventeenth century.

Related to 1988 values, a 1,000 acre farm paying £80 an acre rent would save £72,000 per annum, which in 30 years would acrue (without interest) to £M2.16, sufficient to buy 1080 acres at £2,000 an acre. Thus a tenant could save enough to buy his land in a generation; doubtless the same processes operated in the seventeeth century, and lay behind the financial ability of Wollaston tenants of the Bridgwater estate to buy their farms (the whole parish) in 1634[2].

Hemington shows the transfer of land from copyhold to freehold. The vill had two manors, one overlordship belonging to Peterborough abbey with possession split between three knightly families, and the other was the property of Ramsey abbey. The Peterborough manor was in a fragmented condition by the fifteenth century with a weak manorial custom. The estate had few local feudal dues recorded in sales, and, in

1 NRO S(G) 297–8; the document is undated but is before 1655 when it refers to unexpired leases.
2 Hall, *Wollaston*, pp. 93–98.

1488, Thomas Montagu, probably with the intention of building up an estate, bought all land possible, beginning with the main manor and taking land in hand. None of his purchases was accompanied by copyhold rights and so lands had become in effect freehold. By this means he was able to extinguish any manorial rights without fuss from the residents, who were probably few by that date in a small village, and establish leasehold on his own terms. A survey of the manor in 1512 is at pains to explain that all the holdings were held at the will of Thomas Montagu.

Subsequent acquisition of monastic lands and tithes in 1540 (mainly belonging to the Abbey of Ramsey with some of Thorney Abbey and Hinchingbrooke Priory, Huntingdon), which were already held on a long lease made in 1519, enabled Edward, son of Thomas Montagu, to complete the purchase of the whole of Hemington after which the Montagus could run the estate how they liked. Private enclosure took place in the mid seventeenth century, probably in 1661[3].

A large body of evidence has been discovered for enclosure; searching for open-field terriers of all dates naturally reveals enclosure dates, many of which were previously unkown. These are given at the end of each entry in the Gazetteer. The list below summarizes the data by century, ignoring partial enclosure, using the date of major enclosure.

Century	*Township Number*	*Enclosed percent*
15	9	3
16	33	12
17	42	15
18	136	49
19	56	20
20	1	1
Total	277	100

It can be seen that there was very little enclosure (3 percent) before 1500 in Northamptonshire, and not very much during the 16th century (12 percent). Enclosure really begins in the seventeenth century, although very few places have had any details published. Some parishes had draft agreements for enclosure made in the seventeenth century that did not take effect, and they were not enclosed until the Parliamentary era (Crick, Hardingstone, Weedon Bec). The area statistics for Parliamentary enclosure will need revision to account for earlier partial enclosures. Details of land-holdings and ownership were made for each parish at enclosure, and a 'profile' of the social structure is therefore available. An example is given in the Gazetteer for Mears Ashby (1777).

This study has provided a substantial amount of evidence describing the nature and operation of open fields in Northamptonshire. Further work is required on many of the topics discussed, and on parishes not yet studied, to elucidate the structure and management of all the field systems in the county.

The Appendix below summarises the numeric information in the Gazetteer in a convenient form.

3 D. Hall 'Studies of Barnwell and Hemington, Northamptonshire' in *The Salt of Common Life*, edited by E. DeWindt, University of Michigan, forthcoming..

Open-field numberical data

The numbers under 'number of fields' are centuries.
If the tilth is known to differ from the number of named fields it is added in brackets.
Demesne; C is compact, D dispersed.
R represents a regular tenurial order.

Place	*Number of fields*								*Demesne*	*Yardlands*		*Tenurial*	*Enclosure*	*Ley*	
	12	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*		*No*	*acreage*	*order*	*date*	*Percent*	*date*
Abington													1660		
Abthorpe							3(2?)					R	1823		
Charlock		2											*c.* 1410		
Foscote				2									1532–1703		
Addington Gt			2			3	3	3		42	28.5	R	1803	5	1760
Addington Li					3	3	3	3	D		20	R	1830	5	1575
Adstone		2	2									R	*c.* 1604		
Alderton			2			3(2?)							1819		
Aldwincle															
All Saints						3	3		D			R	1772	12	1632
St Peter						3	3					R	1772	11	1684
Apethorpe					8	4	4						1777		
Hale		2											*c.* 1500		
Arthingworth						3	3			55.5	23		1767	39	1710
Ashby Canons				2	3								*c.* 1540		
Ashby Castle					3						18		1651		
Chadstone													1651		
Ashby Cold					3					60			*c.* 1625		
Ashby Mears					8	5(4?)	5(4?)		C	50.5	19–24	R	1777	19	1577
Ashby S Ledgers		2	3	3	3	3	3		D	40	38	R	1764	7	1463
The Lodge													*b.* 1512		
Ashley						3	3	3		49	13		1806	12	1632
Ashton by Oundle					5	5	6(3)					R	1807	9	1700
Aston le Walls						2	2				19	R	1712	42	1633
Appletree													1609–1720		
Aynho					2?	3	4			50.5			1792		
Badby						2	3		D	48	18	R	1779		
Barby						4(3)	4(3)			50	30	R	1778	29	1684
Onley		2											*c.* 1605		
Barnack						7	9						1800	3	1718
Pilsgate				3							24	R	1800		

Place	Number of fields 12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Demesne	Yardlands No	acreage	Tenurial order	Enclosure date	Ley Percent	date
Southorpe					2	2?	3						1841		
Barnwell			3	3		3			D		40		1683	14	1632
Barton Earls						7(5)	7(5)		D	80	25	R	1771	13	1654
Barton Seagrave			3			7							1633		
Benefield		2?		4?		4(3)	4(3)						1820		
Billing Great						4(3)	4(3)			48	19	R	1778		
Billing Little						3?							*c.* 1630		
Blakesley				3		3	3			64	27–30		1760	27–60	1647–85
Foxley													*b.* 1720		
Kirby													*b.* 1509		
Sewell		2											*b.* 1720		
Wood End		2					4						1779	22	*c.* 1775
Blatherwycke						4(3)	4(3)						*c.* 1800		
Blisworth						3	4	3					1808		
Boddington															
Upper	2	2				2	2			20	26–34	R	1758	30	1677
Lower						2	3				31–8	R	1758	42	1751
Boughton						3	4?				27	R	1756	21	1700
Bowden Little				2		3	3			51	21	R	1779	28–40	1633–84
Bozeat				3	3	3	3				60	R	1798	4	1798
Brackley		2				2?	5?					R	1829		
Bradden					2	3	3	3	D	26	23	R	1803	42	1761
Brafield					4(3)	4(3)	4(3)			54	17		1827		
Brampton Ash													*c.* 1658		
Brampton Church					4(3)					45			*c.* 1640		
Brampton Chapel					4(3)					32			*c.* 1640		
Braunston						3			C		26–30	R	1775	16–19	1700–33
Braybrooke		3	3			4(3)	3		D	63	19–25	R	1788	52	1658
Brigstock				3	3	3	5(3)				36		1795		
Bringtons			2			3	3				29	R	1743	33	1680
Althorpe			2	2							24		1512		
Nobottle													*b.* 1680		
Brixworth		3	3	3	3	3	3		C	95	20	R	1780		
Brockhall		2	2	3	3	3			D	26		R	1611		
Muscott		2		3	3				D	19		R	*c.* 1600		
Broughton		2	3	4(3)		6(3)	6(3)		D	52	*c.* 23	R	1786		

Place	Number of fields 12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Demesne	Yardlands No	acreage	Tenurial order	Enclosure date	Ley Percent	date
Buckby Long						5(3)	5(3)				37		1765	15	1656
Bugbrook						3	3				c. 31		1779	35	1736
Bulwick						6	8(3)						1778		
Burton Latimer						4(3)	4(3)		D				1803		
Byfield						2	2				72	R	1778	19	1778
Westhorp						2	2				36	R	1778	36	1614
Trafford													1471–1637		
Castor			5		5	4	5	5	D				1895		
Ailsworth			3		4		4	4			c. 25		1895	1	1765
Milton					3?								b. 1576		
Sutton							3	3	D				1901	3	1768
Upton													b. 1686		
Chacombe			2										1635		
Charwelton			2							42			c. 1480		
Chelveston			2			3	4(3)						1801		
Caldecott							3						1801		
Clipston							3			84	28		1776	43–51	1700–39
Nobold			3			3	3					R	1776	43	1767
Clopton		5(3)	3			6			D	c. 39	48		1633–1702	14	1633
Cogenhoe						4(3)	3?						1827	11	1627
Collyweston						3	3	3			15		1841	16	1638
Corby			3			4(3)	4(3)	4(3)				R	1829	13	1633
Coton Clay					2					28	28.5		1652		
Courteenhall						3							1650	11	1637
Cranford S Andrew						2?	3			22.5	28		1775		
Cranford S John				3		3	3	3	D		26–28	R	1805	10	1628
Cransley		2			3?								b. 1720		
Creaton						5	5			28	40–3		1782	23	1662
Crick						4(3)	4(3)		C	80	30	R	1776	38	1632
Culworth		2	3(2)	3(2)	2	3(2)			D	30	30	R	1612		
Dallington			3			3	3						c. 1725		
Daventry	2			3	3	3	3	3	D	40	c. 28	R	1802	13	1672
Drayton		2	2		3	3	3			40		R	1752		
Deene						5							1612		
Deenethorpe						4(3)							1642		
Denford					3		3(4)					R	1765		

Place	Number of fields 12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Demesne	Yardlands No	acreage	Tenurial order	Enclosure date	Ley Percent	date
Denton					3	3	3			33	16	R	1770		
Desborough			3				3						1776		
Doddington						4(3)	4(3)			56	*c.* 24	R	1766	8–15	1613–94
Dodford				3					C	48	20		1623		
Draughton			3	3		3	3		D			R	*c.* 1727	54	1631
Easton on the Hill			3?	3?			3	3			24–35		1817	0–39	1722
Easton Maudit		2	2	2	2							R	*c.* 1639	Two townships	
Easton Neston & Hulcote			2	3									1499	Two townships?	
Ecton		3			6(5)	6(5)	6(5)			110	11–13	R	1759	4–36	1627–1748
Elkington					3?					48			*b.* 1540		
Etton						4	4	4					1809		
Woodcroft													*b.* 1547		
Evenley		2			3	3	3				23.5		1779		
Everdon Gt			2			4	4			44		R	1764	23	1685
Little Everdon				2								R	1764		
Snorscombe													1508		
Eydon						2	2			28	23–5	R	1761	44	1667
Eye								3					1820		
Farndon East						3	4(3)			45	43	R	1780	27–35	1655–1711
Farthinghoe		2							C				*c.* 1612		
Farthingstone						5	5			47.5	25–8	R	1751	53	1744
Fawsley		2	2										*c.* 1500		
Faxton					3		3			27.5	42		1745	31	1587
Mawsley													1486–1590		
Finedon						8(3)	11(3)	12(3)				R	1805		
Flore		2				3	3		D		21		1778	29	1684
Glassthorpe													*c.* 1530		
Gayton			3										*c.* 1603		
Geddington				4			5		D		15		1807		
Glapthorn				9(3)	3	7(3)			D				1813		
Grafton Underwood							3						1777		
Greens Norton						2	4(3)					R	1799	32	1752
Caswell													1509		
Duncote							3						1799		
Field Burcote													1499		
Grendon					3	3	3						1780		

Place	Number of fields 12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Demesne	Yardlands No	acreage	Tenurial order	Enclosure date	Ley Percent	date
Gretton					3			4(3)	D				1832		
Guilsborough						3	3			21	50	R	1764	51	1684
Hollowell													1774		
Nortoft					2								1588		
Haddon East															
North Fields					3	3	3			17	38	R	1773	40	c. 1653
South Fields					3				D	25	21.5		c. 1600		
Haddon West		2					6			48	37	R	1764		
Hannington					3								1802	28	1598
Hardingstone															
East Fields			3			5(3)	3		D	33	20–23	R	1765	28	1660
West Fields						5	5			46.5	19–24	R	1765		
Hargrave						3	7(3)						1802	4	1671
Harlestone			2	3	3	5				28	67		1766		
Harpole			3			4(3)	3				33		1778	35	1682
Harringworth						6	5(3)						1774		
Hartwell						8	4						1826		
Haselbech										41			1599		
Hellidon							3				40		1774	20	1728
Helpston					3	3	3	3	D				1809	0–1	1631
Hemington					3				C		43		c. 1657		
Heyford Nether						3	3			40			1750		
Heyford Upper			2										1712		
Higham Cold & Grimscote			2			3	3	3		50			1812		
Potcote												R	b. 1472		
Higham Ferrers			3		3	3	3	3	C				1838		
Holcot			3			3	3				26		1777		
Holdenby		2			3				D				1580–7	17	1540
Horton			3										1561		
Hothorpe		2										R	c. 1666	45	1639
Houghton Great													1612		
Houghton Little							3	3				R	1827	14	1723
Irchester				3		3	3				24–28		1773	10	1700
Knuston													1769		
Irthlingborough						6	6	6			25–6	R	1808	5	1682
Islip						5	3				36		1800		

Place	*Number of fields*								*Demesne*	*Yardlands*		*Tenurial*	*Enclosure*	*Ley*	
	12	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*		*No*	*acreage*	*order*	*date*	*Percent*	*date*
Kettering			3				3	3	C	48	36	R	1804		
Kilsby			3				3			36		R	1777		
King's Cliffe						6	6(3)	6					1809		
Kislingbury		2	3	3	3	3	3		D	80			1779		
Lamport				3	3	3					29	R	1794	22	1583
Hanging Houghton					3						34.5		*c.* 1650		
Lilbourne					3						36	R	1671		
Litchborough						3	2		D		22–24		1711	29–37	1604
Loddington					3	3			D		*c.* 28		1656		
Lowick			3				6					R	1771		
Luddington					4(3)	3	3						1807	4	1550
Lutton													1861		
Lyveden													*b.* 1560		
Maidford					3	3	3		C?	28	22–6	R	1779	14	1684
Maidwell			3	3									*c.* 1691	32	1686
Marham					4(3)								*c.* 1595		
Morton Pinkney		2		2	2	3	3		D	42			1760		
Moulton				3		3	3			84		R	1772	34	1684
Naseby		3				3		3			*c.* 24		1820		
Nassington					3	3	3						1777		
Newbottle													*b.* 1488		
Astrop							4			77			1772	27	1633
Charlton						3	3			59		R	1772		
Newnham						5	5		C	48		R	1764		
Newton Bromswold						4(3)	4(3)	4(3)					1800		
Newton Willows													*c.* 1605		
Northampton			3			3	3						1778		
Norton			2		3	3					32		1755		
Thrup			2								19	R	1489		
Oakley Little				3		3	3						1807	15	1727
Old						3	3			49	42–4		1767	18	1744
Oundle			3		3	3		3	D		29		1807		
Elmington													*c.* 1525		
Passenham						4							*c.* 1640		
Deanshanger			3			3	3						1772		
Pattishall		2	2			4	4						1771		

Place	*Number of fields*								*Demesne*	*Yardlands*		*Tenurial*	*Enclosure*	*Ley*	
	12	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*		*No*	*acreage*	*order*	*date*	*Percent*	*date*
Paulerspury					3	3	3	3			20		1819	18	1631
Heathencote							3	3					1819		
Peakirk							4						1809		
Polebrook					3		3		D				1790		
Armston		3			3							R	1683		
Kingsthorpe				3	3								*c.* 1580		
Preston Capes															
Gt Preston	2	2	2		2	3				34.75	36	R	*c.* 1660	20	1477
Wood Preston													*b.* 1525		
Radstone Upper		2				2	2			25	21		*c.* 1740		
Nether													*c.* 1740		
Raunds															
North Fields			2				3				40		1797	3	1739
Thorpe Fields			2				3	3		D	40		1797		
Ravensthorpe					3		3			20.5	80	R	1795		
Teeton					3					25	25	R	1592		
Ringstead					3	3	4(3)	4(3)					1839		
Rothersthorpe			3					3		64	*c.* 17		1809		
Rushden			2		3	3	4(3)		C		40		1778		
Rushton				2									1581–1604		
Barford			3	3					D	10			1638–1720		
Scaldwell					3	3					21		1775	23	1609
Silverstone		2				4	5						1824		
Stamford S Martin				3		3	3						*c.* 1795		
Burghley									D				*c.* 1550		
Stanford on Avon									C	36	34		*c.* 1740		
Stanion			2			3	3				36		1795		
Stanwick		2				3	3	3			36		1834		
Staverton	2	2		2			3				27		1774		
Stowe Church			2				2					R	*c.* 1710		
Little			2				2			24		R	*c.* 1710		
Strixton					3								*c.* 1620		
Sulby				3									*c.* 1500		
Sulgrave		2				2	2			71.5			1760	42	1634
Sywell						5	6(5)					R	1723–6		
Thenford											24	R	1766	33	1684

Place	Number of fields 12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Demesne	Yardlands No	acreage	Tenurial order	Enclosure date	Ley Percent	date
Thornby		2				3					28	R	1623		
Thorpe Mandeville			2										c. 1600		
Titchmarsh			2			3	3						1778	10	1734
Towcester					3	3	4(3)						1762	15	1700
Caldecote						2							1762		
Twywell						3	3			36			1765	24	1618
Wadenhoe			3			4	4(3)					R	1793		
Walgrave						3	3		D	50			1776		
Warden Chipping			2										1726–36		
Stonton		2	2	2					D		12		c. 1450		
Warkton							3						1807		
Warkworth										55.5			1764		
Grimscote													1764		
Overthorpe										20	24		1764	17	1761
Warmington			4(3)				3		D?				1774		
Papley													1499		
Watford		2	2	2		4			C	48	16		1771		
Murcott						3	6			24			1771		
Silsworth			3							24			c. 1550		
Weedon Bec			4		3	3	3		D	69	12		1776		
Weedon Lois			2		3		3						1771		
Weekley					3		3			55.5			1807		
Boughton													c. 1540		
Welford						3			C	53	26		1777		
Wellingborough			4(3)	3		4(3)	5(3)			80			1765	13	1765
Welton		2			3	3				40	30	R	1754		
Whiston						2?					21		1700		
Whittlebury		2					3					R	1797		
Wilby							3			29		R	1801		
Winwick		2				2?					28		c. 1607		
Wollaston			3	3	3	3	3		C	84	24	R	1788		
Woodford Halse					2	3							1758		
Woodford (Huxlow)							3			82			1763		
Wood Newton					3	3	3						1777		
Wootton						3	3						1778	26	1705
Yardley Hastings					5(3)	5	5				15–17		1776		
Yarwell							4(3)						1777		

GAZETTEER OF FIELD-SYSTEM TYPES

The Gazetteer is given in alphabetical order by parish, there being 209 civil parishes described out of 315 in the whole county. Under each parish or township name are the following symbols:

M Mapped by field survey (date).
H The detailed field-system structure and its history have been worked out.
P Pre-enclosure plan (date).
F Field book (date).
Q Quality book (date).

Subsidary vills and townships are listed under their parish, so Murcott will be found not in the 'M' section but under Watford. The index should be consulted if it is not known in which parish a township lies.

All entries have a standardised format beginning with a statement of the number of settlements and townships within the parish, if there are more than one of either. The numbers and types of fields are next described for each township, with an outline of the contents of any surviving field book, followed by details of the yardland size, the number of yardlands and the evidence for any regular tenurial order. After discussion of the demesne there are notes of field regulations, and information about woodland. Finally the date of enclosure is given or estimated in cases of uncertainty. References are given at the end of each parish entry.

The Gazetteer contains comments on all those townships in the county for which information has been collected. Many places have been fully studied with the furlongs, fields and demesne identified and located, whereas others have been investigated less thoroughly, aiming to discover the township and field structure. In some cases information was found incidentally and there are many more records to be sifted. The Gazetteer represents a view of the information currently available.

The number and date range of the records for any one place varies widely. The lists below draw attention to those parishes that have the most useful records; open-field plans, field books and quality books, and also those that have a good range of other records with some medieval material.

Townships with detailed contemporary open-field plans (showing lands as well as furlongs):

Barnack, Brigstock, Broughton, Castor and Ailsworth (tithe), Brackley, Corby, Cranford St John and St Andrew, Denford, Ecton, Geddington, Grafton Underwood, Higham Ferrers, Kettering, Little Oakley, Northampton, Stamford St Martins, Stanion, Stanwick, Strixton, Warkton, Weekley, Wollaston, Woodford and Yardley Hastings.

Townships with field books:

Ailsworth, Ashby St Ledgers, Braybrooke (full survey), Brigstock, Brockhall, Broughton, Burton Latimer, Castor, Cranford St Andrews, Cranford St John, Daventry and Drayton, Denford (full survey), Etton, Finedon, Flore, Geddington, Grafton Underwood, East Haddon (full survey), Hardingstone, Helpston, Higham Ferrers, Little Houghton, Irthlingborough, Kettering, Kingsthorpe in Polebrook, Kislingbury, Lamport, Litchborough, Lowick, Maxey (not described in the Gazetteer), Muscott in Brockhall, Oundle, Raunds, Stoke Bruerne and Shutlanger, Towcester, Warkton, Weekley, Welford, Whittlebury and Woodford.

Townships with quality books:

Blakesley, Long Buckby, Creaton, Crick, Flore, Hardingstone, Newton Bromswold, Staverton, Towcester, Walgrave, Weedon Bec, West Haddon, Wollaston and Woodford.

Places with a full range of records

Ashby St Ledgers, Aynho, Badby and Newnham, Brackley, Brigstock, Brockhall and Muscott, Broughton, Daventry and Drayton, Higham Ferrers, Geddington, Kettering, Lamport, Lowick, Oundle, Raunds, Towcester, Warkton, Weekley, Ufford (not in the Gazetteer), Weedon Bec and Wollaston.

Abington

Abington is now a suburb of Northampton; earthworks of the village site lie in Abington Park. Enclosure of the demesne occurred in 1604; it probably lay in a block[1]. The remainder of the parish was enclosed in 1660[2]. No open-field information has been discovered.

1 NRO T(A) 1.
2 NRO T(A) 3–4.

Abthorpe

Abthorpe was a chapelry of Towcester until elevated to a parish in 1737[1]. It contains, as well as Abthorpe, the hamlets of Charlock and Foscote, both of which were old enclosure by the 18th century, and were separate townships.

For Abthorpe the East Field alias Biyendewode Field and a few furlong names are recorded in 1270–4[2]. Neighbours are given for a grant of 9 parcels in 1250–60[3]; of the 7 people mentioned 1 person held 33 percent and 4 people held 67 percent of the 18 positions. Therefore, although there was not a fully regular order, it was not random. Abthorpe lies on the edge of Whittlebury Forest and there may have been assarting giving rise to irregularities.

Terriers of the 18th century have lands distributed in 3 fields:

	1747[4]		*1757*[5]
	Roods	*Parcels*	*Lands*
Haymore Field	27	13	42
Yant Wood	11	7	11
Green Hedge	41	24	45

The distribution of lands between the fields is similar with both terriers. Possibly the first two fields were grouped together making a two-course rotation. The names of neighbours are not mentioned. Enclosed in 1823[6].

Charlock

Charlock had two fields in 1278–9, when a terrier refers to the West Field and the 'other' field, each with 4 lands[7]. The 'fields' are mentioned again in 1289[8]. A terrier of 1288–9 describes the land of Luffield priory in the West Field and goes on to describe the Hyde Field, both under the heading of Charlock[9]. Hyde was the name of the priory's grange at Charlock[10], and seems to have given its name to the second field.

Charlock was enclosed probably in 1410 when there was a dispute about pasture rights in the 'enclosed field of Charlock'. Some inhabitants of Silverstone claimed common of pasture for their animals when the field was fallow and from Michaelmas until 25th March at other times[11]. These claims are those of normal common grazing rights on open field, and suggest that the enclosure was recent. Silverstone had lands in the fields of Charlock at one time[12]. In 1446 the field and pasture of Charlock was in the sole possession of the priory[13].

Foscote

A yardland with furlong names is described in 1294[14]. Foscote *fields* are mentioned in 1302[15], and there were two fields in 1408, 3.5 acres divided between East Field (10 roods) and West Field (5 roods;[16]). Foscote was open in 1532 when arable furlongs were described[17]; 80 acres had been enclosed in 1488[18]. Fully enclosed before 1703[19].

1 NRO 2P/2.
2 G. R. Elvey, *Luffield Priory Charters*, NRS Vol. 22 i, 246–7, 288
3 *Id.* NRS 22 i, 237.
4 NRO G 2576.
5 NRO ML 1285.
6 Act NRO G 4025; Map 2942 (1826), showing 3 fields and much old enclosure.
7 *Luffield* NRS 22 i, 232.
8 *Id.* i, 261.
9 *Id.* ii, p. 423.
10 *Id.* i, 235.
11 *Id.* i, 155.
12 *Id.* i p.xv.
13 *Id.* i, 142.
14 NRO Fermor-Hesketh Catalogue MTD/F/35/1.
15 NRS *Luffield* 22 i, 235.
16 NRO Fermor Hesketh MTD/F/26/6.
17 NRO Fermor-Hesketh Catalogue 281, 848.
18 Allison et al. *Deserted Villages*, p. 40.
19 NRO ML 1289, refers to closes.

Addington Great

M 1970 H

A plan of the fields, mapped in 1970, has been published[1].

A terrier of 1232[2] describes a grant of 6 acres to a manorial chapel that had been newly erected by Baldwyn de Veer[3]. West Field is mentioned comprising 3.25 acres; the remaining lands described seem too many to agree with the stated total of 6 acres, 3 pieces each of 12 selions being mentioned. Few furlongs are named; those identifiable

are near the village and are likely to be demesne. A two-field system is probable in view of a definite arrangement of that form occurring in 1319[4]. A terrier of 11.5 acres in 47 lands has 21 in an unnamed field and 26 in the West Field. The neighbours are not stated; the furlong names show that the lands were fairly evenly distributed throughout the system.

A small terrier of 1610[5] has three fields Mill, Stainsborough and Longerow, containing respectively 5, 4.83, and 5.33 roods. In nearly all cases the lands have a balk on one side and Alexander Beeby on the other (14 entries in all) indicating a regular tenurial order. Another terrier of the 1650 (3 acres[6]) has four lands in each of the three fields, with Alexander Beeby a neighbour in 11 cases.

Eighteenth-century terriers show the following distribution between fields.

	Longrow	*Stainsborough*	*Nether or Mill*	
1760[7]	26.3	27.9	23.4 acres	
	9.9	10.3	9.5	Noke's yardland
	8.8	9.5	9.4	Wyke's yardland

The individual yardlands are evenly distributed; there were 28.5 acres to the yardland.

The 1760 terrier decribes 78.25 acres of which 15 percent were ley. Calculations about the possible extent of woodland are given in Chapter 6. Neighbours in a Long Row Field holding of 37 parcels are described 64 times. Two people had 64 percent and 4 people had 89 percent of the total. A regular order is probably indicated but there had been concentration of land into a few large holdings by this date. Enclosed in 1803[8].

1 D. Hall *Medieval Fields* 1982 p. 47.
2 NRO SS 2319.
3 NRO SS 2316.
4 NRO SS 2193–4.
5 Warwickshire Record Office (WRO) CR 162/350.
6 WRO CR 162/352.
7 NRO A164–5
8 Act NRO BSL 1; Map 2869 (1804); Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. L p. 53

Addington Little

M 1970 H P *c.* 1830 (furlongs only)

There is doubt whether any of the county histories have the manors of the two Addingtons correctly assigned. The vills are not distinguished in the surveys of 1086 and 1124. Crowland main estate of 2 hides has generally been described as being in Great Addington, but possession of a considerable estate by Queen's College, Cambridge (which acquired the Cambridge manor of Cottenham from Crowland and has many Crowland abbey muniments) in 1540, at *Little Addington*, strongly suggests that the Crowland manor was there. Crowland account rolls of *c.* 1258–1332 describe the manorial demesne in hand (see Chapter 2).

There were three fields in a terrier of 1575[1], Stonyland alias East Field, West, and North Fields, changing by 1597[2] to Some Field, Sterdye Slade Field, and Langland Field, but retaining the same furlongs. The same names and fields survived until enclosure in 1830.

A terrier of 1549[3] mentions Stardislade alias Myddal Field, implying that there were three fields by that date. This is further confirmed by reference to *Langland alias Crobalk*

Feld in another version of the same terrier[4]. There was the same three-field division, therefore, in 1540.

The distribution of lands in 1575 was fairly uniform, 22.42, 22.3, and 21.75 acres in East, West and North Fields respectiviely. There were 3.25 acres of leys (5 percent) out of the total of 66.5 acres. Sixteen neighbours are named on 75 occasions, 5 of the people having 9–13 entries and the remaining 11 being mentioned less than 6 times. Had there been three separate yardlands with different neighbours then there should be 6 names, therefore there is evidence of a regular order at one time. The 1597 terrier has a less equal distribution between the fields, 17.675, 13.87 and 12.4 acres (Some, Stardy Slade, Langland).

A long terrier of 1692 has the same three fields but does not specify any number of yardlands[5]. In 1745[6] half a yardland had 12, 11.5 and 18.5 roods (Soam, Stardy, Longland) giving 21 acres for the yardland. The size of the yardland was carefully measured in 1772[7]:

Field	*Land number*	*Estimated acres*	*Area Measured*		
			A	*R*	*Poles*
Solam Field	45	18.25	16	3	18
Longlands Field	35	15	13	2	11
Stardy Slade Field	55	18.5	16	1	27
	135	*51.75*	*48*	*3*	*16*

These acreages were for 2.5 yardlands, therefore 1 yardland was 19.54 acres measured and 20.7 estimated. The distribution between fields is not exact.

A remarkable plan of Little Addington furlongs was prepared as part of the enclosure papers[8]. It shows all the furlong boundaries giving their names in *c.* 1830 and also indicates the grass in the parish, marking meadow, leys, balks and grassed joints and headlands (Plate 4). Superimposed are the new enclosures with the proprietors' names, so the whole landscape, ancient and modern, is mapped on one convenient plan. The plan is drawn very accurately and the precise curvature of the furlongs is shown. From this curvature it can be seen that all the furlongs on the west of the village form two great blocks divided by Long Slade, and they might even be considered to form one block. This is evidence of a large scale, planned lay-out that could not be achieved by a piecemeal furlong development. Further evidence comes from the few furlongs on the north that go against the general NW-SE alignment. In North Field there were only two of them, both called cross furlongs, as though they were something different. Their alignment ensured that furrows ran across the contours to achieve natural drainage; in each case the cause was the presence of a small slade draining in from the north. The alignment of the furrows was exactly at right angles to the others, which suggests that it was done *after* the general layout, as a practical modification. Had the setting out been done as part of a piecemeal reclamation then a series of gore-lands would have been a better solution to drainage difficulties. Evidence of ignoring the effect of natural features during layout is shown by the two Stardy Slade furlongs which lie either side of a small slade. A terrier of 1772 gives the numbered position of every land in each furlong, so allowing the holding to be plotted. In the Stardy Slade furlongs the lands lie in exactly the same positions in both furlongs, being 7, 8, 31, 32, 60–2, 93–4, 137, with an extra

126 in the Lower furlong. The neighbours are exactly the same in all cases as well, so the layout completely ignored the slade. Lands crossing Stardy Slade were specifically noted in a terrier of 1575[9], 'one rood goinge over stardy slade on bothe sides'.

Alignment of the 1772 holding in other furlongs does not occur. However several pairs of furlongs have 'double length' lands that go through the boundary between them; both Burrows furlongs, both Foxholes, both Seven Dykes, and Solme and Norman's Grove furlongs. Except the last case, the related furlong names also indicate that they had been split into two. The last pair and the burrows furlongs had lands 700 and 630 yards long repectively.

The terrier of 1549[10] has a very detailed account of each land in each furlong with abuttals. The neighbours of the demesne plots of 6 lands or larger are nearly always the same two people (84 percent) with only two other people mentioned. The smaller parcels have the same two people as the demesne neighbours 66 percent (34 and 48 out of 124 references), regular order is therefore indicated.

Demesne. The Queen's College 1549 terrier has many groups of 6 lands lying together which are likely to be demesne. With the meadow it amounted to 172 acres. It was presumably the same as the demesne of 6 yardlands referred to in 1708[11] and forms an example of the dispersed type.

Crowland abbey account rolls give some information on how the manor was run in the 13th and early 14th centuries. Crops and yields of all the Crowland manors are given under Wellingborough (below).

Enclosed in 1830[12]; the award shows that three landowners possessed almost the whole township[13].

1 WRO CR 162/404.
2 *Id.* 408.
3 Queen's College, Cambridge, muniments Box 13, QC 13/2, terrier book 2 f.71, Cambridge University Library.
4 *Id.* f.80d.
5 NRO Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol. 437 pp. 37–42.
6 WRO CR 162/411.
7 NRO Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol. 95.
8 NRO Map 2927.
9 WRO CR 162/404.
10 Queen's College, Cambridge, muniments Box 13, QC 13/2, terrier book 2 fo.79d-85, Cambridge University Library.
11 WRO CR 162/410, 185 acres.
12 Act NRO C(S) 645; Map 4304 (1831).
13 NRO ML 1395.

Adstone

M 1988

Adstone was formerly a chapelry of Canons Ashby[1]. A charter of the late 13th century describes 6 acres exactly divided between two fields called the West Field and South Field, in 5 and 7 parcels[2]. There are few neighbours, probably indicating a regular order of lands; there were 10 different people in 14 entries, 2 persons accounting for 78 percent of the neighbours.

Two fields also existed in the early 14th century, 7.75 acres in 19 entries in the West Field and 9.5 acres in 26 entries in the East Field; no neighbours are given[3].

Enclosed probably in 1604 when 'new enclosures' were mentioned[4].

1 Baker ii pp. 19–20.
2 NRO K18.
3 *Ancient Deeds* i B 239 from PRO E 326 239.
4 NRO ZA 4139.

Alderton

M 1993

Two fields are mentioned in a charter of 1354, Wodefield (3 acres) and the Field towards Twyford (1 acre), a further 1.5 acres has no fields specified[1]. There was probably a two-field system.

The rectorial glebe of 1685 lay in three fields, Wood, Twyford, and Birches Fields (later called the field next Perry, Windmill and Sandhill respectively).
The 17th-century distribution was:

	Glebe 1685[2]		*1687*[3]
Wood Field	4 parcels	6.5 acres	9 ridges in Plumpark Field, in 3 furlongs
Twyford Field	15	11.25	43 ridges
Birches Field	16	10.5	40 ridges plus ley

Since the Wood Field of the glebe includes a 3-acre 'piece' next to Potterspury and two other parcels of an acre each, it may be old assart added to a two-field system.

The 1687 terrier, too, may indicate a two-field system. The neighbours (one only given per entry) are primarily J. Bland and Mr Haselrigge, but many others occur. In Tywford Field three people only are mentioned, but in Birches Field J. Bland holds 7 out of 19 positions, and the other 12 positions are all held by different people. The parcel sizes are predominantly 1–2 'ridges' but each large field had one parcel of 6 ridges and a large parcel of 14 and 12 ridges, so there were irregularities. Enclosed in 1819[4].

1 NRO K Ch 93.
2 NRO Alderton glebe terriers.
3 NRO G 1611.
4 Act NRO G 4023; Map 2906.

Aldwincle

Aldwincle consisted of two parishes and two manors, that seem to have been two townships according to the analysis given below. The parish extends into the Lyveden valley to include part of Lyveden vill. This arrangement is of medieval origin, for in 1316 the chapel of Potters Lyveden was subordinate to Aldwincle church[1].

The glebe of St Peter's was distributed as follows[2]:

Field	*1632*			*1684*			
	Parcels	*A*	*R*	*A*	*R*	*A*	*R*
		Arable		*Ley*		*Total*	
Fingerford (foot)	21	16	0.5	3	3.5	19	3
Wadnoe mere	7	3	2		2.5	4	0.5
Shrub	17	14	3			14	3
Henslow	16	12	3.5	1	3	14	2.5
Langhill	2		2				2

The acreages show that there was an unequal three-field system with two extra pieces. Wadenhoe Meer Field was stated to run with Fingerfoot, making it even more unequal. In 1684 there were 11 percent leys. The neighbours in 1684 were very regular, being mostly widow Wood and Richard Elstow who occupied 78 percent of the positions in Fingerfoot Field.

All Saints glebe was[3]:

	1632 *Arable*	*Grass*	*Total*	*1705* *Acres*	*Roods*
Meer Field	41	7	51 parcels	24	1
Low field	3				
Langhill	29	7	36	17	0.5
Shrub	26	2	28	24	1 (includes Little Field)
				7	1 leys in all fields

From which there were three unequal fields with 12 percent ley. An analysis of the neighbours in this terrier, showing there was once a regular order, has been given in Chapter 8.

Although both field systems appear to be three tilth, there were five different names, and both systems had a Shrub Field. All Saints had 11 furlongs in this field and St Peter's 12, but only 4 furlongs had the same name. Therefore the two Shrub Fields were different, and there was a double three-field system from at least 1632 until enclosure in 1772 consisting of Fingerford, Henslow and Shrub I for St Peter and Meer, Langhill and Shrub II for All Saints.

The demesne of Lenton's (All Saints) manor in 1700 lay throughout the 5 fields in a few blocks and many parcels of 1–3 lands[4]. The acreages in the fields for this holdings were in Meer Field 24.25 acres in 26 parcels, Fingerfort 3.25 in 6, Shrub 17.5 in 18, Langhill 13.5 in 13, and Henslow 4.75 acres in 8 parcels. So like All Saints glebe, the land was concentrated in Meer, Shrub and Langhill fields. Enclosed in 1772[5].

1 PRO C47 16 7/1.
2 NRO Aldwincle glebe terriers.
3 *Id.*
4 NRO X5029.
5 Award NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D 109 (1773).

Apethorpe

F 1551

Apethorpe, a chapelry of Nassington, is a forest village and includes woodland as well as the lands the deserted vill of Hale, the site of which by 1551 was part of the demesne. King's Cliffe and Apethorpe had lands 'intricate and entermengled' in Ashefeld and Garfeld at the same date[1].

A 1551 survey describes Apethorpe village houses and also has a field book. A note says that a selion was called a ridge or a 'styche', and that an otherall rood was 1.5 roods. There was a park enclosed with a stone wall and supplied with 80 deer, 12 kine and 12 geldings. There were 650 acres of land and 39.75 acres of meadow lying in the common felds and inclosures of the manor. The nature of soil was very good for barley and wheat,

if well manured, but unstinted commoning on the arable was not good for it. Common pasturing was limited to 80 kine as well as oxen, horses, and other plough beast, and sheep at the rate of 10 for every 6s. 8d. rent.

Furlongs are given detailed abuttals in the field book and the occupier of each land is listed with the acreage. A rental summarizes the holdings of each tenant. There were 8 named fields; the relative sizes are represented below by the number of pages in the field book:

	Field book total	*Holding of Robert Yoman, 207 lands, 48.5 acres*	
Ashefeld	14.5 pages	34 lands	6 acres
Tharfeld	17	16	3.75
Litle feld	26	49	12.25
Nether feld	6	12	2.75
Cocks croft	5	12	4.5
Above the park	5	18	3.75
Hale feld	29	77	15.25
Mille croft	3	1	0.125

There is no information on how the fields were grouped. A three- course tilth could have been made by grouping the first two and the remainder as two sets of three fields. A 1609 survey (below) lists 4 large fields, and it cannot be determined how they were run. There is the additional complexity of lands lying in King's Cliffe Thorpe Field and in Newton. These presumably balanced the land of King's Cliffe in Apethore and possibly arose by assarting of woodland once held in common.

The survey of 1609 describes the manor and fields[2]. The manor house, with gardens, Little Park 75 acres, Great Park and woods 297 acres, was in all 488 acres (all demesne). The town and 22 closes contained 164 acres, and 4 fields:

Haile Feilde, arable, leys, meadow	199 acres
Cockes croft, arable, leys	139
Farr Feilde and meadow above forth into Thorpe Field	216
Meadow between forth and town	13
Ash Feilde, arable, ley, meadow	129
in all	696

The whole manor, excluding arable, ley and meadow dispersed in Newton and Thorpe Fields, was 1347 acres. The 1609 arable area agrees with the total given for 1551 and shows that only half of the parish area was cultivated, the park, closes and woods being the same extent as the arable. There are now another 750 acres of Rockingham Forest, formerly extra parochial, added to it.

A survey of 1772 lists four fields[3]; a typical holding (of Robert Southwell) was distributed in Dibbens Field 21 acres, Middle Field 26, Thorpe Field 29, Slade to Newton Field 29, Enclosures 50, and Meadow 8 acres. The sum for the parish was 1143 acres. Another undated 18th-century survey used different field names, of which 3 were much larger than the 4th in a typical holding; Dibbins Field 93 acres, Bulls Balk 88, Park Field 133 and Park Field to King's Cliffe[4] 16 acres. The survey quantified the land intermixed with King's Cliffe (35 acres arable, meadow 4 acres) and Newton (2 acres arable).

Woodland

In 1551 the lord had the right to appoint the keepership of the walk of Sulehay in Rockingham Forest, and to appoint the woodward of Hale at the swanimote. He had a wood called Olyngea where there was a lodge. Also belonging to the manor was a coppice of wood and the right of pasture in Calvehaye where he could kill deer. He had the right to pasture cattle in Rockingham Forest without limit of number, but sheep were excluded. Cattle were not to be driven or impounded by forest officers but were allowed to walk throughout, so long as they were marked with the 'wyldworme' which all the horses, mares, colts, oxen, kine, calves and cattle of the lord and tenants of Apethorpe always had burnt on their hides. No sheep were allowed in the forest, but during wet weather they could be lodged in any part of the forest edge at night, and were to be driven in the morning to their accustomed places. Unringed swine breaking the forest swarth were impounded at the first offence, and afterwards the offender was referred to the swanimote.

A park of 500 acres was created by enlargement in 1641[5]. The parish was enclosed in 1777 with Nassington, Wood Newton and Yarwell[6].

Hale

Hale had two fields, called East and West in *c.* 1225, when a small grant described a half-acre land in each[7]. The same two fields were named in *c.* 1275[8].

The desertion date would appear to be unusually early for Northamptonshire, according to the 1551 survey:

> within the manor was sometime a hamlet called Hale [the] old walls ... [and] ... habytawns whereof were decayed by the report of dyverse auncient persons long before the remembrance of eny manne lyvyng, and as they suppose in the latter end of the reyne of king Henry V and beginning of the reyne of Henry VI [*c.* 1422]. The same is at this daye the demesnes of the manor of Apethorpe, and is enclosed into dyverse pastures woods and medowes.

Hale is described as 4 closes of 110, 19, 20, 22 acres, two meadows 6 acres, Collens Dibbyns 13 acres and Comlyns wood 40 acres. The date of desertion of Hale has been given as *c.* 1349[9], but 10 messuages, 2 cottages, 208 acres of arable, 10 of meadow, 3 of pasture and 50 acres of wood existed in Hale in 1486[10], so there seems to be disagreement among the sources. An enclosure date of *c.* 1500 is suggested (1486–1551).

1 NRO W(A) 4 xvi 5.
2 NRO W(A) 4 xviii.5.
3 NRO W(A) 7 xv.
4 *Id.*
5 NRO W(A) 2 xiii 4.
6 Act W(A) 4 xi 3; Map 2879.
7 NRO W(A) 2 iv 2 F1.
8 *Id.* F2.
9 Allison et al. p. 41
10 NRO W(A) 6 xi 1.

Arthingworth

M 1984

There were three fields in 1685 until enclosure[1]. A terrier of 1 yardland in 1710[2] shows that they were distributed as follows:

	Arable	*Ley*
Langborow Field	13 parcels	10 parcels
Howsby Field	12	10
Dale Field	17	7

The totals are 44, 39, 57 roods in 23, 22, 24 parcels, making three slightly unequal fields, which contained 39 percent ley.

In 1767 there were 512 acres of arable and 782 acres of pasture (60 percent grass[3]), but this was not all ley, as the meadow was included. The furlong names show the usual range of elements, reflecting locality and topography. *Dale field, howsby, claper*, etc., being of Scandinavian origin, confirm at the local level the Norse influence in this region of the county already known from the village names (Kelmarsh, Clipston etc).

There were 55.5 yardlands[4], which relate to the 1086 assessment of 2.418 hides as *c.* 23 to the hide (perhaps for 24 that would give a total of 58 yardlands). A different ratio is caculable in 1124 then 2.67 hides and 1 'virgate' were returned, which works better for 20 yardlands to the hide (giving a total of 54.33). The yardland averaged 23 acres in 1767, but the value may include pasture as well as leys and the yardland of arable and leys would have been slightly less in extent.

The glebe and Mears Ashby School terriers have very few neighbours, but this is to be expected because two proprietors owned 71 percent of the land (in 1767[5]), and the dominance of two names is no proof of a regular order.

At the south east lay old enclosure that was probably demesne (mentioned in the title deeds of 1604[6]); a close called Lawn Field (in 1604) was probably once woodland. Another old enclosure, Wood Close, was at the south west, all the remaining old enclosures were in a compact group around the village.

The township was enclosed in 1767 by private Parliamentary Act[7].

1 NRO Arthingworth glebe terriers.
2 Mears Ashby School Charity, information from W. Callis 1982.
3 NRO HK 132.
4 NRO HK 131–2, 1767.
5 NRO HK 131–2.
6 NRO Box 1178.
7 NRO HK 119; Award 1768.

Ashby Canons

M 1973, 1986

A terrier that is probably part of the demesne describes two fields, East and West in the late 15th century[1]. The parcels are called half acres or yardparts, probably meaning roods, in which case the distribution is 23.5 and 27 acres. Three fields occur by *c.* 1500, *unnamed*, North and West that had 21.5 acres distributed as 6.75, 6.75 and 6.25 acres[2].

In 1489 there were 100 acres of enclosure and the whole township was enclosed by 1547[3]. In 1714 it was noted 'Ashby must be first enclosed, the trees there being much older than the trees in Adstone'[4]. Bridges, in *c.* 1720 said 'the inclosure was very antient'[5]. Adstone was enclosed in *c.* 1604, consistent with a Canons Ashby enclosure date of *c.* 1540.

1 PRO SC 12 13/20.
2 PRO SC 12 13/19.

3 Allison et al. p. 35.
4 NRO Th 480.
5 Bridges i p. 230.

Ashby Castle

M 1977, 1982

The parish contains the hamlet of Chadstone which formed a separate township.

There were three fields in 1565, Middle Field, Claylond Field and Fishpool Field[1]. Furlong names were listed in 1489[2].

The demesne was 4 yardlands and included pieces of meadow in Ashby, Doddington and Grendon. The demesne yardland was 22.5 acres and was stinted at 6 beast, 2 horses and 50 sheep. The tenants' yardlands were 18 acres and stinted similarly but with much variation for each holding. The demesne would have been 5 yardlands at 18 acres. The tenants' yardlands totalled 20. There was a cottager with 0.33 yardlands and unspecified freehold. In Yardley Chase there were coppices called Young and Old Osey containing 50 and 66 acres respectively.

Enclosed in 1620 and 1651[3]. The House was completed in 1624, which may be relevant to the enclosure. Close names are listed in 1656[4].

Chadstone

In 1565 there were 160 acres of demesne 'in Chadson feild' with meadow in Chadstone, Denton and Cogenhoe. There was also a pasture of 350 acres that was in common with the rector. It seems that Chadstone was therefore a separate township and completely converted to unenclosed pasture. Chadstone hedge is referred to in Yardley glebe terriers of 1631. The Ashby glebe enclosures of 1684 were located in Chadstone, next to the rectory.

1 Compton Catalogue NRO, no.247, transcript.
2 *Id.* 231–2.
3 NRO Castle Ashby 58P/50, 61 and 62; with Chadstone.
4 Compton 739.

Ashby Cold

M 1980

The parish probably once contained the township of *Chilcotes*, that now forms a western tongue of Thornby parish; the settlement may lie under the present Thornby Grange. It seems to have been deserted by the 13th century, according to the statement that John Paveli (*c.* 1232[1]) gave all the *land of Chilcote* and 4 yardlands in Cold Ashby which was confirmed by Richard son of William de Wideville[2]. See Chapter 8 for an analysis of the Domesday assessment.

There are many furlong names for Cold Ashby *c.* 1200–1250 given in the Pipewell cartulary, but no field names. The monks had a sheepfold with a gate. An account roll of 1540 gives terriers, one with land in the East, West and South Fields[3]. Two other terriers give the names Ridgeway and Hygge fields. These are probably alternative names, so three fields are likely, rather than five.

There were 60 yardlands in the fields in *c.* 1230 (and probably 4 at Chilcotes, see Chapter 8). An agreement about the stinting was made in 1231; for each yardland there were 4 beast, 4 pigs and 20 sheep, although the number of pigs could be increased[4].

Encroachment of a common called Syfletemor by ploughing has been given in Chapter 7.

The date of enclosure seems to be 1625, when a considerable acreage of land was sold by local gentry, referring to *new enclosure*[5].

1 NRO FH 146 f.147.
2 *Id.* f.142.
3 PRO SC6 Hen VIII 2784 mm.59d-60d.
4 NRO FH 146 f.127d.
5 NRO XYZ 341; pardon for enclosure was granted in 1637 (Th 586).

Ashby Mears

M 1982 F 1577

The field book and fields

A field book and village survey of 1577 gives, for each field and furlong, the names of the occupier and tenant, and the estimated size of each land to the nearest half rood. There are marginal notes on abuttals and other items[1]. The 9 named principal fields had the following sizes:

	Total of Lands	*Thomas Harris (1 yardland)* *Lands*	*Leys*	*Total (roods)*
South Field	346	10	4	14
Wood Field	318	5		5
Garbroad Field	412.5	12	1	13
Town Haden	781	18.5	3.5	22
Rye Field (Little F)	58	3		3
Trunching Field	349	14	5	19
Little Field	125	3		3
Woolland Field	683	16.5	6.5	23
Hall Field +	555.5		zero	
Little Holme	94			
Totals	3722	82	20	102

South field was stated to run with Wood field (p. 23). The Hall field, and its two detached appurtenances, were a block demesne, as shown by the ownership, being almost entirely in the hands of the lord. Part of Gorebroad Field and Little Field in Trunching Field were also demesne in the lord's hands (pp. 37, 79); the 1684 glebe refers to some of Hadland Field being demesne[2]. The Little or Rye field lay on red land towards Sywell and was next to the beast pasture which also touched Trunching Field.

The cropping of these fields is not stated, but when grouped as below there were 5 large fields used by the villagers, plus the demesne which had none of the tenants or freeholders' land. South and Wood Fields were grouped; Little Field was surveyed as a subsidiary to Trunching Field and the two were stated to be linked in a terrier of 1675[3]. The glebe of 1711 and 1720 links Wooland and Trunching Fields (but they are not adjacent, see Figure 13), so there seems to be grouping into four major blocks. The glebe of 1684 refers to the parson's meadow being available every fourth year, indicating a four-year cycle, which is very unusual for the county. The glebe with most land in the Hall Field and its associated pieces is seen to be a grant of demesne.

A terrier of 0.25 yardlands made in 1636 mentions 5 fields by name (and no Hall field)[4]. The terrier of 1675 has 5 fields, reducing to 4 when South and Wood are grouped, Wooland Field is not named. This a complicated field system; there may be overlapping systems, as at Crick.

Field grouping from terriers:

Field	*1636 Lands*	*1684*	*Glebe 1720*	*Ley*	*1675 Arable*	*Land total*
Hadon	3	4		4.5	15	19.5
Wood and South	5	18		1	18	19
Garbroad	3	13	10	6	12.5	18.5
Trunching	1	5+	7	2	12	14
Wooland	2.5		34			
Hall		16	36			
Total	14.5		92			71
Size of holding	0.25		1		1	yardland
Area of yardland	19		23		24	acres

The yardland varies between 19–30 acres from these figures, taking the average size of a land as 0.33 acres; Thomas Harris's yardland (from the 1577 table above) was 24 acres with 19 percent ley. The glebe becomes 23 acres if each land was a rood.

The demesne. The demesne was a block, being the Hall Field and parts of the neighbouring fields, with the detached Little Holme lying next to Wilby on the east. The 1577 field book refers to 'the other part of the Hall Field', as though it were divided into two tilths, but the point where the entry is made is not in the middle of the Hall Field survey (p. 111). The spreading of the demesne into the neighbouring fields is presumably a transference of parts of the Hall Field to them, to fit complex crop rotations. Bylaws of *c.*1640 (below) are of considerable interest because they are the only late orders so far known for a township with a block demesne open and not enclosed. They show that the demesne had its own rye, peas and barley fields, as did the town fields.

Hides and the tenurial cycle. Each furlong of the 1577 field book had its lands divided into small blocks called hides[5], marked by balks. Each hide was divided into 8 parts, usually roods, but sometimes the lands were half roods and sometimes half acres. A few hides were slightly irregular with loss or addition of a land. There was a variable grouping of some of the small units into double ones within the same hide, so there might be two lands of 1.5 roods and 5 single rood-lands, being 7 lands in all, but making up 8 roods. There were 5 hides making a repetitive regular tenurial cycle of 40. In many cases there was a break down of what had once been a rigidly regular system like Ecton. More than one name might occupy a position in the cycle; this would be expected if a yardland were split into two, when two names would occur. The terrier is more complicated than such simple cases explain. The reality would be accounted for if there had been near complete fragmentation of a few yardlands with irregular reaggregation, and sale and exchanges of odd lands.

Examples of the cycle are listed below, that first listed was the one used to analyse the structure of the field book.

	pp. 29–30	*p. 20*	*p. 14*
1	Richard Greene	Richard Greene	Richard Greene
2	Henry Allam	John Cox for Bushe	John Cox for Bushe
3	Henry Allam	John Cox for Bushe	John Cox for Bushe
4	Henry Allam	John Cox for Bushe	John Cox for Bushe
5	William Pharow	John Ellis L	William Pharow
6	John Mott	Henry Allam	Ellen Crowe
7	John Eyre L	Henry Allam	John Eyre L
8	Laurence Heynes L	John Eyre L	Laurence Heynes
9	Ellen Crowe	Ellen Crowe	Ellen Crowe
10	John Cox for Bushe	Richard Greene	Richard Greene
11	Henry Allam L	Thomas Moone	Henry Allam L
12	Henry Allan L	Henry Allam L	John Eyre L
13	Thomas Robinson (town)	Matthew Fouke	Henry Allam L
14	George Floure L	Christopher Ellis L	Christopher Ellis L
15	George Floure L	John Mott	John Mott
16	George Floure L	Matthew Fouke	Matthew Fouke
17	Humphrey Hull (1.5)	John Cox for Bushe	Thomas Bothyway
18	[*split; to 17 and 19*]	Richard Greene	Richard Perkins
19	Thomas Pratt (1.5)	Henry Allam L	Richard Perkins
20	Richard Perkins	Thomas Pratt	Richard Perkins
21	John Cox for Lane	John Mott	John Mott
22	John Cox for Lane	John Cox for Bushe	John Mott
23	Thomas Moone	Richard Perkins	Thomas Moone
24	John Cox for Bushe	Matthew Fouke	Henry Allam L
		John Cox for Bushe [extra]	
25	Matthew Fouke	Matthew Fouke	John Eyre L
26	Thomas Harris	Thomas Harris	Thomas Harris
27	William Smith L	William Smith L	William Smith L
28	William Smith L	William Smith L	William Smith L
29	William Lole	Henry Bull	William Lole
30	Ellen Crowe	Thomas Moone	Ellen Crowe
31	John Cox for Lane	William Pharow	John Cox for Lane
32	Henry Allam	Henry Pharow	Thomas Bothyway
33	Laurence Heynes L	John Cox for Bush	Henry Allam
34	John Ellis	John Ellis	John Ellis
35	Thomas Harris L	Thomas Harris L	Thomas Harris L
36	Thomas Harris L	Thomas Harris L	Thomas Harris L
37	John Eyre L	Richard Greene	Richard Greene
38	Ellen Crowe L	Th. Robinson (town)	John Eyre L
39	John Ellis	Robert Rogers	Robert Rogers
40	George Floure L	John Eyre L	John Eyre L

L = tenant of the lord. Each group of eight lands had a balk between them.

The total of the lord's land in each column is 15, 9, and 12 (average 12). Only 10 of the names in the second column are the same as the first, and only 8 names are identical in all three. However 12 of the third column are the same as the first. These variations illustrate the complexity of a partly decayed regular order. An analysis of the frequency of neighbours in this field book, and its significance in recognising a regular order in single terriers, has been given in Chapter 8.

The field book shows examples of lands being split lengthways, with the roods of positions 17, 18 and 19 (first column) being shared as two lands of 1.5 roods each. The same occurs again on p. 14 with two lands totalling 3 roods occupying 3 single-rood positions.

The cycle of 40 is likely to represent the lands of the freemen and tenants. Since the total number of yardlands was 50.5 (in the enclosure Award 1777) the demesne was 10.5 (50.5 -40) yardlands. This is very close to the 10.75 yardlands of land belonging to Elizabeth Mercer in 1777, one of the stated ladies of the manor at that date. Her land was distinguished by having named yardlands, one of which was called Hall land. These named yardlands would seem to be the ancient block demesne that were excluded from the regular cycle.

It is likely that the 40 yardlands equate to Domesday at 10 yardlands to the hide, the demesne not being assessed[6].

1086	Countess Judith	4 hides
1124	King David	4 hides

The 40-land cycles have been plotted for all the western part of the township where the furlongs have been accurately located. They continue through the furlongs, indicating that medieval furlongs were formed from a series of older long lands that were laid over the plateau between two brooks. The regular cycle would seem to belong to a first stage of long lands (Fig. 13).

Not all the yardlands were identified in the 1577 field book, but 26.25 (freehold) yardlands are mentioned in the entries of the vill survey (there is no summary table). The 'missing' ones belonged to the lord and were presumably run as part of the demesne farm, the size of which is not stated. This is confirmed by analysis of the tenurial cycle; in the examples given the lord had an average of 12 positions (ie yardlands), which with the 26.25 of the freeholders gives a total of 38.25, agreeable with the 40 of the cycle. The difference is accounted for because of the variability of ownership in some of the positions, so in other cycles the lord would have more places, the final average likely being the required 13.75.

Orders. In a court roll of 1640 it was noted that all the ancient orders should continue[7]. An undated list of about this time gives:

1	No one was to plough any of the separate fields without the consent of at least four of the jury.	Fine 5s.
2	No sheep flock should to go [graze] more than 6 days without a bell.	5s.
3	No horse, mare or gelding was to be tied on any balk in the Town Rye Field until the crop was taken off.	5s.
4	The same for the Hall Rye Field [Little Holme?].	5s.
5	No horses, mares or geldings were to be placed in the town or Hall Barley and Pease Fields.	5s.
6	No beast were to be left in the common field at night time before St Luke's day.	1s.
7	No one was to glean any peas or beans in either of the several fields, the Town Field and Hall Field,	2s. 6d.
8	No one was to stake or keep by heards from the common heard from Lammas day until St Lukes day.	5s.
9	No one was to let either their horses or beast feed in the Town Rye Field or the Hall Rye Field after Martinmas.	3s. 4d.
10	No one was to let any cow commons to anyone	10s.
11	The owners of unstocked cow commons would be paid	1s.
12	No suckling foals were to be kept loose in the fields after St James' day when the mare is tied.	20s.

Woodland. The northern part of the township was woodland in 1577, 'lying four square', the property of the lord; it had been called Ashby Park [p. 23]. Adjacent to it were furlongs called the stockings, indicating that the wood had been larger. It lay next to Hardwick Wood, and was part of woodland lying on the high ground between Northampton and Kettering. Other fragments are Wythemale and Badsaddle Woods, and there was a wood at Walgrave. Neighbouring woodland was referred to; Hardwick Copse, Priors Copse belonging to Sywell, and 'Mr. Barnard's Copse' (most likely belonging to Earls Barton held by John Barnard of Abington). There was grass let out by lot for all the yardlands (except those of the Hall Field; p. 30).

Mears Ashby was enclosed by Parliamentary Act in 1777[8]; there were 50.5 yardlands. The land in possesion of the ladies of the manor was 17.25 yardlands, with glebe impropriate 2 and vicarial 1, Thomas Mercer 6.5, Owen Manning 4.125, Samuell Pell senior 3.825 and the remaining property shared among 19 people as holdings of 0.125–2.125 yardlands.

1 NRO ZA 3709, copy *c.* 1680.
2 NRO Mears Ashby glebe terriers.
3 NRO Box 1184.
4 NRO X9098, deed J. Smith and W. Lovell to Thomas Catesby.
5 Referred to in ZA 3709 pp. 23, 24, 91, 102–3.
6 Thorn and Thorn 56–18; VCH i p. 382.
7 NRO ZA 3710.
8 Act NRO BSL20; Award (1778) Enclosure Enrolment Volume E p. 475.

Ashby St Ledgers

M 1978 H F 1696 and 1715

Ashby St Legders is fully described in Chapter 10. The parish included, as well as the main vill, another township at the site of Ashby Lodge, demolished *c.* 1922. A physically separate estate is first identifiable in the early 16th century, but was in existence throughout the Middle Ages. There is no open-field information for the Lodge. All the furlongs and fields of the main estate have been identified.

There were two fields in the 13th century, called East and West and three fields during the the 14th century until enclosure in 1764. Ashby has three field books[1], made 1696–1715; an agreement for creating cow pasture, made in 1712, is printed in Chapter 2[2].

The demesne lay in blocks of whole or large parts of furlongs, as determined from information in a glebe dispute (Figure 2). Field-orders for 1526[3] are printed in Chapter 10 with later variants. Ashby St Legers was enclosed in 1764[4].

1 NRO ASL 1230–2.
2 NRO ASL 154.
3 NRO ASL 791.
4 Act NRO ASL 430.

Ashley

There were three fields from 1632 until enclosure[1]. In 1632 the glebe was dispersed as:

Field	*Arable*	*Ley (roods)*	*Total*
Wood Field	29	4	33
Bridge Field	27.5	2.5	30
Tedding (later Little Field)	31.5	6.5	38
	88	*13*	*101*

From which there was 12 per cent ley. The neighbours were very dispersed, in the Wood Field there were 13 people in 22 positions; 5 people held 64 per cent of them, and 36 per cent were random. The glebe was 2 yardlands (below) so the 101 rood total suggests a small yardland of 13 acres.

The Domesday holdings of 1086 were 4.667 hides in all and in *c.* 1124[2] there were 4 hides and 12 small virgates. The details of these two assessments are consistent with 12 yardlands to the hide there being 0.333 hide or 4 small virgates more in 1124.

In 1778 there were 'about' 50 yardlands[3], from which it is likely that there were 10 yardlands to the hide making the 1086 theoretical total 47 yardlands, and the 1124 assessment at 52. The 1086 and 1124 values and the ratings of either 10 or 12 yardlands to the hide are not easily reconciled. A detailed yardland list of 1739 gives 29 people as owners of 47.75 yardlands plus the glebe, 49.75 in all. Another list of 24 named yardlanders made in *c.* 1749 was added up to 49.5 (the glebe having 2 yardlands), given to the nearest one-eighth. They actually add up to 48.75 yardlands[4].

The total number of sheep at Ashley in 1732 was 808 and 836 in 1737. Some tithings were let at 5/6d per yardland to the owners in 1737 and 1738. After 1749, tithes were always paid as a rent, being 50s. a yardland in 1760. Tithes in kind of barley in 1724 totalled 44 quarters and 44 strikes, selling at about 15s. a quarter to buyers from Leicester, Burton, Kibworth, and Harborough. Twenty strikes were kept for seed. Barley was sent to Middleton in 1733. The wheat tithe of 1734 amounted to 23 quarters and 64 strikes, nearly all being sold at Leicester for *c.* 4s. a quarter; 2 quarters were used for sowing[5].

Partial enclosure in 1607 'put 7 yardlands to the manor house'[6]. An Act for Parliamentary enclosure was granted in 1806[7].

1 NRO Ashley glebe terriers.
2 VCH i p. 386.
3 Leicester Record Office DG4/590.
4 NRO Ashley 16P/15.
5 *Id.*
6 E.F. Gay, *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* n.s. 18 (1904) p. 230.
7 NRO, the map accompanying the Award is dated 1807 (Map 3002) and shows the great fields.

Ashton

M 1985

Ashton was formerly a chapelry of Oundle.

In 1525 a terrier describes lands distributed in 5 fields[1]. Five fields, but with different names occurred in 1677 also[2]:

1525		*1677*		
How Field	7 acres	Backside Field	18 parcels	
Meddleham	2.5	Steelering Slade Field	26	
Overham	1.625	Littlemoor Field	3	9 roods
Chalkehill Field	3.625	Mill Field	6	12 roods
Wolston Field (includes 'grovefeild furlong')	2.625	Nether Field	5	11 roods
		Ley ground	2	8 leys

A terrier of *c.* 1700 names 6 fields but they are stated to be grouped in pairs making a three-season tilth[3]:

Field			*A*	*R*	*P*
Field next to Polebrook	29	lands [mostly single]			
Nether Field, abuts meadow	6				
Both are one season and lie fallow together	35		14	1	20
Over Field next Ould	15				
Littlemore Field	10				
Both one season	35		12	3	0
Steeling Field	39				
Mill Field	8				
Both fields the same season	47		15	1	0

In all 117 arable lands lie for 42.375 acres (0.362 average). Leys were thinly spread through the fields, being 9 percent of the total. Three tilths continued to operate in 1790 when a farm of 120 acres had 40 acres of arable in each field[4].

A regular tenurial cycle in 1295 is suggested by a terrier that describes 6 lands, 5 of which have the same two neighbours, Richard Trally and Richard son of the Reeve[5]. The neighbours in Litlemoore Field (1700) were only mentioned once, except for one person occupying 5 (56 percent) of the positions. There had been breakdown of regularity since 1295.

A Peterborough abbey account roll records a rent in Ashton of 14 yardlands in 1308–9. The demesne farm was in hand and the permanent staff were 1 hayward, 4 ploughmen, 1 dairymaid and 1 carter. Pigs were kept in woodland (probably in Oundle woods), and the crops sown were wheat 51.25 acres, barley 26 acres, drage 14 acres, oats for feeding oxen 54 acres, and peas and beans 11 acres. No work service was recorded[6].

A plot called a rick place, being half an acre lying in common ground with hedges and fences, was sold in 1678[7].

The high ground was called the green 'Walde of Ayston' in *c.* 1300[8], and probably had been woodland. Closes next to the Over Field on the Old or Wold were referred to in 1570, 1677 and 1790. The field survey showed that all Ashton Wold had ridge and furrow under it, and had therefore once been arable, but had reverted to enclosed woodland, similar to Barnwell. Ashton was enclosed in 1807 with Oundle (qv).

1 NRO SO 509/2.
2 NRO SO 515/10.
3 NRO SO 509/11.
4 NRO SO 509/2.
5 NRO Buccleuch charter photostats B1 375.
6 NRO F(M) roll 233; see also King *Peterborough Abbey* 1973, pp. 180–1.
7 NRO SO 515/10.
8 NRO Buccleuch charter photostats B1 426.

Aston le Walls

Aston le walls contains as well as Aston the township of Appletree. There were two fields in Aston from 1633 until enclosure in 1712, North Side and South Side[1]. The glebe of 6 yardlands had 4 large pieces in the North Side that was probably once demesne. If these, amounting to 66 lands, are eliminated from the analysis the distribution in the fields in 1633 is:

	Arable	*Ley*	*Total*
North Side	27	55	82 lands
South Side	64	12	76 lands
Total	*91*	*67*	*158*

From which there was 42 percent ley. The total lands, including the 66 of presumed demesne, was 224, giving 37 to the yardland or *c.* 19 acres. The demesne blocks probably represent 2 yardlands and the dispersed lands 4.

There were 64 entries of the names of owners in the North Side (most of them two per land) in 1633, mentioning only 7 people who were referred to between 8 and 13 times. If the 4 yardlands were dispersed as singles and there was a regular tenurial order, then 8 names would be expected. Many of the dispersed lands actually laid as two adjacent lands so that 6 names would then occur. There is, therefore, a close approach to a regular order. Enclosed in 1712[2].

Appletree

Appletree was open with yardlands purchased in 1609[3]; it was enclosed before 1720 according to a glebe terrier reference to the 'inclosure of Appletree'.

1 NRO Glebe terriers.
2 *Id.*; Baker i p. 467.
3 Bridges i p. 103

Aynho

Some data used are taken from *Aynho: a Northamptonshire Village* by Nicholas Cooper (Banbury) 1984.

Two fields are named in a small grant of 1521, West Field and Cotman Field, with half an acre in each[1]. Three fields had been formed by 1619 (West, Lower and Nether) when one of them amounting to 700 acres was enclosed[2]. There was two-tilth cultivation until 1639 when a farm had half of its land sown. A three-field tilth was then introduced[3] and was confirmed for 12 more years in 1680[4]. Three fields continued until 1763 when a four-course arrangement was made[5]. Two changes were made in the furlongs assigned to each of the three fields between 1639 and 1763. A four field arrangement was then used until 1792.

There were 50.5 yardlands in 1545 with a demesne of 10 yardlands. In 1616 (after demesne enclosure) there were 52.5 yardlands[6]. In 1086 there were 3.2 hides equating to *c.* 16 yardlands to the hide, or *c.* 13 if the demesne were not assessed.

Aynho has a fieldbook (or survey) of 1616[7], and many 17th-century orders, especially for 1633, are similar to orders of that date made for Wollaston, where Richard Cartwright, lord of Aynho, was 'agent' for the Egerton family (later earls of Bridgwater; Richard Cartwright's wife was Mary Egerton).

An account book made by the fieldsmen during 1733–91 provides details of field management[8]. Payments were made for cutting flags out of meadow brooks and making (flood) banks. The meadows were laid out by placement of marking stones. A parish bull was bought from Deddington Fair, and payments made for its keep and straw bedding. The fieldsmen made rates for their funds by a levy on cow commons (7s. from 188

commons in 1734), occasionally from horse commons, and from manorial court fines for encroachments. People not stocking horse commons were paid cash. Payments were received at the Red Lion. Powder and shot were bought for shooting vermin, especially crows. Clover was sowed in the barley field (when it was fallow?).

The demesne was enclosed in 1561[9] and one of the fields in 1620[10]. The remainder was enclosed by Parliamentary Act in 1792[11]. A plan with names showing the old enclosure and furlongs in *c.* 1720 is given in *Aynho*, pp. 303–9.

1 NRO C(A) 441.
2 NRO C(A) 3315, 3347.
3 *Aynho* p. 49.
4 NRO C(A) 2788.
5 *Aynho* pp. 105–6.
6 *Aynho* pp.293, 296.
7 This has not been identified; *Aynho* has no references and the 8,185 Cartwright MSS (NRO) have no index.
8 NRO Aynho 21P/107.
9 *Aynho* p. 40.
10 *Aynho* p. 58; following an enclosure agreement in 1619; see NRO Th 409; C(A) 3317–9.
11 Detailed in *Aynho* pp. 177–92; see NRO Map 2816 (1793); Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. I p. 439.

Badby

M 1988

The townships of Badby and Newnham formed a single parish, with a chapel at Newnham. They belonged to Evesham abbey and there was one demesne for both townships. Newnham chapel was elevated to a parish church in 1632, and the township is described separately below.

A terrier of 1616 decribes two fields, the North containing 25 and the South 26 lands. There was a very regular order of tenants, since the neighbours in almost all cases were Joshua Leete on one side and the late Thomas Palmer on the other[1].

The glebe terriers show that Badby was still a two-field system in 1632. There were 19.5 acres in the North Field and 17.25 in the South Field, nearly all as half acres or adjacent two roods, representing 2 yardlands. The yardland was therefore *c.* 18 acres. The two fields were called North Field and West Field in 1686, but there had been a temporary change to three fields in 1636 and 1649 (see below). From 1711 until enclosure there were three fields, called Town (Halliwell) Side, Maniwell Side and Morcot Side[2].

The glebe neighbours in 1632 consisted of Michael Phillips only on one side, and a balk and 4 other people on the other. One of these held 31 out of 41 positions (76 percent), and two of them accounted for 38 (93 percent). A regular order is thus indicated, as in the 1616 terrier. The regularity was apparent to 18th-century terrier makers, because in 1705 the whole glebe was described as being 'next to Painter's rood' (Painter being the successor to Michael Phillips).

A rental of *c.* 1380 gives details of 39 yardlands[3]. There was probably a regular cycle of 40, as at Newnham. Badby work-service for a yardland is given in Chapter 2.

Changes in field number. Articles of agreement were made on 14th April 1636 that Badby fields, formerly two, should be divided into three parts. The details have been printed in

Chapter 4. In February 1649 another agreement was made between the inhabitants of Badby 'for the common good utility and profit of the landholders and commoners there'[4]:

1 It was agreed to continue to divide the two fields into three as had been done before, and to continue for 18 years.
2 The corn field was to be hained and laid several on Candlemas and the peas field on 1st March.
3 No one was to break the corn field or stubble with a ploughshare until Michaelmas and the peas field until 1st November.
4 Every man should cut his mowing ground for hay before 10th August.
5 Hin Piece of John Rushall and John Lynes hook at Vicars meade end should go with short sturtlands.
6 Each yardland was to have 3 horses, 4 beast and 20 sheep for the first 3 years.
7 After then sheep were to be let out from 1st May until 19th August, provided that there were not above 32 sheep per yardland.
8 The fallow fields were to be hained and laid several on 1st May and made an addition to the cow pasture yearly for the remaining 15 years, except for the grass thought fit to be allotted to commoners to tie their horses.
9 No one was to let or sell his sheep commons apart from his land to any foreigner or person not being a landholder or commoner, excepting only for the manuring of his land, and to use it for 3 months or longer.
10 There should be a town plough bought and provided to furrow the fields and cleanse the watercourses at the charge and with the assistance of the inhabitants before 23rd April.

Various field orders similar to the above (except for the change in field numbers) were made at different times. A list for 1592[5] described the animal stints at 4 beast, 40 sheep and 20 lambs to the yardland. There were to be 2 horses per yardland. Hadeways between furlongs should be 20 paces wide and there were to be balks 2 paces wide between each rood. Reduction in animal stinting was made in 1593, when there were then to be 1 horse per yardland, and balks 2 paces wide for every half acre, and 1 pace wide for every single rood[6]. Further orders were made in 1623[7].

Demesne. The combined demesne of Badby and Newnham has been described in Chapter 5. A 1388 rental states that there were 8 furlongs in the demesne (called the *bury* or the *Park*) and that they comprised 7.5 yardlands or two carucates. 'Carucates' probably means *tilth* or crop rotation. Two fields in the demesne are mentioned in 1552 (the *Bery Fylde under Badby Wode* and *the other Bery Fylde*). The 7.5 yardlands are probably an assessment of the demesne area based on the same acreage as the 40 copyhold dispersed yardlands. Badby and Newnham each had 48 yardlands, of which 40 were copyhold, and 20 yardlands of demesne were shared between them[8].

The demesne was enclosed in 1592, copyholders having to relinquish their 'quaterns'[9] and the remainder of the parish was enclosed by Parliamentary Act in 1779[10].

1 NRO Th 707c.
2 NRO Badby glebe terriers.
3 NRO Th 1627.
4 NRO Th 708.
5 NRO Th 505.
6 NRO Th 1506.
7 NRO Th 1596.
8 NRO Th 406.
9 NRO Th 525/2; Th 625.
10 Act NRO K 974; Map 942 (1779); Award ML 679.

Barby

Barby is the chief settlement in a parish that includes the deserted township of Onley and at one time Kilsby as well. Kilsby was a chapelry of Barby in 1218 and there is a detached part of Barby in Kilsby, called Nortoft, enclosed with Barby[1].

Early charters give furlong names but not field names; a two- field tilth may be indicated by parcels of 1, 2, and 3 acres (that is a possible grouping of 1 plus 2, and 3); but another charter has 3, 3, 2, 1 acres. In both cases the neighbours are the same indicating a regular order[2]. By 1392 the neighbours are more mixed, a grant of 9 lands having 7 people mentioned[3].

There were 4 fields in 1684 arranged in three tilths. The glebe[4] of 1684 and 1692 (2 yardlands) had the following distribution:

Field	*Arable*	*Ley*	*Total*
Wood Field	26 lands	10	37 plus two pieces
Nortop	16	2	18
together			55
Bracknell Field	41	26	67
Nether Field	44	14	58

From which there were three moderately equal tilths, Wood Field being worked with the detached Nortoft. A yardland was 30 acres and there were 29 percent leys.

Nearly all the glebe lands occurred as adjacent pairs in 1692, but any other order was almost non-existent. In the Wood Field 41 neighbour positions were held by 24 different people, 3 people accounting for 29 percent of them, and 37 percent were random (people mentioned once). A terrier of 0.125 yardland made in 1665 gives no field names and confirms that the tenurial order was mixed, with 14 people sharing 29 positions, and 4 people occupying 55 percent[5].

Enclosed in 1778, when there were 50 yardlands[6].

Onley

M 1989

Onley had a two-field system in *c.* 1275 when 3 acres were granted in one field of Onley and 3 acres in *the other* field[7]. It was still open field in 1345[8] and was enclosed in 1605. Several closes were named in a lease of 1610, one of them called Woodfield[9].

1 Baker i 262, 264.
2 NRO Barby 24P/104 and 105, both *c.* 1275.
3 NRO 24P/122.
4 NRO Barby glebe terriers.
5 NRO XYZ 788.
6 Act NRO D9989; Map 4084 (1778); Award ZA 3766.
7 NRO 24P/104.
8 Allison et al. *Deserted Villages* p. 44; M. W. Beresford *The Lost Villages of England*, 1954, p. 144.
9 Stratford, Shakespeare Memorial Record Centre DR18/21/3/1.

Barnack

M 1975 P *c.* 1750

Barnack parish contains Southorpe, a separate township, and the hamlets of Pilsgate

and Walcot. Walcot and Southorpe were stated to be in Barnack parish in 1426[1]. Pilsgate was a separate township until the 14th century and it is possible that Walcot was also; it had a different enclosure history from Barnack and Southorpe according to an 18th-century map of the whole parish[2]. The map shows a complex intermixing of resources, with Walcot and Pilsgate having their own meadow along the river, Walcot meadow being detached. Barnack Heath was common and there were other cow pastures on areas of poor soil, including the small Ardley Moor. Walcot was mostly enclosed with a park and other extensive pasture grounds.

The separate identity of the townships of Barnack, Pilsgate and Bainton is established in *c.* 1404 when the property of the sacristan of Peterborough abbey was stated to be 2 yardlands in Barnack, 1 yardland in Bainton and 3 yardlands and 8 half yardlands in Pilsgate. There is a terrier of the Barnack land with furlong names but no field names given. The names are different from furlong names in similar terriers of Pilsgate[3].

Several early charters refer to fields named after one of the hamlets but not making it clear whether they belonged to Barnack, taking their names from the adjacent hamlet, or whether they were part of fields belonging to a separate hamlet townships. Between *c.* 1275 and 1300 the following field names occur[4]; North Field of Barnack, Field between Pilsgate and Barnack, West Field of Walcote, West Field of Barnack, Field of Barnack and Pilsgate. Later names are Litelfeld in Barnack, West field of Barnack and West field of Pilsgate[5].

What is probably the same piece of land, abutting *lytyldykegat* to the north, is described as in the Fields of Walcot and Barnack in 1392, and in the West Field of Walcot in 1406[6]. A land abutting *heyngstowegate* to the west was said to be in the West Field of Pilsgate in 1399 and in the West Field of Barnack in 1401[7]. It seems that the townships of Pilsgate and Barnack were becoming intermixed during the 15th century; they are jointly described in 1405 as the West Field of Barnack and Pilsgate for a land lying at *Burleytounysende*[8].

The same kind of loose descriptions occur during the 15th century. Walcot had 6 acres lying scattered in the fields of Southorpe and Walcot in Barnack parish in 1426[9]. Both Pilsgate and Barnack had a field called the Nabbe in 1493[10]. There was also a Field of Barnack and Pilsgate called *tukwelhyll*[11].

In 1631 there were seven fields in the combined fields of Barnack and Pilsgate[12]: Langdike Field 28 acres, Burland 19.5, Nab Field 7.75, Pilsgate Meadow Field 3.75, Barnack Meadow Field 5, The Old Field 5.5, and Field south of the Town 7.75 acres. These are difficult to interpret, but may have formed a three-course tilth, if the last five were taken together.

A Barnack holding of 1718 with furlongs detailed and the area of each land given, had land in the 9 fields[13]; Little Field at the north of the town, Old field, Meadow Field, Burtlands Field, Nether Field, Little field called Rushcrofts, Nabb Field, Langdike Field and Crow Buck Field. All these fields are located on the open-field plan of *c.* 1750, although Burtlands and Rushcrofts, named areas lying west of Pilsgate next to Burghley Park, are not called 'fields'. There was only 2.75 percent of leys among the arable. The Heath was a large area used for common pasture.

Langdike Field of 1718 has a good example of the descriptive names used for furlongs in the region, naming the First furlong beyond the balk; the Second furlong beyond the balk next to Southorpe Field and the Heath; and the Third furlong beyond the balk.

Pilsgate

The demesne of Burghley, in 1356, refers to land in Pilsgate as though it were in a separate field system[14], and this is confirmed by the terriers made in *c.* 1404[15]. The first names three fields containing a yardland as Nether Field 7.75 acres, West Field 9.5 and South Field 7.5 acres. As with the remainder of the Soke, land sizes were large with 0.75 and 1 acre being common. A half yardland was stated to be 12 acres on several occasions. The first terrier has some regular order with 73 percent of the positions held by 4 people. Other terriers have less regularity, 5 people having 59 percent of the neighbouring positions[16].

Former carriage work-service was excused by a rent. Corn used to be carted from Pilsgate to Peterborough and 'turves of the marsh' were brought back (from Borough Fen) to the Pilsgate manor[17].

By the 17th century the fields of Pilsgate were amalgamated with those of Barnack, as described under that township. Barnack was enclosed with Pilsgate in 1800[18].

Southorpe

Half a bovate, in 1593, had 8 lands in The North Field and 6 in the South Field[19]. The Barnack glebe of 1631 had in Southorpe East Field 1.25 acres and in Southorpe Nether Field 3.5 acres, which may still have been a two-field system[20].

On the undated 18th-century map, the greater part of the township was enclosed[21]. A small open area at the south was called South Field and at the east was South East Field. On the west was Mill or West Field, lying next to the heath. There were commons and closes large and small. A remnant three field system is probably indicated. The areas of 3 open-fields are more clearly marked on the enclosure map of 1843; on the north west was Mill Field, at the south Far Field and on the east Ufford Field, there being common between the last two. A large area of old enclosure lay at the south east.

Southorpe was enclosed in 1841[22].

1 Exeter Muniments, Burghley House, Ex 76/54.
2 NRO Map 4040.
3 BL Cott. Faust. B iii ff.156d; 155; 150.
4 Ex 76/2 to 76/6.
5 1352, Ex 76/17;1360, Ex 76/21.
6 Ex 76/25; Ex 76/37–8.
7 Ex 76/28; Ex 76/29.
8 Ex 76/35.
9 Ex 76/54.
10 Ex 76/66; 76/69.
11 Ex 76/70.
12 NRO glebe terriers.
13 Ex 65/13.
14 Ex 22/1.
15 BL Cott. Faust. B iii f.150–5.
16 *Id.* f.150–150d.
17 *Id.*f.156.
18 Award NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. M p. 186.
19 Gray p. 479 from PRO E407 71 f.52.
20 NRO Barnack glebe terriers.
21 NRO Map 4040.
22 Act NRO CAM 93; Map 4431 (1843).

Barnwell

M 1989 H

Barnwell has two parishes, one for each of the two medieval manors, one of which belonged to Ramsey abbey and one to the crown. There was also a small vill called Crowthorpe on the riverside near Oundle South Bridge. The distribution of land in the 14th-century demesne of the Ramsey abbey manor shows that there was only one field system, and that the parishes were intermixed in the fields.

There were 3 fields called Haylondfeld (Greynefeld 1439), Waldfeld and Pyrtonefeld, according to the demesne of Ramsey Abbey described in an undated terrier of the 14th-century[1]. It consisted mainly of large pieces of furlongs spread fairly uniformly through the whole double parish. This is proved internally from the names because there were furlongs next to all the neighbouring villages; Armston, Thurning and the Wold, and (Wigs)thorpe. Another demesne terrier of 1417 gives more detail about the sizes of the parcels which varied from 6–53 adjacent lands, most of them being more than 10 lands[2].

In the 14th-century terrier, 78 furlongs are named and suggest that there had been assarting, mainly in the Waldfeld, there being 5 furlongs with *wald* name-elements and 3 others with 'woody' names. Scandinavian influence is found in the occurrence of 5 *dale* ('valley') and 17 *wong* name elements, nearly 30 percent.

Three unequal fields in 1632[3] were called Purston or South Field, which touched Lilford pasture and (Wigs)thorpe, North or Trayne Field touching Hemington pasture, and Nether field bordering Armston meer. There was also incidental reference to a fourth field called Middle Field. It is probable that the names are only locational. Leys amounted to 14 percent. Again dispersal through a single field system is indicated; if there had been two townships, St Andrews at the north would not be expected to have lands bordering Lilford and Wigsthorpe at the south.

The presence of a single field system suggests that once (before 1066) Barnwell was a single manor. Its subsequent division into two manors and two parishes has many parallels, but very unusual is the placing of manors and parishes into separate Hundreds (see Coton and Guilsborough). A map of the Hundred boundaries would be very complex with intermixed strips in the Barnwell fields.

Open-field regulations and misdmeanours occur in Barnwell court rolls. Roger de Reve and other villeins had sheep outside the lord's fold in 1342. William Balle had animals tresspassing in the lord's meadow and William Smith ploughed land 2 perches long at the head of a land at *le hallow* in 1346. Robert Miller and others led beasts at night from the crofts of Crowthorpe in 1345. William Grene cut and carried the lord's hay at *prestyston* in 1400. Other orders are printed in Chapter 2[4].

An extent of Barnwell St Andrews made in 1276 shows there were 7.5 yardlands of freehold, 21 yardlands held (mainly as half yardlands) by villeins and 1 yardland belonging to the rector, 28.5 in all; there were 25 cottars holding 24 houses[5]. The descent of the Barnwell yardlands can be followed through a series of rentals and a compotus to 1416. No yardlands are mentioned in 1632.

The estate was assessed as 6 hides in 1086 and 1124[6], which approach 5 yardlands to the hide if the demense is excluded. A yardland was 40 acres (from Beaumys yardland surveyed in *c.* 1417[7]). No regular order of tenants can be determined from the St Andrews 1632 glebe terrier. Both manors and parishes belonged to the Montagu

family and there had probably been rearrangement of holdings, unrelated to any early layout.

Bridges says that Barnwell was enclosed in 1683[8], which agrees with a glebe terrier of 1727 referring to enclosure occurring 'more than forty years' previously. Other glebe terriers make it clear that enclosure took place by means of a Decree in Chancery[9].

1 NRO Buccleuch 18–155, c11, in X387A.
2 *Id.*, c8 in X387A.
3 NRO Barnwell St Andrews glebe terriers.
4 NRO Buccleuch 18–162 in X388.
5 *Id.* 18–155, c10 in X387A.
6 Thorn and Thorn 9–5.
7 *Id.*, c7 in X387A.
8 Bridges ii p. 213.
9 NRO glebe terriers, Barnwell All Saints 1727, St. Andrews 1711.

Barton, Earls

M 1978

Earls Barton parish consists of Barton and the deserted vill of Barton Thorpe, or Dowthorpe, lying at the east by the river meadows. Thorpe was not a separate township since its open-field land lay intermixed with that of Barton (see below).

There were 7 fields from 1640 until enclosure in 1771, grouped together to form a three-field system plus 2 rye fields, a probable five-course tilth of the Newnham type (it is not known if the rye fields were on a two-year cycle). In 1640[1] the grouping of the three main tilths was, East Field and Hadwell Field, Thorpe Field and Ecton Brook Field, and Ansdell Field. The land of 0.25 yardlands lay in the 2 rye fields and in Ansdale, Brooke and Hadwell Fields in 1654[2]. There were 13 percent leys at that date.

Yardlands. A quarter of a yardland in 1655 was 26.5 roods, making the yardland 26.5 acres, and the stinting was 4 cows and 40 sheep[3]. The size of the glebe 1.5 yardlands can be added up from the precise measurements of a 1720 terrier. For the whole yardland the Rye and Ansdale Fields were 7.5 acres (the half yardland 4.25), Ecton brooke and Thorpe 5.75 (4.0), East and Hadwell 10.25 (4.0). The half yardland was therefore equally distributed between the three tilths but the whole yardland was not. The total acreage was 24.25 for the whole and 12.25 for the half which gives an estimated 24.5 acres if doubled. The sheep and cow commons were 40 and 4, as before. There was 5 percent of ley in 1720.

Demesne. A grant of 1.5 yardlands by John Barnard, lord of Abington, to Thomas Haynes in 1640[4], consisted only of 26 parcels, there being groups of 1–6 lands and two 'pieces'. Of the smaller parcels John Barnard was usually the neighbour, showing that blocks of his land were being split up. Such blocks were probably demesne of the dispersed type, lying in all the fields. A third of this land was sold again in 1649[5] by Haynes to John Palmer, clerk, when it is clear that it was part of a series of large blocks and that Barnard no longer possessed any of it. One of the pieces of 12 lands in 1640 is further specified in 1649 as having 4 lands of Henry Palmer on one side of it and 7 lands of William Wilmer on the other. This was most likely a piece of demesne consisting of a substantial part of a single furlong. Here is an example of demesne being split up as freeholds. The 1640 land lay in a hide (a subdivision of the fields) which was not named.

Tenurial order. The presence of a regular tenurial cycle is clearest in a glebe terrier of 1684[6], which had one yardland in Boone Hide. There was a total of 61 parcels of which William Wilmer and one Banes laid on each side in all cases except 7. Of these seven only one had neither Wilmer nor Baines. There was common for 4 cows and 40 sheep. The other glebe half yardland laid in the Demeane Hide. This was not so regular in terms of its neighbours, as might be expected if it was split up demesne.

An undated 17th-century rental listed all the leys and heads in Hadwell Field belonging to the cow pasture. It gives the owners' names, the furlong names, and the value; Boon Hide and Akurman Hide are mentioned 2 and 3 times each[7]. It shows there had been an agreement about the cow pasture, but does not reveal a regular tenurial order (not every land was necessarily mentioned). However the combination Miles Witworth, William Ferey, Thomas Astwood occurs several times.

Hides. The fields of Earls Barton were divided into hides, as with other neighbouring parishes. They are referred to in terriers of 1640 and later, the cow pasture rental, and most extensively in a long terrier of 1740 made to locate the payment of impropriate tithes to Thomas Cooper[8]. This last is not equivalent to a complete fieldbook, because Cooper only had the tithe of 56 yardlands out of the total of 80. A few of the hides are named, usually just the boon hide after the beginning when several names occur. The boon hide occurs in repetitive cycles throughout all the fields; since the others are rarely named it is not certain that all of them occur in regular sequence, but it is likely.

The hide names were as listed below with the highest number of lands recorded. The total of lands in the sequence is likely to be 80 which agrees with the stated total of yardlands at the enclosure.

Earls Barton hide names and land numbers

Name	*Number of lands recorded*	*Probable maximum no.*
Hall	18	20
Boon	20	20
Thorpe	15	20
Holmby	10	10
Demean	5	5
Acreman	4	5
		80

The hides were already 'old' by the 17th century, because some yardlands lie in mixed hides and terriers do not always specify which ones they belong to, especially the late ones. Probably in the original system, like Ecton, a yardland was limited to a given hide and always laid in a fixed position within it, next to the same neighbours. At Barton the yardland of vicarial glebe has a fixed position in the Boon Hide.

The names of the hides indicate a parish and manorial structure of considerable interest. The vill of Thorpe had its land as the Thorpe Hide, dispersed in blocks throughout the township (and was therefore not a township, but a hamlet). From the distribution of Barton furlongs (most of them have been identified by comparison with the furlong names and 'modern' field names) throughout the parish it is evident that there was no separate township of Thorpe. The boon hide presumably means *bond* or villein hide (compare bond or boonhold at Rushden). The Hall, Holmby and Demean

Hides presumably belonged to the three manors that are recorded by the 13th century. Likely the Demean is the original demesne of the single manor recorded in 1086. The name Hall manor is often used for a late or subsidiary one (cf Wollaston and Raunds). The family of Holmby held one of the Barton manors from about 1362–1490[9], which dates the system to the 15th-century or earlier. It cannot be later; there would be no liklihood of a system created, say in the 16th century, using the name of a previous manorial holder. There is, however, every possibility of it being earlier, later manorial holders' names replacing earlier ones.

Hides are mentioned in a terrier of the land laid down for cow pasture in 1660[10] made by Miles and William Whitworth. The complete structure would no doubt have been clearly stated in a 1671 terrier of the meadow, now lost, that gave 'every hide and particular of every man's meadow in acres roods and quarters'[11].

Earls Barton was enclosed in 1771; there were about 80 yardlands and 2,400 acres[12].

1 NRO E(S)740.
2 NRO BSL Box 1174.
3 NRO X 5379.
4 NRO E(S)740.
5 NRO E(S)734/5.
6 NRO Earls Barton glebe terriers.
7 NRO ZA 9248.
8 NRO FHT 15.
9 *VCH* iv p. 117
10 NRO 110P/166.
11 NRO X828, Earls Barton scrap-book, the inside cover of which has a printed list referring to the contents of the parish chest.
12 NRO Act in X829; 110P/257.

Barton Seagrave

The demesne of 180 acres was one-third fallow in 1353, indicating that there was a three-field system[1]. A charter of 1311 granting 1 acre in 4 lands, mentions two blocks of demesne furlongs[2]. From the descriptions it is not certain whether they are in a single block or dispersed. Yardlands are mentioned in an undated charter of *c.* 1280[3].

Glebe terriers show that in 1633 there were 7 fields grouped in two listed blocks with the land distributed as shown[4]:

Field	*Acreage*	*Approximate adjacent location*
South	13	Pytchley
Catbush	12	Centre and Cranford
Hey	7	Burton
Sharpehill	9	Cranford
Town	13	Warkton
New	5	once part of Sharphill
North	8	Warkton

The two groupings were let to different tenants. Hey and Sharpehill could have been grouped to make a three field tilth. That New Field once belonged to Sharpehill shows there had been alterations, but it is not clear how the fields operated in 1633.

The township possessed Barton Wood, detached in Rockingham Forest, lying on the south of Brigstock Great Park (Old Head Wood, now in Grafton Underwood[5]).

Bridges gives the enclosure date as *c.* 1610[6], but this was not a very accurate estimate.

The township was enclosed in 1633, which was presumably the purpose of the detailed glebe survey ordered by the court of Chancery. The 1684 glebe terrier refers to enclosures made in 1633, by James Spencer, 'surveyor'; it was he who had made and signed the glebe survey. Exactly the same area of closes was allotted as there had been arable and meadow; tithes were still due in kind, and were confirmed by an Exchequer Decree of 1703.

1 *Cal. Inquis. Post Mort.* 10 (1921) 469, p. 317.
2 NRO Buccleuch 5–163, in X4574.
3 NRO Bru A.ii.1.
4 NRO Barton Seagrave glebe terriers.
5 NRO Buccleuch 5–173 (1591) in X4574.
6 Bridges ii p. 217 'above an hundred years ago' in *c.* 1720.

Benefield

M 1981

The parish contains the vills of Upper and Lower Benefield which were called Upthorpe[1] and Netherthorpe. The whole area and fields were called Benefield with no evidence that there were two townships. Many of the houses had several lands adjacent in their crofts in the 15th century, where a furlong had been taken in (1438, 9 selions and 1445, 3 lands[2]). Part of Lyveden was in the parish (see below for the remainder of Lyveden). Little more than half the area has evidence of being arable. Field-names attest to the remainder being assart and wood, such as the furlong name of Herridges as well as early records of the woods of Stoke, Banhaw and Spring in the area with no furlongs. There were tithe payments from the lord of the manor in 1720 for enclosures and woods, and for Lyveden. In *c.* 1786 the rector received an allotment in lieu of common rights in the forest[3].

A charter of *c.* 1280 describes an 8-acre holding with 2.5 acres each in Estleya and Westleya that may represent a two-field system; there was other land in hallecroft and assart[4]. In 1442 there were Westfeld and Estfeld, Langleyfeld and Midelfeld[5] with lands unevenly distributed.

Benefield has a 1633 map outlining about half the parish around Upper Benefield. Mill Field lay to the west, Langley Field and Langley Grounds to the north, Park Field on the east, and at the south was a small Hellands Field[6].

Glebe terriers of 1632 and 1720 describe four fields, but Banow Field had only a single 20-acre piece of glebe called *lamkin*. It lay next to the castle, and was probably demesne. The remaining three fields contained:

1632

Field	*Parcels*	*Acreage*	*Additional*
Mill	8	4	
West	13	6	10, 10, 3, 2 acres
Snoton	10	6.25	20 acre piece

This distribution probably represents an irregular three-field system in the area where the parcels consisted of one or a few lands, with the large parcels being additional assart. *Haseley* (20 acres in Snoton Field) is likely to be an assart from its name; the two

10-acre pieces in West Field at Spring Corner and Cats Tails, are both next to Spring Wood outside the regular furlong area, and are also probably assart.

In the glebe, neighbours are given in 1632; the lord's land lay on 3 sides and 5 other names occur. In 1720 the lord was on all sides. Enclosed in 1820[7].

1 NRO Bru. J.vi.7, 13th century; Bru.J.vi.21, 1360.
2 NRO Bru. J.vi.9 and Bru.J.vi.1.
3 NRO Benefield glebe terriers.
4 NRO Bru. J.vi.14.
5 NRO Bru. J.vi.22.
6 NRO Map 2991, f.13.
7 NRO Map 2885 (1826); Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. 0 p. 1 (1825).

Billing Great

M 1972 Q 1777

A plan of the furlongs is published[1]. The extent of the great fields is shown and most of the furlongs are identified.

There were four fields in 1629 and until enclosure in 1778. These were run as a three-year tilth in 1775 (below) and probably during all that time. A glebe terrier of 1691 had the following distribution (excluding 3 large pieces of exchanged demesne)[2]:

	Field	*Parcel*	*number*	
1	Nether Field		41	
2	Debdale Field	22		
3	West Field	16	38	(Debdale and West together)
4	Sixes and Moors		51	

The 2nd and 3rd fields, lying adjacent, were probably run together as one field, although the resulting three areas are not equal. Two thirds of the open fields were sown in 1775[3]. Rye was grown in the enclosure in the vill called Frog Park in 1769. In 1775 brakes were cut on the waste in the warren. Land south of Wellingborough road was extremely good quality, and north of it there was an indifferent dry sandy land, especially at the warren.

Yardlands. There were several statements of the land distribution, Bridges (*c.* 1720) says there were 48 yardlands in all with 12 of demesne[4], agreeing with the 12 stated to be in demesne in 1629. A survey of 1758, and a valuation of 1775, detail the yardlands of named tenants and freeholders which total 48.5 and 48.25 repectively[5]:

From the 1758 acreages of the freehold yardlands (265 acres for 14 yardlands) it follows that one yardland was 19 acres, and the lord's yardlands were 18 acres, agreeing with the 18 acres of the lord's land given in 1775. The slightly lower value for the tenants' yardland is probably because of loss by partial enclosure in 1629. The number of yardlands was still reckoned the same after 1629, although the lord's animal stinting rights were lowered. Each yardland in 1775 had 2 cows, 2 horses and 20 sheep.

The number of yardlands equates with Domesday Survey of 4 hides at 12 to the yardland. The demesne then was 2 out of a total of 8 ploughlands, a quarter of the whole, the same as in 1629. There was no reduction of fiscal yardlands with the partial enclosure.

Tenurial cycle. There was a regular tenurial cycle of 43 roods throughout the furlongs and the fields. Two cycles were written in a tabular form in *c.* 1684[6]. Unit strips were called roods, but some of the occupiers with two adjacent roods had ploughed them together, when they were called 'lands'. The cycle was subdivided into three parts of 10, 20 and 13 roods, called *hides* and separated by grass balks; they were called the 10, 20 and 13-rood hides. The identity of positions in the cycle with yardlands is clear from a glebe terrier description of *c.* 1684, as explained in Chapter[7]. Since the glebe is described in the cycle as being next to 'a rood and half an acre', and the hide balks are similarly described, it follows that the *pattern* of lands in roods and half acres was not expected to change, and these simple descriptions, with the occupiers' names as well, were sufficient to identify lands.

The regular cycle of 12 demesne roods is not evident, but there are two occupiers who have 4 and 5 lands next to each other that may represent where it was.

The whereabouts of remaining 5 yardlands needed to make up the township total of 48 is not described, they were probably a block demesne near the manor house and not in the cycle. There is a slight possibility that the regular cycle of 43 was created in 1629 after the partial enclosure, leaving out 5 yardlands for the new enclosures. However since a terrier of the glebe in the 1629 enclosures shows that it has the same disposition as in the open fields later, it follows that the regular cycle is older than 1629. Any re-arrangement at that time would most likely have put the glebe all together, and action involving extensive exchange of freehold land would be mentioned in the agreement. The regular order was therefore older than 1629 and was not then newly created.

The reason for the division of the the 43 cycles into groups of 20, 10 and 13, called *hides* and separated by a balk is not clear. The hides may have been different tenure blocks originally, the 13-rood hide seemingly equating with the 13 or so freehold yardlands. However this cannot be proved, and the glebe is not all in the 13-rood hide (but some of it could have been villein land). Freeholders of 1691 were Britten, Luck, Mason and Manning, and these occur in the 10-rood hide.

The demesne. The demesne was 12 yardlands and a partial terrier of 1629 describes 10 blocks scattered in various furlongs of which 5 were parcels of 6 'lands', that is, 12 roods[8]. These correspond to the 12 yardlands and suggest that once much of the demesne was distributed throughout the fields in this manner. Further evidence comes from outside the area of the 1629 enclosures because exchanges for the glebe were given in large blocks, doubtless also demesne.

The demesne is not specified in the regular cycle (above) and had ceased to have much meaning after 1629. At this date two enclosures were made and the freeholds in them exchanged with demesne outside. The lands of the tenants in the enclosures were probably not fully exchanged because their yardlands were slightly less in size after enclosure. The enclosures at 150 acres did not fully account for the 12 yardlands of demesne ($12 \times 18 = 216$ acres). They were probably made up of 5 yardlands missing from the tenurial cycle ($5 \times 19 = 95$) and 1 acre each from the yardlands tenanted (31 acres; the tenants yardlands are 1 acre less than the freehold). The missing 24 acres were probably pasture in the slades.

Orders. Orders were made by the steward, Francis Reading, to Henry, earl of Thomond, in 1684[9]. They cover the usual range of items, including the laying down of grass balks between every land, and distinguished them from 'ancient balks'; furze was to be taken only from each owners' ground in Lady Lyngs.

Enclosure. Enclosure of the demesne occurred in 1629 by a decree in Chancery[10]. An agreement was made between the lord Sir Barnaby O'Bryan and the freeholders. The lord held 12 yardlands of demesne and 31 yardlands dispersed, and 'not above 20 acres of pasture enclosed'. The enclosure would not deprive other farmers of manuring and keeping the open land in tillage. The boundaries of the two parcels to be enclosed were described (150 acres in all). The agreement gives terriers of all the lands within the enclosures belonging to the freeholders.

In effect this was an enclosure of the demesne, but it is unusual in that not all of it was enclosed, there still being some demesne scattered in the open fields. The number of reckoned yardlands was not decreased after enclosure; perhaps to pass on yardland taxes to the tenants. The lord's animal stints were reduced to 68 sheep and 4 beast for such of the 12 yardlands as were left unenclosed, which presumably satisfied the freeholders for their loss of common grazing in the enclosed lands.There was a warren made out of some of the old enclosure at Billing Lings. A payment of 21d per yardland was paid to the Thomonds in 1733 not to stock it, but payment had been abated in 1690 because of the increase in the number of rabbits[11]. It had been agreed 'in the enclosure agreement' that if the money were not paid then a great number of rabbits could be kept, but if it were paid then the warren must be destroyed[12].

The remainder of the parish was enclosed in 1778, following an Act in that year[13].

1 D. N. Hall, 'Great Billing parish survey', *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 13 (1978) pp. 161–7 (plan p. 164).
2 NRO Great Billing glebe terriers.
3 NRO E(GB) 303.
4 Bridges i p. 405.
5 NRO E(GB) 301; NRO E(GB) 303.
6 Published Hall 1983 'Fieldwork and Fieldbooks: studies in early layout' in B. K. Roberts and R. E. Glasscock, *Villages, Fields and Frontiers* BAR *International* 185, p. 121.
7 NRO 31P/21.
8 NRO E(GB) 1.
9 NRO 31P/21 p. 403.
10 NRO E(GB) 296.
11 NRO SS 3232.
12 NRO E(GB) 300, 1733.
13 NRO E(GB) 322; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. F. p. 409. The quality book survives (E(GB) 319).

Billing Little

M 1971

No open-field information has been discovered. Bridges suggests that enclosure occurred in about 1600[1]. A glebe terrier of 1685 describes 8 acres of meadow received in payment for separate enclosed grounds[2].

A plan of the parish has been published[3] showing that the whole area had been arable except for the flooding meadows. From the enclosed names on a map of 1742[4] two of the great fields were probably called East Field and Middle Field, implying a three-field arrangement. Other enclosed names are likely to be furlongs.

1 Bridges i p. 408; Weston Favell 1627 glebe terrier refers to 'Billing Field'.
2 NRO Little Billing glebe terriers.

3 D. N. Hall, 'Little Billing parish survey', *Northamptonshire Archaeologogy* 12 (1977) pp. 177–82.
4 NRO YZ 3714 and Map 876.

Blakesley

Q 1760

The parish contains Blakesley, Wood End (Little Blakesley), Kirby, Sewell, and part of Foxley. The last three are deserted vills, and all five were probably separate townships.

There were 3 fields in *c.* 1490; a terrier of 1 yardland had in the East Field 6.75 acres, North Field 7.5 acres, and West Field 6.75 acres[1], making the total 21 acres.

In 1647 a single yardland was distributed in[2]:

Farnidge Field	7.25 acres arable and	2.5 ley
Haukmore Field	4.5	3.75
Black Bridge Field	4.25	4.75

From which there was a fairly uniform three-field system, and the yardland contained 27 acres with 41 percent ley. In 1685 the fields, with different names, had 0.25 yardlands distributed:

Farnidge Field	3 lands arable and	5 lands ley
Windmill Field	3	3
Lower Field	3	5

The yardland was 30 acres and there were 60 percent leys[3]. The glebe of 1726, noted in 1730 to be a 'small half yardland', had land in Farnidge Field (7 roods arable, 2 ley), Middle Field (8, 3) and Lower Field (7 arable, 3 ley), hence there was 27 percent ley and a yardland was 20 acres. The neighbours numbered 12; three people holding 58 percent of the positions. Sewell Wood was titheable to Blakesley[4].

Enclosed in 1760[5].

Wood End

The township contained Blakesley Park by 1207 which contained 196 acres in 1797[6]. There were two fields in the 13th-century, the East and West, with a 6-acre grant having 7 lands (2.5 acres) and 9 lands (3.5 acres) in each[7].

An 18th-century terrier of 0.5 yardland had 9 lands in the East Field and 11 in the West Field with 22 percent ley. Another terrier has the same 2 fields with 16 and 23 lands, but a third, dated 1775, describes four fields[8]:

Moor Field	7 lands	
Wellanger Field	7	
Bridge Field	5	
South Field	7	plus 3 acres in Stocking

It is possible that there was a two tilth system, the four fields being locational descriptions. A rather disintegrated order existed with 9 neighbours of whom 5 held 76 percent of the positions. Enclosed in 1779–81[9].

Foxley

M 1992

Foxley gave its name to the hundred now called (Green's) Norton Hundred. The manor was later split between the parishes of Blakesley (281 acres) Litchborough (53) and Pattishall (149); 483 acres in all. The township was enclosed before *c.* 1720[10].

Kirby

Kirby township was enclosed before 1509, when Kirby Close was mentioned[11]. It extended to 580 acres[12]. Pastures used for grazing 1,000 sheep in 1547 were owned by the de Foxley family of Foxley[13].

Sewell

M 1988

Sewell township was 470 acres in extent, including Sewell Wood, 80 acres[14]. No vill site is clear, but it probably lay north of Seawell Farm. In the 13th century there were two fields, the North and South, each containing four half-acre lands[15]. The township was enclosed before *c.* 1720[16].

1 Gray p. 481 from PRO SC 12 13/15 Hen VII.
2 NRO XYZ 368.
3 NRO XYZ 374.
4 NRO Blakesley glebe terriers.
5 Baker ii p. 20; Act NRO Grant (Li) E1; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. A p. 379. The quality book of 1760 survives in Box X5271.
6 Baker ii p. 29.
7 BL Egerton 3033, f.41.
8 NRO XYZ 453, 457, 459.
9 Baker ii p. 28; Act NRO D66.
10 Baker ii p. 30; Bridges i p. 234.
11 NRO GI 50, 55.
12 Baker ii p. 30.
13 Allison et al., *The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire*, p. 41.
14 Baker ii p. 34.
15 BL Egerton 3033, f.100.
16 Bridges i p. 231.

Blatherwycke

M 1987

There were 4 fields in 1631 and until enclosure, run as a three-course tilth[1] with Stone and Nether Fields 21.25 acres, Magdalen or Mill Holme Field 20.25 acres, and (Cadge) Park Field 21.5 acres. In 1705 Cadge Park Field terrier had 18 references to 7 different neighbours, with 5 people occupying 81 of the positions, and a decayed regular order. Baltherwycke was open in 1779 and 1798 but enclosed by *c.* 1800[2].

1 NRO Blatherwycke glebe terriers.
2 NRO XYZ 256 and glebe.

Blisworth

M 1975

The glebe in 1682 was distributed irregularly among three fields called Wood Field 10.5 acres, East Field 18.25 acres and Nether Field 1.5 acres[1].

In the 1734 the lands of five people were distributed irregularly among 4 fields[2]:

Field	*Sizes of holdings in acres*				
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Wood Field	14	15	7.5	0	10.25
East Field	9	24	6.25	1.25	16
Nether Field	25	19	1.5	1.75	5.5
Long Stocking field			7	4.06	8.5

There are several other terriers showing similar irregularities, and many have lands in all 4 fields. No field groupings are given; possibly these lands are regular common field mixed with demesne and seignurial assarts. Enclosed in 1808[3].

1 NRO Blisworth glebe terriers.
2 NRO G 2572.
3 Act NRO G 4026; Map 2931 (*c.* 1808) marks 3 fields and much old enclosure.

Boddington

M 1982

The parish contains the two townships of Upper and Lower Boddington. A demesne of *c.* 1180 lay in 2 fields, 10 acres (in one parcel) in one part and 10 acres in another (in parcels of 7, 3 and 1 acre[1]). There were still two fields in 1200, a holding having 2 acres each in the East Field and West Field, not specified to either township[2].

Upper Boddington had two fields, the East and the West in the 17th and 18th centuries. The glebe[3] which lies entirely in Upper Boddington had:

East Field	West Field	Hill Ground
64 lands 19 leys	74 lands 10 leys 9 butts	34 leys
Total 83	84 + 9 butts	34

The arable was almost equally distributed, but there was an all-grass Hill Ground, lying to the north. This may have been demesne, or cow pasture taken out of the two fields. An acreage of 25.75 is implied in the yardland, assuming all the lands were half acres (suggested by the occurrence of many groups of two lands in the terriers and the glebe consisting of four yardlands). There was 30 percent ley. A terrier of 1707 follows the same format of East and West fields and an all-grass Hill Ground[4].

Two terriers of 1694, being each half of 4 yardlands, provide the following view of the fields. There are two named fields but no separate Hill Ground, those of its furlongs identifiable are said to be in the East Field. The distribution is *c.* 20 lands in the East and *c.* 17 in the West[5]; the yardland of 29.6 acres is estimated by addition of the parcel sizes. The same scheme is followed in a terrier of 1711 from the deeds of William Gardner's lands[6] describing only two fields. The furlongs named in what was the Hill Ground of the glebe are described this time as part of the West Field; there were 53 lands and leys of arable in the West and 55 lands and leys in the East with a large piece of leys (39 entries) 'in the West' but which include the furlongs of Hill ground; the estimated yardland size is 34 acres, since the terrier was for 2.25 yardlands. This conflicting evidence of the origin of the grass Hill Ground probably shows that it had been taken out of both fields, but it had been forgotten exactly where from in the early 18th century.

Lands and yardlands. The glebe, from 1720 onwards, has the lands in each furlong numbered. The glebe lands always occur in groups of two adjacent strips which are nearly always 20 apart. That is, there was a regular fixed cycle of 20 yardlands, which is further supported because the same person, Thomas Cleaver in 1752, was a neighbour for every land. The Domesday owner, the Count of Mortain, had 2 hides, so equating 10 yardlands to the hide[7]. A regular tenurial order of great antiquity therefore seems likely.

Upper Boddington has a draft enclosure map (surviving only in redrawn form of 1868[8]). It shows all the furlong boundaries and gives their names. They correspond well with the 1982 survey. The irregular boundary between the townships suggests that they were once an entity, separated after the furlongs were created.

Lower Boddington

The earliest surviving terrier exists in a transcript of 1862 and dates from 1686. It describes two fields, East and West, as with Upper Boddington. The arable is equally dispersed between them but they have unequal amounts of leys, with totals of lands and leys 32 (West) and 43 (East) for the one yardland, which implies 37.5 acres if all the lands were half acres[9].

By 1701 the system had been changed. A terrier of one yardland, dated 1701[10], described three fields containing 24 lands (Hill Field), 19 lands (Brook Field) and 19 lands (Redland Field); so although three-field, it was not regular. The size of the yardland is implied at 31 acres. In 1751 there were 42 percent leys in half a yardland and 11 people occupied 68 neighbouring positions, of whom 3 held 71 percent. There was probably a regular order, although the remaining positions were shared by 8 people[11].

Enclosed in 1758[12].

1 Printed Calendar at NRO (1867/1909) from Magdalen College, Oxford, Brackley 53A.
2 *Id.* C97.
3 NRO Boddington glebe terriers.
4 NRO ZA 58.
5 NRO ZA 4398.
6 From D. Pitts MSS.
7 Thorn and Thorn 18–96.
8 NRO maps 3121, 3133.
9 NRO SSF (B) VII.
10 NRO ZA 48.
11 NRO YZ 7100.
12 Award NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. A p. 56.

Boughton

The glebe of 1684 describes a three-field system[1]:

	Total	*Arable*	*Ley*
Barrow Field	43 + pieces	40 roods	3 plus a 17-land piece
Salworth Field	30	24	8
Delves Field	35	27	8

The total was 108 roods for a yardland, or 125 roods including the 'piece', 27 acres or 31.25 acres, with 18 percent ley. Another terrier of *c.* 1700 describes 4 fields; Church

Field 25 parcels, mostly roods, 11 of them leys; Bridge Field 25 parcels, 6 leys; Sallad Field 28 parcels including 4 leys; and a Barrow Field in three parts, – Park Barrow 9 roods with Middle Barrow 8 roods and Windmill Barrow 5 roods- 23 in all. There were 21 percent leys and the area of a yardland was *c.* 27 acres[2].

A terrier of 1347 describes 6 roods lying as 6 separate parcels, there being only 2 neighbours mentioned 3 times each[3]. A regular order of tenants is therefore suggested at this earlier date. The tenurial order is still very regular in 1684; in one of the fields, two neighbours are mentioned for each land, the same person is always on one side (50 times) and two other people have 31 and 14 references; three people hold 95 percent of the positions.

Enclosed in 1756[4].

1 NRO Boughton glebe terriers.
2 NRO XYZ 584.
3 NRO Spencer 972.
4 Act NRO CAM 118.

Bowden Little

M 1983

There were two fields in 1434, East and West, a 7-rood terrier having an unequal division between them[1]. East Field was mentioned in 1400[2]. In 1612 there were three fields; West, South, and East[3].

The glebe terriers (NRO copy of 1633 made in *c.* 1720) show the following distribution[4]:

	Arable	*Leys*	*Total*
East field	8.385	4.6	12.985 acres
South Field	5.125	4.08	9.205
West Field	5.25	3.58	8.83
Total	*18.76*	*12.26*	*31.02*

From which there was 40 percent ley and three slightly unequal fields. The glebe holding had commons for 5 cows and 40 sheep; the yardland size is not stated.

Land distribution in 1684 for one yardland with common for 4.5 kine and 40 sheep was[5]:

	Arable	*Ley*	*Total*
(unnamed)	4.71	1	5.71 acres
Middle Field	5.21	2	7.21
East Field	4.92	2.8	7.72
Total	*14.84*	*5.8*	*20.64*

Hence there were 28 percent of leys and a yardland was 21 acres. The same field arrangement lasted until 1774.

A 1475 terrier described 4.75 acres with 9 different neighbours of whom 3 held 63 percent of the positions, suggesting that a regular order had existed. The furlong names of howgate (1383), brandongate (1400) and Farnedon gate (1462), show that the vill falls into the area of Scandinavian influence[6].

An agreement to reduce the numbers of animals stinted was made in 1718[7].

> The freeholders and owners, occupiers of land and commons in Little Bowden being sensible of the great benefitt and advantage wee have reaped by a well ordered stint or agreement, lately made, now expiring relating to our comon pasture in the feilds...

Some yardlands had common of pasture for 40 sheep and 4 kine, and others had 40 sheep and 5 kine, which was to be abated, so that there were 20 sheep and 2 kine, or 20 sheep and 2 kine 'and two feet'. Those with but little land were allowed to hire up to 12 cow commons from the surveyor of the highway or townsmen at 10 shillings annually. No kine were to enter common pasture before 10th May. When the Mill Field was fallow, sheep there from 1st August could also go in the Middle Field in a sheep walk called Wilons Leys or Dunmores Hill Walk, so far only as long hedge. Previously any number of horses could be commoned without stint, but this was to be limited to 2 horses per yardland after 25th March. Up to 5 horse commons could be hired by the small holders for 2s. annually. No commons were to be let to any 'out town person' (fine 40s.), and no shepherd was to be hired by any person rejecting the agreement. It was to continue for 21 years.

If the abatement was broken a 20s. fine for each cow and 5s. per sheep was to be paid for repair of highways. Any default of the agreement would cost £5 to be used for the same purpose. It was signed by 29 people.

Details of the laying out of meadow ground in a slade next to *leverett laies* shows that it was marked out with holes and stones[8] :

> To lay out these doles first find the stone betwixt the leverett laies & Robert Clearkes dole then mesure over Robert Clearkes dole: then 2 pole towards the brooke is a hole from which you must wad straight upon the millne until you finde the other stone.

Enclosed in 1779[9] when there were 51 yardlands.

1 NRO TLB 12.
2 NRO TLB 5.
3 NRO TLB 46.
4 NRO Little Bowden glebe terriers.
5 NRO TLB 84.
6 NRO TLB 28 (1475); TLB 3 (1383); TLB 4 (1400); TLB 23 (1462).
7 NRO TLB 84.
8 NRO TLB 66, *c.* 1730.
9 Details in NRO, J. W. Anscomb's list of enclosures.

Bozeat

M 1964 H P (part) 1595

Bozeat had a three-field system from 1441 until enclosure in 1799. The names most commonly used were Sandwell Field, Ditches Field and Wood Field. A charter of 1441 names Dychefyld and Wodefyld and begins the final terrier section with land 'in Sandewell over dubbecroft', seemingly missing out the word 'fyld'[1]. The woodfield seems to have encroached on the area of ancient wood held in common with Easton and Grendon. Hence the dispersed land of Bozeat was said to be in the parishes of Bozeat, Easton Maudit and Grendon in 1737[2].

A terrier made by All Souls College, Oxford, in 1580, describes Wood Field, 20 lands

in 14 parcels; Diche Field 19 lands in 17 parcels; Sandwell Field 24 lands in 17 parcels[3]. The College also has a map of the same land made in 1595[4] showing the outline of some furlongs that concord with the field survey plan[5]. The great fields of 1799 are marked on the enclosure Award plan[6].

The fields are equal in area, and there was pasture at the south east and north east, showing the frequently observed contraction of arable in favour of pasture at the parish periphery. Within the arable land there was only 4 percent of leys in 1798[7]. The furlongs have been identified using modern field names (collected by E. Corby in 1987) and from the internal abuttal evidence of the terriers[8]. The principal medieval roads in Bozeat were called *gates*. That to the south was simply the gate, and to the east, along the county boundary was the park gate, and park little gate. The park, so frequently mentioned in the terriers has nothing to do with Bozeat woodland (not called a park until recently) but to Harrold Park, Beds. This seems to have dominated the topography on the east, there being park green, park slade, - the main brook running into Bozeat- and the corresponding park slade furlong.

Yardlands are not mentioned in the later records or at the enclosure in 1799, but a deed of 1650 records that the yardland was 60 acres[9]. This is unusually large and probably reflects that woodland had been taken into the fields, increasing yardland area. No yardlands are mentioned after that date, probably because the large size caused transactions of small parts, measured in acres only.

A detailed terrier of *c.* 1600[10] shows that lands were distributed uniformly in all the furlongs (as far as can be ascertained from the furlongs identifiable).

Field orders occur at an early date; in 1413 Alexander Rolf broke an unspecified one, and in 1426 there was a common order made between the villages of Bozeat and Easton. Several people broke an order about horses being tied in the fields in 1443, and William Serich and John Koo had beast trespassing in corn. Thomas Barratte stopped up the park way and poyne way, and ploughed a common balk called slatbalk (1578). The manorial courts regularly listed strays coming into the manor, young pigs arriving in 1414 and 1432[11].

Woodland at Bozeat has been described in Chapter 7. Early medieval or Late Saxon wood occupied a large area, according to the furlong names of stocking, capthorne, vicar's oak and buckram (bekerode, 'buck rood'), all lying in the Wood Field next to the main *stocking* area. The open fields had encroached on to the area of shared wood, probably on or near the furlongs described.

Enclosed in 1798[12].

1 NRO NPL 20.
2 NRO YZ 1463.
3 Gray 1915, p. 481, from All Souls College terrier no. 35.
4 NRO M261 frames 20–21.
5 D. N. Hall, CBA Group 9 *Newsletter* 3 (1973) pp. 32–3.
6 NRO Map 2839.
7 NRO X3836.
8 Terrier sources at NRO are: 1441–1 NPL 20; 1600 ZA 3763; 1677, Old Box 1184; 1706, X3836; 1743, Old box 1509/1; 1748, Old Box 1507/7; 1748, BSL Bundle 5; 1798, X3836.
9 NRO Box 1509/9.
10 NRO ZA 3726.
11 NRO Duchy of Lancaster Irchester court rolls in X708–710.
12 Act NRO BSL 4; Map 2839 (1799); Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. K pp. 215–49.

Brackley

M 1981 P 1829

A printed version of a 13th-century terrier[1] says there were 2 fields with 20 acres, 10 each in the North and South Fields. The North Field has 19 entries each of 0.5 acre, with two of them made up of adjacent two roods. Seven people (taking Sarah and Alice Tollard as the same holding) held 27 named positions, 2 of them occupying 70 percent, indicating a regular order. A more complex field arrangement is suggested by mention of *newenmannefield* which is abutted by two of the lands.

A small holding of 4 acres, 1671, had in Castle Field 2 acres as 3 parcels, and Old Town Field 2 acres as 2 parcels[2]. In 1771 there were 5 fields[3], called Castle Field 14 acres in 33 pieces; Old Town Field 10 acres (16 pieces), High Field 21 (40), Middle Castle Field 10 (24), and Middle Old Town Field 13 acres in 16 pieces.

It is not obvious how these were run. The land belonged to Magdalen College, Oxford, and was formerly monastic that may have included demesne and small pieces from ancient grants. There were few neighbours so a regular tenurial order is probable. Most of the lands in the terrier are numbered but no pattern is readily discernable.

If the 2 Castle Fields and the 2 Old Town Fields are grouped together then the distribution becomes: Castle 24 acres, Old Town 23.5, High Field 22 acres. This seems to be a three-field system. A plan made in 1829 shows the whereabouts of the fields[4].

Yardland stints in 1561 were 6 beast or horses and 40 sheep[5]. Many open-field orders are listed from 1554–1610[6]. Among those for 1610[7] is reference to stinting a 'great ploughland' with 7 draught cows or 6 oxen, and every 'small ploughland' had 5 draught horses or 6 oxen. No plough holder in the borough should have above 12 swine on the common.

Enclosed in 1829[8]. The enclosure details have been discussed by Lowerson[9].

1 Printed in *c.* 1906 from an 1867 transcription, copy at NRO, 'Brackley 63', a charter of Magdalen College, Oxford.
2 NRO XYZ 356; XYZ 348 is a 1719 description of the same.
3 NRO Ag 83.
4 NRO Map 848, outline reproduced by Lowerson (see f.n.9).
5 NRO E(B) 233 m.9.
6 NRO E(B) 220–232.
7 NRO E(B) 232 m.20.
8 Act NRO XY 5651; Map 441 (1829); Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. O p. 237.
9 J. R. Lowerson, 'Enclosure and farm holding in Brackley 1829–51' *NPP* 5 pt.1 (1978), pp. 33–48.

Bradden

M 1982 F 1740, 1761 P 1803 (furlongs)

There were two fields in 1507, the North Field and East Field[1]. These were separate field systems because the glebe lay in the North Field only and demesne lay as 5 yardlands in one field and 2 in the other. After partial enclosure of much of the North Field in 1509 all the remaining open land in both fields was set up as a two tilth system with the same field names. This arrangement continued until after 1589[2], when the East Field was split and called Upper and Middle field before *c.* 1650[3]. In 1692 there were three fields, the West Field towards Slapton, Middle Field, and North Field[4]. These continued until enclosure in 1803[5], the first changing its name to Upper Field and the

others remaining the same. The glebe of 1801 had its land distributed unevenly between the fields; North 18 acres, Middle 8.5 acres and Upper 5.75 acres. The distribution of open-field land in 1740[6] and 1761 for selected tenants[7] was:

1740 fieldbook, selected tenants	*Upper Field*	*Middle Field*	*North Field*
Job Goodman	13 acres	17	26
John Hull	38	55	56
Edward White	31	37	40

1761 field book	*Upper Field*			*Middle Field*			*North Field*			*Meadow*			*Total*		
	A	*R*	*P*	*A*	*R*	*P*	*A*	*R*	*P*	*a*	*r*	*p*			
William Ives	103	3	23	141	1	15	141	2	12	19	1	17	406	0	27
Others	73	1	2	78	1	31	76	3	32	9	3	4	229	0	23
Total													689	3	15

There was an average of 42 percent ley in all the fields and 23 acres per yardland.

Tenurial order. A terrier of the North Field of 1507 refers to 24 parcels, nearly all single lands, all except one have both neighbours described. Robert Matthews, the lord, was neighbour 23 times on one side, and the glebe was neighbour 21 times on the other side, indicating a highly regular order. In another terrier of 1512 the first part was regular with one owner always on the east or south side of the first 12 lands, and 4 other people occupying the other side; this is 'sun division'[8]. The glebe of the North Field of 1512 had 18 parcels with 32 named positions described, 30 of them occupied by 2 people[9]. These examples indicate there was a regular order not much altered until 1512, after which many exchanges were made, when the glebe was relocated in the other field.

Yardlands. In 1493 there was concern to know the exactly size of the yardland, whether it was 22 or 24 acres[10]. The 1761 field book found that the yardland was 23 acres. The glebe 2 yardlands lay in parcels of '2 acres' (lands) in the North Field (1512) showing that a land represented a yardland. The percent ley in the glebe of 1512 was 6.25, but by 1761 there was a much higher amount of ley in the fields (above).

There were 26 yardlands in 1761, 6 of them in demesne[11]. The Domesday survey noted 2.8 hides in two estates, making *c.* 9 yardlands to the hide, if the same number of yardlands was maintained after partial enclosure. It may be that the two early estates represent the two townships.

Every yardland had 20 sheep commons and 4 cows and every cottage had 3 sheep commons all the year in 1692. By 1740 there were 3 cow commons, 1.5 horse commons and 16 sheep to the yardland[12]. This had changed again by 1761 (see below).

Demesne. A terrier of the demesne was made in 1692, being 6 yardlands called Hall Land, belonging to the manor house[13]. The parcels were dispersed amongst most of the furlongs and consisted of mainly of 1–6 lands, with a few larger pieces. The glebe was

often a neighbour, showing that it had been a grant of demesne. The enclosed old north field was also described as demesne.

Field books. Two field books were made after partial enclosure, dated 1740 and 1761.

The 1740 field book is neatly arranged with vertical lines of green and yellow forming stripes that make the columns of figues easy to read. It was made by George Nunn, who also made a plan of the ancient enclosure. Each furlong has the number of lands written by the side of each tenant and proprietor; only the tenanted land was measured in acres roods and poles. The total of land in each furlong is given, and there are full abuttals. The cow pasture was not measured. On f.47 the tenants' holdings are summarised in each field. They were John Goodman, 3 yardlands, John Hull, 6.25 yardlands, Edward Wright 4.25, and Henry Pittam 3.5 yardlands. The total open-field land was 402 acres, and there were 24 horse commons, 50 cows and 272 sheep.

The field book of 1761 is a detailed terrier and survey of the vill and ancient enclosure. It also gives other useful information on the operation of the fields, the size of the township etc. At the end are summary tables of the fields and the proprietors' lands listed by furlong.

The whole open-field area was 690 acres, the lord having 324 acres of old enclosure as well. This shows that nearly a third of the total open field had been enclosed in 1509, or about two-thirds of the old North Field. This is an unusual type of enclosure; it did not involve a whole field, nor did the freeholders have enclosed land of their own. Normally such partial enclosure (Braybrooke, Morton Pinkney, Norton, Stanwick, Thorpe Malsor) was shared by all the freeholders and was in effect an extension of the formation of leys and cow pasture.

In 1761 the meadows were measured as customary poles of 8 feet width, (f.70), with tithe pieces occupied on a two-year cycle in Fallow meadow and Brook meadow. Brook meadow and Fallow meadow were divided into lots of two customary poles of 8 feet per yardland, and each person's lot varied for 4 years when the cycle began again. There were 24 and 48 divisions in Brook meadow, 48 in Fallow meadow and 56 in Braddon meadow.

The field customs in 1761 were that ewes could feed until Martinmas with the same number lambs as the sheep stint; if there were more lambs than sheep then two of them should account as a sheep. After Martinmas all lambs counted as sheep. Cows entered the pasture on 14th May and were taken out on St Andrew's day. Horses, or mares, or mares and foals, could be placed in the cow pasture provided they did not trespass on the field at Lammas. Horses or mares without foals could be tied in the wheat and bean fields as soon as harvest was complete, and taken out at All Hallows. Hogs and swine were turned in the fields as soon as harvest was done and taken out when wheat was sown (f.76d).

The rights of common for a yardland were 2 horses, 4 cows, and for 20 sheep from Lady day until Lammas and for 30 sheep Lammas to Lady day. A cottage had 1 cow and 3 sheep. There were 26 yardlands and 6 cottages, but two of them had no sheep allowance. The land ownership was (f.77): Charles Ives 17.25 yardlands, Goodman 2.5, Cox 2.75, Baldwin 1.5 and 2, in all 26 yardlands. There were also 6 cottages; the total number of commons was 52 horses 111 cows 538/798 sheep (summer/winter). A list of field orders was made in 1650 referring to jointways and allowing 2 horses for each yardland[14].

Enclosure. An agreement for partial enclosure was made between the lord, Robert Matthews, the rector, and 7 freeholders in 1509[15]. Robert Matthews had 'taken dyked enclosed in and heggid a certen feld callid the North Feld set and lying within the felds of Bradden and it extendith from Kirby Close unto portwey close as the dike now boundeth it'... The freeholders' lands in the North Field were granted to Robert Matthews in exchange for his land in other parts of Bradden. Two furlongs of the North Field were left open as the property of the freeholders. The lord was to have no cattle in the fields, only in his closes, but he could have swine in Bradden Fields as and when the other freeholders did. He was to repair the mounds of North Field and not to enclose any more land. The agreement was amended in 1511 so that the lord could put cattle in the fields. The exchanges were detailed in terriers[16]. The closes made extended to 324 acres in 1761[17]. The remainder of the parish was enclosed in 1803[18].

1 NRO GI 49, 53.
2 NRO Bradden glebe terriers.
3 NRO GI 59.
4 NRO GI 334.
5 NRO Map 2936.
6 NRO GI 337.
7 NRO GI 338.
8 NRO GI 49; NRO GI 52.
9 NRO GI 53.
10 NRO GI 14.
11 NRO GI 338 f.77.
12 NRO GI 337 p. 52.
13 NRO GI 334.
14 NRO GI 323
15 NRO GI 50, 55.
16 NRO GI 49, 52–4.
17 NRO GI 388 f.77d-79.
18 NRO GI 246–7 (Bill and Act, GI 257 accounts). The draft map shows furlong boundaries in the open area and gives some of the names, as well as marking the new enclosures, NRO Map 2936.

Brafield

M 1991 P 1829 (furlongs)

Brafield had a detached meadow in Little Houghton meadows, and the glebe had other meadow intermixed with those of Little Houghton. Bridges states that all the fields were intermixed[1], but it was only the South Field of Little Houghton that was involved according the evidence of terriers.

From the late 17th century until enclosure there were three tilths, with a complex arrangement of 4 fields; land in the South Field of Little Houghton formed a fifth. The tilth fields were not all adjacent.

A 1693 holding was distributed in East Field 25 acres, grouped with South Field 5.75 acres, total 30.75; Ridgeway Field near Brafield, 26.5 acres grouped with Ridgeway Field near Houghton 4.5 acres, total 31 acres; Over Field 20.25 and 5 acres, total 25.25 acres[2]. Demesne furlongs of furze were listed in the same year[3].

A survey of all the arable lands in the late 17th century referred to the *three* fields of Brafield[4]. The glebe of 1685 had a distribution fairly equal between three field groups, made uneven by the addition of lands in Little Houghton South Field. Various sources are collected below[5]:

Field	*Glebe 1685*	*1693*	*17th*
Church (East) Field	10.25 acres	25	375.5
with Little Houghton South Field	3 acres	5.75	
Ridgeway Field (next Houghton)	10 acres	26.25	285.25
Upper (next Denton Meer)		20.25	213.5
and Bridge Field	11.5 acres	5	172.75
			969

The glebe had commons for 9 cows and 45 sheep. Bridges[6] states this was for 2 yardlands and that the whole township, in *c.* 1615, consisted of 18 ploughlands each consisting of 3 yardlands, that is 54 in all. The glebe area is 34.75 acres, making the yardland 17.375 acres. This value suggests that 54 yardlands would be 938 acres, which agrees with the stated total of 969 acres for the arable land in *c.* 1690. Yardlands were not mentioned in 1685 or later.

There is little evidence of any regular tenurial order in the glebe. The Church Field of 1685 had 13 people as neighbours, and 4 people occupied 58 percent of the positions. In Ridgeway Field 3 people occupied 70 percent of the 20 positions, but they were not the same people as the 4 most frequent names of the Church Field.

The complex cropping arrangement was presumably to even out variable soil quality. The intermingling with Little Houghton may have have been caused by an exchange of woodland belonging to Brafield for riverine meadow in Little Houghton. Brafield Furze is not mentioned in the glebe terrier, but is listed as demesne by the lord John Thornton in 1693. Probably the Furze had been demesne woodland, some of which was given to Houghton. Brafield Wood was mentioned as an abuttal in a terrier of Horton in 1458[7]. Such an arrangement would explain the connection between the parishes without necessitating the interpretation that the two were once a single parish and township.

A Chancery agreement made in 1650 settled intercommoning rights on the Furze, meadow and on the South Field when it was fallow[8]. This provides further support that there had been common ground on which both townships had encroached with their fields. Enclosed in 1827 with Little Houghton qv[9].

1 Bridges i p. 339.
2 NRO Th 174.
3 NRO Th 172.
4 NRO Th 181.
5 NRO Brafield glebe terriers.
6 Bridges i p. 339.
7 NRO G(H) 251.
8 NRS transcripts, Little Houghton; published in D. Hall, 'Little Houghton 1972, a Parish Field Survey', *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 5, 1976, pp. 295–304.
9 NRO Map 2928, on which are marked furlong boundaries and names.

Brampton Ash

M 1983

There was a regular series of numbered orders, called 'bylaws' before 1434, when John Ruston, shepherd broke, 'the bylaw ... in the neats' pasture ... and broke bylaw number 9'[1]. An order made in 1440 was that 'each tenant must keep his horses with foals and other beast out of the separate fields and pasture or be fined 12d'. Yardlands were transferred to tenants between 1433–7[2].

Brampton was probably enclosed in *c.* 1658, from the Quarter Sessions reference, in 1659, to the 'late inclosure'[3]. There was a subseqent enclosure by Decree referred to in 1673[4]. The rector had 50 acres of old enclosure, and 7 acres of wood. He was given, for the glebe formerly dispersed, a homestead close that included a dovecote and another new close of 57 acres. Tithe rates of the other new enclosures were listed and in 1738 the areas were specified as 851 and 209 acres (1060 acres in all). There were, in 1673, 30 homesteads with paddocks up to 2 acres.

1 NRO FH 346 m.2.
2 *Id.* m.4d and m.2.
3 NRO QSR1/14 f.81.
4 NRO Brampton Ash glebe terriers.

Bramptons, Church and Chapel

M 1975 P 1584, fields

The parish of Church Brampton contains the two vills and townships of Church Brampton and Chapel Brampton, each with its own field system.

Chapel Brampton

A map of 1584 by Ralph Treswell shows the vill and great fields, but not details of the furlongs[1]. There was probably a three field system with 'Midlefeelde, Newehitche and Nether Feelde' occupying most of the land, and a smaller Rye Field at the south lying next to a wooded heath. A small detached area of wood lay within the territory of Church Brampton next to Holdenby Park. A cow pasture lay next to the meadows. All the total of 32.25 yardlands were tenanted, except for one freehold yardland.

Church Brampton

In 1584, on the same map, Church Brampton had three main fields, 'West Feelde, Midle Feelde and the Furr Feelde'. It too had a smaller Rye Field next to the Heath. The Rye fields and heaths of both places were next to each other. From the evidence of Newnham it is likely that the Rye Field was run separately from the others. There was 1 freehold yardland, 16.5 yardlands called a 'farm' (probably demesne), and 27.5 yardlands tenanted, 45 in all.

The Domesday survey does not distinguish the Bramptons. There are two entries of 4 and 0.5 hides, but the smaller is probably a repetition, making 4 hides in all[2], agreeable with the 1124 Northamptonshire Survey[3]. The 77 yardlands combined total approaches 20 yardlands to the hide on the gross figure. It is possible the individual townships were 16 and 24 yardlands to the hide, if each had been rated equally at 2 hides each.

Both townships were enclosed by Sir Christopher Hatton in about 1640 (from the names of the witnesses and references to them in Brampton parish registers[4]), the tenants complaining that they had been 'plunged ... into many great and pressing exigencyes; some already being forced from ye Towne (ye place of their ancient abodes) and those which are lefte behinde know not whate course to take for present subsistence, or future livelihoode and mayntenance'[5].

1 NRO FH 272, published as Plate 15 in RCHM, *An Inventory of Archaeological sites in Northamptonshire* 1981.
2 Thorn and Thorn, 18–7, 18–99.

3 VCH i p. 378.
4 NRO 67P/1.
5 NRO FH 2601.

Braunston

M 1982

The parish contains, as well as Braunston, the deserted vill of Falcliffe and the so-called deserted vill of Braunstonbury, which is a large manorial site attached to the west end of Braunston. A deed of 1430 refers to a yardland in the fields of Braunston and Falclyve[1], and half a yardland in 1491 lay in the fields of Braunston, Braunstonbury and Falcliffe, which suggest that all three settlements were in a single township[2].

There were three fields by the 17th century, called Brounson side, Tipit (Tibitts) side and Churchhill side. A terrier of *c.* 1650 for a quarter yardland had 12, 12 and 10 roods in the fields, adding up to 8.5 acres and implying that a yardland was 25.5 acres[3]. In *c.* 1700 the same fields had a holding distributed as 19.25, 22 and 21 acres, of which 19 percent were leys[4].

The 1650 terrier had its neighbours specified; there were 22 lands described and 24 neighbours listed of whom Nicholas Marriot occurred 5 times and the parson 9. The other 8 people had only 1 or 2 positions; a regular order is possible.

The glebe of 1633 was divided into the same three fields. It was 2 yardlands and lay as half acres throughout the furlongs[5]. The Tippit or East side ran up to Fallom Wood, and the Brownsome Side ran around Falcliffe, confirming that there was a single field system. Separate glebe meadow lay in Bury Fields, given in exchange for the tithe of hay from balks, hades and plains. On Brownsom side was parson's piece, 17 leys given for the tithes of ancient enclosures in Braunston and Falcliffe in respect of grass, hay, fruits, hemp, flax or other seeds and grain.

A regular order of neighbours occurred in 1633 with Richard Payne and Zephamiah Sowtham occupying 21 and 36 positions out of 84 (75 percent) in the Brownsome Field. In 1733 the size of the glebe was in Brownsome Side 63 lands 12 leys, Tippit 60 and 15, and Church Hill 55 lands and 8 leys, with 16 percent leys.

The demesne of Braunstonbury was an intact block of land, mostly enclosed before 1584, when it was called the Berry Fields[6]. It was 801.5 acres in extent when surveyed for tithe abolition in 1842 (glebe 1852).

A long list of orders was made in 1716[7] They included reduction of the sheep stint by 8 per yardland (to 50); 5 horses were allowed for each yardland, lands' ends were to left grass for 21 years and marked with meerstones or doleholes, each of the three fields being done when fallow. The agreement was signed by 42 villagers.

Enclosed in 1775[8].

1 *Ancient Deeds* iv (1902) A 7195.
2 Warwick Record Office (WRO) CR 388 Box 5 Bundle 1.
3 *Id.* Bundle 9.
4 *Id.* Bundle 8.
5 NRO Braunston glebe terriers.
6 NRO D 1094.
7 WRO CR 388 Box 5 Bundle 1.
8 Act NRO D1604; Award (1776) Enclosure Enrolment Vol. E p. 51; a published aerial photograph *c.* 1946 shows ridge and furrow and some of the enclosed allotments (J. M. Steane, *The Northamptonshire Landscape*, 1974, plate 39).

Braybrooke

M 1981 F 1767 P *c.* 1760, furlongs.

A draft plan shows the furlongs of the western half of the parish in *c.* 1760[1]. A fieldbook of 1767 is arranged in order of tenant, giving the name and acreage of the old enclosure belonging to each farm, and relating them by numbers to a plan[2]. The open-field land is arranged by tenant and freeholder, giving the fields and furlongs and the number of lands in each parcel with its acreage and reference to a plan. Freehold land is also described. Summary tables give the sizes of the ancient enclosure, open fields, and numbers of tenant yardlands; the three fields were Ainsborough, Hassacks and Mill Fields. The lord had 45.75 yardlands and the total was 63 yardlands. Strictly the document is a survey of farms and not a field book, but since all the lands in each furlong are numbered a field book can be reconstructed.

Fields. The demesne of 1207 lay in three fields; 11 acres in the Field towards Oxendon; 11 acres in the Field towards Bowden and 11 acres in the Field towards Desborough[3]. In the 14th century the names of the three fields were East, West and North Fields[4].

A terrier of 1631 describes three fields, Loteland, Hedicks and Arnesborough. Loteland Field had a small subsidiary area called Blackland Field[5].

The distribution of land in the fields was:

	Arable	*Ley*	
Loteland	68.5 roods	53 (plus 19 leys)	41 parcels
Hedicks	42	31	46
Arnesborough	26	4	31

Neighbour analysis shows that 16 people held 36 positions of whom 3 held 63 percent; a regular order probably existed.

In 1658, after enclosure of about one third of the area, the remaining open area was divided into three fields called Flitwell Field, Heydicks Field and Arnesborough Field[6], changing their names to Ainsborough, Hassacks and Mill Field by 1747. Mill Field was sometimes called Toobeck Field[7].

The distribution of land in the fields of 1658 was:

Field	*Arable*	*Ley*	*Total*
Flitwell	3.32 acres	5.5	8.82
Heydicks	1.58	1.75	3.33
Arnesborough	4.08	2.33	6.41
		9.58	18.56

Hence there was 52 percent ley and the yardland was 25 acres (the above being for 0.75 yardland). In all 10 people held 29 named positions, of which 3 people held 86 percent. A regular order is likely, but the most common neighbour was the lord, who was the major proprietor at the 1649 enclosure.

The lands were irregularly distributed among the fields, There had been redistribution of some of the furlongs into different fields. Thus some of the 1631 furlongs listed under Hedicke Field were no longer in that field but in the new Flitwell Field in 1658 (Innon, Sandpits, Watrie and Whitbread leys).

Demesne. A survey of the demesne of half a hide was made in 1199[8]. It included the wood of Aiclund and was dispersed with a few whole furlongs and many smaller parcels. It stretched over the whole township, proved by reference to the Arthingworth boundary and Oxendon bridge, and its correspondence to the furlong names in the 1631 terrier and the coincidence of present day field names[9].

Yardlands. There were 5.33 hides in 1086 and 1124[10]. Pipewell cartulary[11] records that there were 78 yardlands in all in *c.* 1230, of which the fee of Huntingdon had 24 and Bury St Edmunds abbey 2.

There were 63 yardlands in the 18th century, stated on two occasions. The difference may have been because of enclosure of Pipewell lands. There were 14.6 yardlands to the hide for the total of 78. It is difficult to relate the 13th century estates precisely to those of 1086 and 1124. The Bury St Edmunds 2 yardlands of half a virgate suggests that there were 16 yardlands to the hide, as at nearby Clipston, but at this rate 85.25 would be the total.

If there were 12 yardlands to the hide, as perhaps indicated by the occurrence of 1/3 hide estate, then 5.33 by 12 = 64 yardlands, very close to the 18th-century total of 63. The 78 yardlands of the cartulary cannot be explained if this smaller value be used.

Pipewell abbey land was enclosed, probably at the same time as Loteland Field in 1649. It was tithe free (enclosure Act of 1778) and was quantified as 306 acres in 1849[12]. At 24 acres to the yardland this would have been 12.74 yardlands, agreeable with the Pipewell land described in the cartulary as 11.5 yardlands.

The yardland averaged 19 acres (for 18 yardlands) in the 18th century[13]. This small size presumably reflects that about a third of the township had been enclosed, so the yardland would have been *c.* 28 acres before then, assuming there was no change in the number of yardlands. This conforms with the 24 acres stated in the Pipewell cartulary.

In 1747 the open fields contained 63 yardlands and each yardland possessed, for the purposes of tithe calculation, 6 acres of meadow that produced 6 waggon loads of hay, each load being 20 hundred weight and worth 16s. It was estimated that one milk cow produced 150 gallons of milk, each gallon 6d. The price of a calf at tithe time (3–4 weeks old) was 10s, and every lamb at 5lb weight was worth 6d.[14].

Enclosure. Part of Braybrooke, the Loatland and Blackland Fields, lying in the east was enclosed by agreement in 1649. Afterwards there was a dispute, but the court of Chancery, in 1652, found that the enclosure should stand[15]. The total enclosed area was 925 acres[16]. The remainder of the parish was enclosed by Parliamentary Act in 1778[17]. The open fields amounted to 1500 acres.

1 NRO ZA 7164; the plan has no name and no date, but can be shown to be a furlong plan of Braybrooke when compared to field survey results; the outline of the parish boundary is the same as Braybrooke.
2 NRO ZA 7158.
3 Gray 1915 p. 481, from PRO CP25 171/12/210.
4 BL Cott. Calig A xii ff.105–6.
5 NRO terrier with Braybrooke glebe terriers.
6 NRO ZA 1063.
7 NRO ZA 1066 (1767).
8 Pipe Roll Society 24, p. 140 (1900).
9 NRO 1932 field name map.
10 Thorn and Thorn 8–7, 14–2, 29–1, 30–11 and 12, 56–10 and 31; VCH i p. 384.
11 NRO FH 145, f.44.
12 NRO Tithe T149.

13 NRO ZA 1073.
14 NRO ZA 7160.
15 PRO C78 527 (51).
16 Stated as 934 acres in NRO ZA 7155.
17 NRO ZA 7163; Award ML 382.

Brigstock

P 1734 F 1734

Brigstock lies in Rockingham Forest and contained two parks (Great Park1462 acres, Little Park 775 acres), forest, waste and assarts, as well as open-field land. The total parish area is 5,900 acres, but in 1734 the open field and its related enclosures, amounted to 1,486 acres, showing that only a quarter of the area had been part of the open fields[1]. A map of 1723 (Buccleuch) has been published on a small scale by Pettit[2].

Three fields were described in a survey of the demesne in 1430; Harlefeld 83 acres, Parkefeld 104, and Westfeld 103 acres. The same fields and lands were described in 1596[3]. The demesne was in blocks of 7.5–30 acres, lying throughout the fields. A yardland was 30 acres for demesne and 36 acres for villein land. The detailed survey accounts for 272 acres of demesne and 624 acres of villein arable. It is consistent with the 1086 manor having one third of the total in demesne[4]. The villein land is equivalent to 17.33 yardlands which equates to 3.5 hides (if the demesne was not assessed), or 5 yardlands to the hide.

A small holding of *c.* 1540 had in Harley Felde, West Felde and Parke Felde, 21, 26, and 27 acres respectively[5]. There were 12 people as neighbours occupying 21 positions, six had 72 percent of the total (in Harley Field) indicating a dispersed arrangement. A terrier of the copyhold land of Roger Montagu in the 17th century gives the same three fields with furlongs named. The parcels were in 3–8 rood pieces and are probably the crown land.

The glebe of 1632 and 1705 mentions several fields but it is clear from later 18th century versions that they were always grouped as three, the extra names presumably being locational.

1744 and 1780

			Acres	*Roods*	*Poles*	*Acres*	*Roods*	*Poles*
West Field	18 entries	1 to 10 lands				14	1	14
Harlow Field	18	1 to 13 lands				14	2	26
Causing Field	1		4	1	27			
Park Field	1		8	2	27			
Hills Field	5	1 to 4 lands	3	2	8	16	2	22

There was a composition out of Brigstock parks for 4 cow commons[6].

Commons

In the 17th century the commoning rights were[7]:

1 There are 3 greate ridings leading from the towne fields of Brigstock to the wasts of Benefield
2 Those ridings ly through the forest 3/4 of a mile. Brigstock men drive theyre sheepe from therye towne and fields on the wasts of Benefield through the said ridings for the which passage with theyre sheep they pay 12d a yeare to the ranger.

3 Some sheep are att the pleasure of the owners driven to the sayd wasts in the day and brought at night to fold theyr land in the fields of Brigstock and driven again the next morning.
4 Some sheep are continually kept upon the sayd wasts and are there nightly layed.
5 The sheepe are folded there in winter to which purpose they of Brigstock in summer make stacks of hey alonge the forest side adioyninge upon stokewood and some hath in winter been caryed on mens backs and in a cart. If a glut of rayne come they cary all the sheep from of theyre fallows to the sayd wast 100 at a tyme.

The document goes on to explain that the sheep were kept by several shepherds, and refers to them being 'whistled or whooped' from a part called Brakyshill by the shepherds of Benefield so that they ran to the forest side. The cattle of Denethorpe and Weldon also had rights in Benefield.

The survey of 1440 noted that the crown land was 240 acres of demesne called Hall land[8], and that it was in king's hands because frequent pestilence caused many tenants to withdraw through hardship (f.53). Anyone gathering wood from the forest paid 1 hen and 5 eggs to the forest steward; 6d was paid for a dog (f.54). The customs of 1391 were recited; among them were that suitors of the court did not have to pay for haws or pannage. At the lord's bederip the men came with their wives and family bringing a table cloth with other utensils. The lord found 'all proper necessaries for breakfast and after wards for dinner and if anything be left on the table cloth the wife may carry it away with her for her own proper use' (f.93).

Brigstock was enclosed in 1795[9].

1 NRO Buccleuch, 13–1 in X356.
2 Pettit, *Forests*, NRS 22, 1968, p. 164 from NRO Map 1380. For the parks see Steane *NPP* 5 (1975) p. 220 and NRO Map 3111.
3 NRO ML 141 f.53, f.62; a transcript and translation made *c.* 1726.
4 Thorn and Thorn 1–13a.
5 NRO Buccleuch 13–2 in X359.
6 NRO Brigstock glebe terriers.
7 NRO Buccleuch 13–1 in X359.
8 NRO ML 141 f.40.
9 Act NRO BSL 45; Map 2859 (1805); Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. L p. 316.

Brington

M 1980

Brington parish contains the three existing settlements of Great Brington, Little Brington and Nobottle, with Althorpe House on the site of Althorpe vill making a fourth. Baker says that Little Brington was formed in the 13th century[1]. There appear to have been three townships.

The West Field of Brington (lambecotehul furlong) is mentioned in 1298 and in 1450. There were 2 fields in 1317, West and East with two lands in each. The same fields had 6.625 acres unequally distributed in 1352; three neighbours held 73 percent of the positions indicating a regular tenurial order. One of the furlongs (hungeribaneland) is described as being in Church Brington West Field in 1367, and in 1539, 3 yardlands are said to lie in the fields of Little and Church Brington[2]. It seems that there was one field system for both Bringtons.

Glebe terriers[3] refer to the fields of Great and Little Brington, of which there were three from *c.* 1680; Moor Field (touching Whilton), Middle Field (next to Althorpe) and

Wood Field (next to Nobottle). The lands of four yardlands were distributed as 72.5, 72, and 83 half acres respectively, from which the yardland was 28.5 acres. There was 33 percent ley in *c.* 1680.

Great Brington was enclosed in 1743[4].

Althorpe

There were two fields at Althorpe in 1313, 4 acres being dispersed as 2 acres in each part of the fields, lying in several furlongs[5]. In 1481 the two fields are named, 4.5 yardlands being dispersed as 50 acres in the North Field and 58 acres in the South Field, from which a yardland was 24 acres[6].

Furlongs but not fields are named in *c.* 1350 for 13 acres. There were 9 neighbours, 3 occupying 53 percent of the positions, implying a decayed order[7]. Furlongs were listed in a 1454 terrier of 1 yardland with 30 entries totalling 23.75 acres[8]. The township was still open in 1510, when 2 yardlands were sold[9].

In 1512 the park was formed by enclosure of 440 acres[10]. Some of the township seems to have remained outside of the park, since in 1586 there was an exchange of common rights on land that had been enclosed into Oldthorpe (Althorpe) Park[11].

Nobottle

Nobottle was enclosed before *c.* 1680[12].

1 Baker i p. 100.
2 NRO Brington Charity Charters, Calendar in Box file.
3 NRO Brington glebe terriers.
4 *Id.* 1767; Baker i p. 89.
5 BL Cott. Tib. E V f.49b.
6 NRO Spencer 870.
7 *Id.* 886.
8 *Id.* 836–7.
9 *Id.* 896.
10 Baker i p. 110.
11 NRO Spencer 937.
12 NRO Brington glebe terriers

Brixworth

M 1972 P (furlongs) 1688

In *c.* 1250 there were three fields, Shotten, Demswell, and Whaddon or Field next to Kingesmill[1], as are found until enclosure in 1780. They are plotted on Figure 1. Land was dispersed among them in 13:13:9 and 12:11:12 parcels. Two demesne yardlands were distributed, in 1422, as 20: 26: 31 roods and 22: 29: 26 roods amongst the same fields[2]. An earlier terrier exists for Brixworth, of *c.* 1240; it gives no field names, but the furlong sequence runs smoothly in order north to south[3]. The terrier shows that the whole township had been opened up by this date.

There were 89.75 yardlands listed in a rectorial glebe terrier of 1671; the rector had 5 yardlands, making a total of 94.75[4]. This total equates with the 1086 assessment of 9.5 hides, at 10 to the hide. Each yardland had 4 cows, 30 sheep and 2 horses. The size of the yardland in 1422 was 19.25 acres (for John Scotte and Roger Page).

Demesne. The demesne lay in a central block with a few other dipersed acres. It was itemized in a survey of *c.* 1700 and most of the furlongs can be identified from names written on a map of 1688[5]. There were 70 acres enclosed and 376 acres of open-field land, most of which were leys by 1688; the demesne is plotted on Figure 1.

Analysis of ten terriers, made in 1422, of land of which the tithe had been given to St Andrew's priory, Northampton, in *c.* 1260 shows that they were the demesne[6]. All but one of the yardlands of 19.25 acres had rather large parcels, often being 1 or 1.5 acres. There were only about 20 parcels in each yardland with an irregular number of neighbours. The number of furlongs in each yardland was variable, sometimes few names were in common with the next. It seems that the demesne had been distributed in a less regular form than the villein yardlands; the named tenants had lands next to each other or next to other demesne tenants whose land was not concerned with St Andrew's Priory. In so far as it can be identified, most of the demesne land was near the village, and is the same ground as surveyed in 1700.

Tenurial order. The compact demesne yardlands of 1422 show no evidence of a regular order, for instance that of John Chycolot in Shotton Field had 16 neighbours, 8 of them metioned once, 5 twice, 1 three times and 1 four times. By contrast the yardland of Roger Page with its non-seignurial neighbours and single-rood, widely distributed parcels, shows a most remarkable regular order. There were 19 parcels for Shotton Field of which Henry Geest was always on the west and William Stevens' land laid on the west 16 times with the remaining 3 taken by William Lak. Thus the main part of the fields was likely to be of a regular order, supporting the evidence from the more decayed arrangement of 1671.

The 1671 terrier describes 5 yardlands, listed mostly as single small parcels (not blocks of 5 adjacent lands). The neighbour distribution indicates there was once a regular order, partly decayed. A full list of field orders is given for 1577[7]. There were 30 sheep and 4 beast to the yardland. There was a neat's pasture called the Heye.

The furlongs have been located from the combined evidence of the 1688 map, a terrier of 1846[8], a field-name map of 1901, and a plan published showing the extent of leys[9]. The parish was enclosed by Parliamentary Act in 1780[10].

1 *Ancient Deeds* 4, (1902) A5019, A5025.
2 The yardlands of John Scotte and Roger Page; BL Cott. Vesp. E xvii, ff.183–4; ff.188–9.
3 Salisbury Dean and Chapter; NRO Acc. 1978/326; see also BL Cott. Galba E iii f.127.
4 NRO; 1671 copy of rectorial glebe terrier (Salisbury); the enclosure Award (p. 94, see f.n.10) makes the total 102.75 yardlands.
5 NRO IL 3702; NRO Map 1555.
6 BL Cott. Vesp E xvii ff.182–94.
7 Th 802; discussed in Hall *Wollaston* 1977, pp. 144–151.
8 NRO map 3588.
9 Hall *Medieval Fields* 1982, p. 36.
10 Act NRO YZ 7780; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. I p. 93 (1781).

Brockhall

M 1981 H F 1606

Brockhall parish included the two townships of Brockhall and Muscott until the 19th century, when Muscott was transferred to Norton parish[1]. There had long been confusion as to which it parish belonged, beginning when the tithe of the Warwick Fee (7 yardlands out of the 19 total) was given to Norton church. The parson of Norton took

every third tithe sheaf. In 1685 half the tithe of the small open-field area left to Muscott was due to Norton. Muscott was described as part of Norton parish in 1693 and 1767[2]. Probably, as parts of Muscott were enclosed, each close was assigned to one parish or the other. The church of Brockhall was claimed as a chapelry of Dodford in 1227–41, probably indicating there had once been a central church for the Keynes' estate based at Dodford[3].

Brockhall had 2 fields called East Field and West Field in the late 13th century, changing to Waterfeld and Holmefeld in 1367, and to North and East Fields in a small terrier of 1400[4]. Three fields are described in 1485[5], West, East and North Fields in the ratio of 7:5:5 roods; these continued until enclosure in 1611. A plan is shown on Figure 8, prepared by field survey and the furlongs identified[6].

Brockhall has a field book of 1606[7], doubtless made to enable the exchanges and valuations necessary for the 1611 enclosure. The book is a rough draft with a normal type of terrier and very detailed measurements of each land (the first page is printed in Chapter 1). There are also terriers of each person's land written out naming and numbering the positions of every land in every furlong, as well as a summary table of the land in each field. The distribution of lands in the fields was not exactly equal; Richard Godfrey had land in East Field: Fullwell Field: Bridge Field in the ratio 9.2: 6.3: 6.4 acres. The totals were East Field 577 lands, Fullwell 522, and Bridge Field 666 lands, 1,765 lands in all.

A charter of *c.* 1290[8] describes 5.5 acres in 22 parcels, each having one neighbour mentioned, one occupying 16 positions. A regular layout is suggested with one person holding 73 percent and 4 people 91 percent of the positions. A regular tenurial cycle of names is not immediately apparent in the 1606 fieldbook, but some regularity can be found for furlongs 13 and 14, Fulwellhead and Wheatlands respectively. The holders' names in the order given for Fulwellhead is taken from west to east, and the other furlong in the reverse order. They compare well for the first 5 positions but then become less similar; widths are in poles.

	Fulwell head E to W			*Wheatlands W to E (printed in reverse order)*	
	Owner	*width*		*width*	*Owner*
1	Lord	0.8125	33	0.7502	Lord
2	Godfrey	1.625	32	1.6875	Godfrey
3	Fulks	1.002	31	1.0	Fulks
4	Smith	0.877	30	0.9375	Smith
5	Fulks	1.002	29	1.00	Fulks
6	Darnell	1.0	28	3.625	Lord
7	Lord	3.9375	27		Lord
8	Lord		26		Lord
9	Lord		25	1.5	Smith
10	Lord		24	2.5	Darnell

The demesne was the dispersed type, and has been described in Chapter 5 and plotted in Figure 8[10]. It was stated to be 9 yardlands in 1589; some of the work service required to run it was mentioned in *c.* 1275[11].

Orders are recorded in 1529 when there were 5 beast and 30 sheep allowed for a yardland, the cottagers having 1 cow and 1 swine[12]. In 1556, 24 yardlands had 93 beast

and 510 sheep commons, implying 4 beast and 20 sheep per yardland[13]. The old value had been restored by 1610 when there were 120 beast and 680 sheep for 24 yardlands.

Yardlands. Brockhall had 10.5 freehold yardlands and 1.5 yardlands held at will in 1489[14], which with 9 demesne and 2 glebe yardlands[15] accounts for 23. In 1556 there were 24 yardlands, probably excluding the glebe[16] making 26. This total is agreeable with rating estimates after enclosure; in *c.* 1670 it was claimed there were 27.25 yardlands beside the glebe, counting Roumer as 3 yardlands[17]. Roumer would not have been so estimated before enclosure, giving a total of 24.25 plus the glebe, being 26.25.

Enclosure. A hedge was set between Brington and Brockhall Field in 1580 from Brington Gap in the way from Daventry to Northampton, down to the enclosure of Roughmer (50 perches, 262.5 yards) using quicksets costing 42s, rated on the freeholders[18].

Brockhall was still open in 1606 when the field book was made, and in March 1608 when open land was exchanged for land in Flore[19]. By 1611 and 1612 plots 'newly enclosed' are referred to[20], agreeable with a 1633 deposition by Richard Godfrey saying that the manor was enclosed 23 or 24 years previously (1609 or 1610), and where sheep and cattle fed (in 1633) there had formerly been arable[21].

The closes were still thought of in terms of yardlands for rating purposes, as in 1633 when 2s. was levied to pay towards the king's 20-day visit to Holdenby. They were similarly rated in *c.* 1670 and 1704[22].

Muscott

Muscott had a two-field system in *c.* 1230[23]. The lands were divided 2.5 and 2 acres (6 and 5 parcels) between one group of furlongs and the 'other part of the fields'. Of the 5 named neighbours 3 people occupied 85 percent of the positions, indicating a regular tenurial order. Another terrier occurring in two similar forms[24] has 5 acres, of which 2.5 acres in 5 parcels lie in the North Field and 3 acres in 8 parcels lie in the South Field. Only 2 people were neighbours, one holding 77 percent of the positions. By 1433 there were 3 fields described in the field book.

Muscott field book of 1433. Two copies of a fieldbook datable to 1433 survive. The master copy is probably that in the Thornton collection at Northamptonshire Record Office, numbered Thornton 183, being part of the estate papers of the Thornton family who bought most of Brockhall and some of Muscott in 1625. The other copy is in the Spencer collection[25], forming part of the deeds of Muscott which was bought by John Spencer in 1683, and still belongs to the Spencer Estate. Thornton 183, written in a formal hand, is undated, but from the marginalia, which record exchanges of lands made to create an enclosure called Roumer in the north of the township, it is clear that it cannot be later than 1433. The enclosure took place that year, according to several dated deeds recording exchanges with freeholders. It is likely that the fieldbook was prepared for this purpose; even if it was not made in 1433, it is unlikely to be much earlier from the caligraphy, its general style and the mixture of Latin and English that occurs.

Spencer 1056 is a nearly contemporary copy, either of Thornton 183 or a common

ancestor of them both. The information is substantially identical including the exchange marginalia, although a few personal and place names are spelled differently. John Smith in Thornton 183 is specified as John Smith of Muscott in Spencer 1056. Spencer 1056 is shown to be secondary to Thornton 183, because in one or two places parts of a furlong are written out of order and the entries cancelled. It is a copy and not a revised version, because all the holders' names are identical; if made a few years later there would have been deaths and alienations that would have changed some of the names. The Spencer version was the personal copy of Thomas Gervase, whose family held the Warwick Fee lands in Muscott, amounting to 7 yardlands.

After the the terrier, Spencer 1056 has other material, such as the method of performing homage and a recipe. The date 1479 occurs, but does not add anything to the dating of the terrier. There is also a list of payments due to Brockhall church and a churchwardens' account dated 1432. Spencer 1056 is a short register of which the field book forms the major part.

The enclosed pasture of Roumer (Roughmoor), made in 1433, by Sir William Tyrwhit, lord of Brockhall, now called Ringmoor, lies in both the townships of Muscott and Brockhall, extending to 100 acres. Deeds of exchange with Brockhall and Muscott freeholders, dated 11th May 1433, are copied in the Brockhall cartulary of *c.* 1587[26] and one original deed survives[27]. Each gives a terrier of lands to be exchanged, those of Muscott can be identified in the field book from the marginalia.

The field book exhibits a tenurial cycle of 19, often hidden in various ways. Sometimes, as in furlongs 11 and 13 (Berreyyerd and Brakebeke) the cycle begins with a sequence that in furlongs 4 and 9 (Twythorne and Lancroffte) is reversed. Elsewhere the cycle begins half way through and does not coincide with a furlong as described in 1433. Not all the furlongs have been identified; those at the north show that the cycle of 19 lands forms alignments through several furlongs, and must predate the 1433 layout[28].

Enclosure. The enclosure of Roumer made in 1433 takes its name from a furlong of Brockhall called Roumoor in 1322[29]. In 1580 it supported 100 sheep[30].

Muscott was still open in 1483 when *fields* are mentioned in charters[31]. Some enclosures were made at about that time, an enquiry (undated, probably 1517) found that the lord of 'Muscote, a hamlet of Brockhall', had enclosed 18 acres of arable 44 years previously (1473) and laid down one plough[32]. Baker says that Muscott was mostly enclosed by 1532, but this seems not to be the case, for Brockhall demesne of 1574 refers to Guardwell furlong next to Muscott *field*; this furlong lies next to the Brockhall to Muscott road. Much of the township was enclosed by 1609 when Muscott 'hedge' and 'grounds' are referred to[33]; close names are described in 1693[34]. A small part next to Whilton remained open and was farmed from that village being enclosed with it in 1777. Brockhall glebe of 1635 refers to Muscott field 'near Whilton' which is the same as the 1777 arrangement, implying that most enclosure had occurred before 1635. A date between 1574 and 1609 seems likely for the main enclosure.

1 Baker i p. 419.
2 Deeds in NRO Thornton Boxes 55 & 56.
3 NRS 22, Elvey, *Luffield Priory Charters*.
4 NRO Th 1201; Th 2047 p. 9; Th 1192.
5 NRO Th 1211, 1212.
6 Hall 1984 *Medieval Approaches*, pp. 56, 66–7.
7 NRO uncat. Thornton Box 6.

8 NRO Spencer 1021.
9 NRO Th 281.
10 NRO Th 1435, Th 606.
11 NRO Th 2047 p. 28.
12 NRO Th 184.
13 NRO Th 1492b.
14 NRO Th 1490.
15 NRO Th 1481 *c.* 1620.
16 NRO Th 184.
17 NRO Th 198; Thornton Box 10 (Brockhall 2).
18 NRO Th 2047 end.
19 NRO Th 1359.
20 NRO Th 1385; 1372.
21 NRO Th 192.
22 Th 1484; Thornton Box 10 (Brockhall 2); Th 204.
23 NRO Spencer 1009.
24 NRO Spencer 1010 *c.* 1250, and Spencer 1012, 1291.
25 NRO Spencer 1056.
26 NRO Th 2047 pp. 19–23.
27 NRO Th 1351.
28 Hall 1983, *Medieval Approaches*, p. 64.
29 Th 2047 p. 7.
30 Th 1454.
31 NRO Th 657.
32 NRO Th 658; Th 2047 p. 24.
33 NRO XYZ 265.
34 Thornton Box 55.

Broughton

M F 1728 P 1728

Two fields occurred in a charter of 1259; 6 roods in the East Field, called the wheat field, and 4 'towards the west of Bruton'[1]. Similarly in 1317 two lands were granted, one in the East Field and one in the West Field[2]. A two-tilth arrangement is confirmed by the wording of a charter of 1316[3] when Adam de Hanberge granted lands to John and Alice Gerard, excluding 1 ley in Bretlondis, and demanding that they should plough and sow the fields at the time when half of them were to be in crop.

In 1336 a Middle Field is mentioned for the first time and in 1402 there were 'yemydel feld' and West Mydel Feld, and in 1408 Middle West Field, Field towards Pytchley, East Field towards Pytchley, and Middle Field[4].

A terrier of *c.* 1470 had land in Middle East Field 6 roods, Great West Field 4 roods, Middle West Field 2 roods, West Field 1 rood, and 4.5 roods not specified as to which field they belonged[5]. The explanation of these field names is most likely that the two original fields had both been split to make a third field, made up of parts of each, the new names still relating (confusingly) to the old ones, so that probably there were the following three fields:

(Great) East,
Middle East and Middle West
(Great) West

The change seems to have occurred between 1318 and 1336, so forming a rare example of a change from two to three fields in the period 1250–1350. The naming system meant that there were at least four field names, and often six, to describe this arrangement. It would explain the six fields of later centuries as more complex names were used to distinguish the various parts.

There were 6 fields from 1686 until enclosure[6]:

	Glebe 1686		*1728 (totals)*	*A*	*R*	*P*
1	North East	1.00 acres	Kettering Hill	159	1	3
2	Middle East Field	2.09	Nether Middle	381	3	32
3	South East Field	1.67	Carr side	301	3	7
4	North West Field	2.25	Stone Pit Field	186	1	5
5	Middle West Field	2.09	Upper Middle Field	201	0	21
6	Headland or South-west	6.16 acres	Headland Field	240	3	26
			Undivided land	177	2	14
			Total common field	1648	3	16

The glebe and the 1728 field book give the fields in the same order (in reverse relative to each other)[7]. The names of the fields in the glebe continue to use variants of the early two fields, East and West. The late six fields easily divide up to make a three-field tilth as suggested for the 14th century. Grouping pairs of fields with the same name-element they become East Field (1 and 3, 463 acres) Middle Field (2 and 5, 583 acres) and West Field (4 and 6, 427 acres).

A field book of 1728, by John Brasier, exists in a tabular form with four large membranes divided into columns. In the explanation (at the end) the code system for the areas of the lands is the same as that used for Burton Latimer, Finedon, Raunds and other places surveyed by Brasier (no symbol indicates 0.5 acre; r is a rood; 3r is a three-rood land; n is a natural rood or 0.333 acre). Most holdings are in single lands with a few twos and threes, except for parcels marked 'HP', which are the Hall Pieces, 'ancient demesne land to the Hall or manor house'.

The Hall Pieces are blocks of lands often lying at the end of a furlong (70 percent), varying mostly from 6–11 lands. The demesne was therefore of the dispersed type; there is reference in 1408 to a balk near one of these blocks[8]. Large furlongs have Hall Pieces in central positions as well as the ends, which would be expected if there were a regular cycle. Tests for such a cycle showed that the pieces were 48 or 50 lands apart in large furlongs. The cycle probably represents 48–50 yardlands, but is not strictly regular. In 1086 there were 4.75 hides, so 10 yardlands to the hide looks likely. The enclosure of 1786 recorded 52 yardlands.

Tenurial order. In 1259 a terrier with 4 parcels had the same neighbour[9]. A terrier of half a yardland in 1260 names 40 furlongs[10]. There are 5 neighbours with one of them, Helia Kethil, holding 31 of the 37 named positions (84 percent), so indicating a regular order. The yardland is 23.25 acres from the added acreages. In 1411 a terrier of 8 acres had 22 lands with 4 neighbours, and 21 positions specified; of which 16 (76 percent) were occupied by Richard de Cranesley[11]. There was still a regular order at this date, therefore.

Neighbour analysis of the glebe for 1686 shows that here were 9 different neighbours of the 38 small parcels, 5 people holding 76 percent, indicating that disintegration had occurred. No cycle of names is self-evident on the 1728 terrier, other than the Hall pieces.

Field orders and offences. A few field orders occur in the 14th century, becoming more numerous during the 15th and increasing into regular lists by the mid 16th century[12]. The hayward presented that John Cole had young bullocks and foals in the lord's corn in 1376. All the community of the village were ordered to repair Catalane Brigge in 1377. Other orders for the years 1377, 1403, 1447, 1458, and 1459 are printed in Chapter 2.

In 1463 sheep were not be placed in the pasture on the *foloughfeld* without custody (fine 15d. to the church fabric). The *rede lond* in the East Field at *estardis balke*, from the dike to the vill, should be cultivated and not left waste in 1465. Every one with ground at *le Karre* in the East Field, in 1475, should repair the watercourse.

Copyhold land with work-service (remitted) was taken up in 1378; Thomas Toude entered half a yardland, for an annual rent of 6s 8d and pay 4d or mow for 1 day in the meadow.

Leys. There was a ley at *stonleys* in 1339 [13] and one was mentioned in a 1316 charter (above).

Enclosed in 1786[14].

1 NRO Buccleuch charter 43 Hen 3 in X360.
2 *Id.* 10 Edw 2.
3 *Id.* 9 Edw 2.
4 *Id.* 10 Edw 3; 4 Hen 4; 9 Hen 4.
5 *Id.* Edw 4.
6 NRO Broughton glebe terriers and Buccleuch terriers.
7 NRO Buccleuch terriers.
8 NRO Buccleuch charter 9 Hen 4 in X360.
9 *Id.* 43 Hen 3 in X360.
10 *Id.* 45 Hen 3.
11 *Id.* 12 Hen 4.
12 NRO Buccleuch 17–155 and 17–160 in X386.
13 NRO Buccleuch charter 10 Edw 3 in X360.
14 Act NRO BSL 63; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. H p. 428.

Buckby, Long

1977 Q 1765

A small hamlet called Cotton End lies at the end of the long street of Long Buckby, and there is a warren on the heath that was probably a deer park at an earlier stage, according to the surviving ramparts.

Buckby has 5 fields named in a terrier of 1656, but they are grouped to form a three-field tilth[1]. The same 5 fields are listed in the quality book of 1765 and the groupings are likely to be the same[2].

1656		*1765*	
Field	*Acres*	*Valuations in shillings*	
Hoborow Field	6.375	128	Hoborough
Hamers Field	6.25	136	Hamers
North Field		41	North
Sorny Field		36	Surney
Highway Field	6	129	Highway
		60	Heath

There were 15 percent leys in 1656 and the yardland was 37.25 acres (taking a land as 0.5 acre; the terrier is for a half yardland). A multiplicity of neighbours occurs, 26 percent holding 45 positions of which 3 had 38 percent and 9 held 78 percent. Buckby was enclosed in 1765[3].

1 NRO SAS 81.
2 NRO Box 873.
3 Act NRO D 69D; Award (1766) Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D p. 72.

Bugbrook

A terrier of 0.5 yardland made in 1649[1] shows there were 3 fields, West 4.25 acres (in 11 parcels); Middle 8 acres (11 parcels); and South Field, 3.5 acres (7 parcels). These were not very evenly distributed. One yardland was therefore 31.5 acres.

The glebe confirms there were 3 fields from 1738 until enclosure in 1780[2]:

Field	*Arable*	*Glebe 1736* *Leys*	*Total*
East Field	21.75 acres	11.167	32.92
Middle Field	20.25	4.5	24.2
West Field	16.75	16.25	33
			90.12

The acreage was stated to be for 3 yardlands so 1 yardland was 30 acres and there were 35 percent leys.

Bugbrook had glebe and tithe in Upper and Lower Heyford. In Nether Heyford, Upper Wherestone furlong and most of the nether Wherestone furlong were in the parish of Bugbrook and the rest belonged to Stowe. A few houses in the vill paid tithe, as well as 5 yardlands that had belonged to Lord Powis in 1736.

Bugbrook was enclosed in 1779[3]. Baker says that 1580 out of the total of 2,190 acres were involved[4], suggesting some ancient enclosure. The glebe (1780) lists ancient enclosures of 34, 46, and 47 acres in extent.

1 NRO S(G) 67.
2 NRO Bugbrook glebe terriers.
3 Act NRO ZA 2448; Award (1781), Enclosure Enrolment Vol. G p. 548.
4 Baker i 120.

Bulwick

M 1979 P 1728 (furlongs)

The parish consists of two adjacent settlements of Bulwick and Henwick, the last now deserted. No evidence has been discovered to show that they formed two townships, but the multiple fields occurring may have arisen by amalgamation. Part of Kirby lies in Bulwick parish and part in Gretton (qv).

An extent made in 1275[1] found that there was a chief messuage and a mill within the yard. It had a hall, large chamber, a stone kitchen with a stone (slate) roof, as well as a grange and a cowhouse with a thatched roof. In demesne were 136 acres of arable, 5

acres of meadow and a wood with underwood and a separate pasture called Himpehey. There were free tenants, villeins holding 14 yardlands, and 24 cottars. The vill held the demesne lands for an increased rent and there were 6 cottages newly sited on demesne.

There were 6 named fields in 1633 and 7 in 1684, with lands distributed as below[2]. No simple grouping into sets of two or three fields is obvious. The same fields continue until enclosure in 1778.

Name in 1684	*Parcels*	*Acreage*
Neather	5	8 acres
Cadge	4	15
Dibbins	2	7
Engals	5	11.5
Hollow bottom	9	17.75
Bantops	11	8.875
Galla Hill	9	7.75
Total	45	75.875

Each parcel (1684) averages 1.69 acres; the land sizes, where given, were 1/7 and 1/9 acre for the butts and 1/4, 1/3, 1/2 acres with, rarely, 1 acre for the others. The glebe may have been granted from a dispersed demesne, which would account for the larger than usual parcel sizes.

Neighbours in 1633 are dominated by the gentry (Tryant [Tryon] for Bulwick, Brudenell (Deene) and Stafford (Blatherwycke). Almost no furlong names are given, lands being referred to neighbouring places and topography.

A map of 1728 by Tycho Wing has numbered and named furlongs referring to a field book[3]. There were 8 fields coloured according to the cropping of 1728. A three-course tilth was in operation, involving groupings of fields not adjacent to each other, 1,998 acres in all:

Wheat Henwick, Cadge and Little Holme Fields (red).
Peas Hollow Bottom and Dibbens Field (yellow).
Fallow Nether, Ingrams and Deene Mill Fields (blue). To the north west lay Bulwick Park Wood and Ferris Spring, and 13 closes totalling *c.* 250 acres. Other closes lay next to Southwick parish.

Bulwick was enclosed in 1778 and the award made in 1779[4].

1 NRO TB 2, 17th-century copy.
2 NRO Bulwick glebe terriers.
3 NRO Map 763A.
4 NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. E p. 549.

Burton Latimer

M 1971 F 1728

The glebe[1] shows there were 3 unequal fields from 1632 until enclosure, called South Field 47 parcels; West Field 75 parcels and East Field which had Bracken and Bawshill divisions, 64 parcels.

A 1738 field book by John Brasier has exactly the same format as Broughton and elsewhere[2]. It includes a survey of the vill but does not give the acreages of the holdings.

The summary of Gloucester Fee farms shows there was a slightly unequal three-field system:

Field	*Total*			*Two farms*			
	Lands	*A*	*R*	*A*	*R*	*A*	*R*
Bracken and Boshill Field	88	33	0	3	3	4	1
South Field	83	26	2	3	2	3	2
West Field	106	40	3	4	0	3	1
	277	100	1				

Demesne can be identified as blocks of 6–12 lands, usually in the hands of either A. Dickens or W. Whiting, often lying next to each other. Sometimes these blocks are glebe. Often also the blocks are at the beginning or end of a furlong (Braken and Boshill Fields, furlongs 12, 14, 15, 18, 29, etc). There is no concentration near the vill and so a completely dispersed demesne is indicated. A piece of wold (p. 25) was split as 14 and 15 lands between the demesne holders only, indicating that this was once demesne woodland.

No regular order can be observed by inspection, but the blocks of demesne at the beginning or end of furlongs, like Broughton, would indicate that there probably had been one. Most furlongs have single or very small parcels of lands, but a few do not and these may prove to be early assarting, as at Raunds.

The Gloucester Fee has no obvious grouping by inspection and does not occur in every furlong nor in any demesne blocks. It was therefore probably an ancient purchase and not a manorial holding.

Enclosed in 1803[3].

1 NRO Burton glebe terriers.
2 NRO ML 123, a survey of lands belonging to the Gloucester Fee; see Raunds for an explanation.
3 Act NRO YZ 9603; Map 2799 (1807); Award, 1803 Enclosure Enrolment Vol. L p. 241.

Byfield

The parish contains a detached old enclosure called Trafford, and the two townships of Byfield and Westhorp[1]. The Enclosure Award reveals that there were two separate field systems for Byfield and Westhorp[2]. Byfield township, described from 1633 until enclosure in 1778, had a two-field system with 2 yardlands of glebe lying in the West Field as 56 parcels of arable and 4 of ley, and in the East Field 42 arable and 8 of ley (19 percent ley in all). The meadows of 1662 were divided into 72 parts, as described in Chapter 8[3].

Westhorp

Westhorp had a two-field system, described in a terrier of one yardland made in 1614[4] and printed in Chapter 4. Two fields lasted until enclosure. The 1614 terrier has a very regular order with Anthony Boote being a neighbour in 24 cases (out of 41). North Field had 6 acres arable and 3.5 ley; and in South Field were 7.5 acres arable, 4 acres ley, so one yardland was 21 acres in all[5]. All lands and leys are 0.5 acres and ley amounted to 36 percent.

During the 17th century there were several experiments at Byfield changing from a two field to a three-field system. In 1640 it was agreed to make three fields and the boundaries of the 3 fields, called East Field, Middle Field, and 'the third' Field were written down. A cow pasture was made on a hill of Byfield called Blackdown in 1640, everyone had to 'dig and quickset', and 3 gates were made at the cost of the inhabitants, rated on the cow commons. Two of the fields were to be hained and kept 'several', and the third fallow. The system was to continue for 6 years only[6]. The experiment did not seem to continue, as court orders for 1646 revoked all previous ones and does not mention fields, and in 1661 there were references to East Side and West Side, the old names for the two fields[7].

However, in 1666, the 'whole field' was divided into 6 parts or heaches, apart from a few furlongs, and was to continue for 6 years. The description of the field boundaries shows that there were 3 fields each for Byfield and Westhorp. In 1671 the 6 heaches of 1665 were ordered to be continued. There seems to be reversion to two fields in 1698 when the West Side was said to be fallow. In 1710 the townships were again divided into three fields each. For 1710 and 1711 there is much detail with terriers of the glebe in all the six fields, and lists of the amounts of seed sown[8].

Terriers of 1633, 1688 and 1705[9] describe two fields; in 1688 there should have had three fields. Either the writer of the deed was copying an older terrier or the experiment was considered to be temporary and not relevant to a record of the physical whereabouts of the lands.

Orders. Several lists of field orders survive, those of 1630 were similar to orders of 1648 which were numbered[10]. They dealt with the usual matters; each yardland should have 4 beast or 4 horses on the common, being 2 beasts with the herd from Holyrood to Lammas, and 2 on their own ground until Lammas after which they should go on the common; cottagers' cows ran with the farmers; there should be 24 sheep per yardland in winter and summer; no one should use another man's common without first informing the tellers; the overseers took a levy for 'trenching and scouring' in the usual gutters when necessary; the overseers were to collect the moletaker's wages. In 1660 balks were laid down 4 feet wide, half and half from the adjoining lands.

Farming 1668–90. The glebe was farmed in hand and tithes were paid in kind during 1668–90, and much detail is available on farming methods and yields; further information is given for 1710–1714[11].

There are lists of farmers' names with the numbers of lambs, fleeces, and calves produced, enabling studies of stock levels to be made (1689). In 1690 tithe wool was 60 fleeces short of the 1689 total; since there were about 112 yardlands in the fields of Byfield and Westhorp, at 20 sheep per yardland the parson was expecting to have 220 fleeces. Tithe hay was similarly listed; it was sold in 1690 as it stood on the ground. The tithe of hay from grass ends was sold to most of the Westhorp farmers, but Byfield 'heads' were gathered in kind.

Payments were made for weeding the glebe and harvesting in 1689 to several women, the wives of the farmers; reaping 42 lands cost 7.5d per land. Sheaves were set up into 'thraves' in 1668–9 (instead of the more usual 'shocks'). A 'hired servant' was paid £2 10s 2d. for thrashing, the parson 'using a great deal of straw for burning in the brew house last winter'. Barley and other straw was titheable [p. 49]. Reaping costs for 4 men

were 6s., 1 man 1s., and 2 women 1s; wheat from the glebe yardland in Westhorp Field was thrashed and winnowed, most of it being sold at Banbury. Wages for thrashing were paid to Harry Harris, 9 days 'beside my man' 2 days.

The glebe crop of 1714 was valued at £35 17s, and consisted of, Wheat (5qu 1bu 0 peck), Meslin 6 1 0, Barley 18 4 1, and Peas 2 2 0, in all 32 quarters and 1 peck. The 32 quarters would weigh *c.* 64 tons, and this came from 3 yardlands or 63 acres of which two thirds, less the ley, was sown, or about 34 acres of arable (at 20 percent ley). The average yields were therefore about 1.85 tons per acre in 1710. Sowing levels for rye and peas was 3–4 bushels per acre in 1710, so there was about a 16-fold yield.

A detailed survey of yardlands in Westhorp in 1710 gives the names of the yardland holders and size of the holdings to the nearest quarter yardland. The 19 owners had a total of 36, for which the tithe composition was £54.

Yardlands and the Domesday assessment. In 1690 there were 'about 112' yardlands in Byfield and Westhorp. The detailed list for Westhorp totalled 36 in 1710, and the tenurial cycle of holders in the meadows of Byfield indicate there were 72 yardlands, so the accurate total was 108[12]. This corresponds to Domesday estates of 8 and 2 hides, giving an overall ratio of *c.* 11 yardlands to the hide. If the larger estate could be identified with Byfield then the following interesting relationship is apparent, with the ratio for Byfield being exactly half that of Westhorp:

	Hides	*Yardlands*	*Ratio*
Byfield	8	72	9
Westhorp	2	36	18
Totals	10	108	

If correct then Westhorp had 'beneficial' hidation, since the yardlands in both townships were the same size (21 acres, above).

Byfield and Westhorp were enclosed together in 1778[13].

Trafford

Trafford formed a third, detached, township in Chipping Warden, and was still open with its town and fields in 1471[14], but 600 sheep were kept in 1547. It was 'pasture' by 1637[15] and contained 323 acres of old closes in 1780. One of them, called *Old Town*, was probably the site of the vill of Trafford[16].

1 NRO Bby 15.
2 NRO Byfield 56P/501.
3 *Id.* 56P/91.
4 NRO Bby 80 and Bby 83.
5 NRO BBy 80, 83.
6 NRO Byfield 56P/72.
7 *Id.* 53, 75.
8 *Id.* 77–80, 30 ff.3–5.
9 NRO Byfield glebe terriers and XYZ 436.
10 NRO Byfield 56P/71, 74.
11 *Id.* 28–30
12 NRO 56P/28 p. 44; *id.* 30 f.3.
13 Act NRO D1942; Map 2356 (1779); Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. H p. 100.
14 NRO Spencer 1281; Allison et al. p. 47.
15 NRO photostat 1030.
16 NRO H(H)130.

Castor

M 1976 P 1846 F 1597, 1628

Castor parish contains the townships of Castor, Ailsworth, Milton, Sutton and Upton, and runs from river meadow to heathland. Castor Hanglands is a piece of medieval woodland surviving next to the heath on heavy ground. Belsize was a grange, built in an assart made by Peterborough abbey[1]. There is no evidence that Belsize was a separate township, being almost surrounded by the fields of Castor from 1597. In 1340 a land in the fields of Castor abutted *Belasisewode* showing there was the same arrangement at an early date[2].

Castor had Wodefeld and Hamfeld in 1305, with *Eyning* having several entries after it. Normangate and Thornis are used as furlong names[3]. The names Normangate, Ham, Thornes, Eyning, are used as subheadings for lands totalling 9, 34.5, 19 and 42 roods in 1340[4]. By comparison with the fields of later centuries it would seem that five fields were in use during the 14th century and in similar unequal proportions as later.

In 1597 there were 5 five fields (the relative sizes indicated according to the page lengths of the entries in a field book[5]):

	1597	*1628*	*1846*
			Large fields
Ham Feld	27	10f	Mill Field
Thorne Feld	17	8f	Thorn Field
Erringstone Feld next Marham Field	32	15.5f	Milton Field
			Small Fields
Wood Feld	4.5		Old Field
Normangatt Feld	10	4f	Norman Gate Field

There was also meadow, and an enclosed pasture of 72 acres. It is not clear how these fields were grouped for cropping in 1597.

Castor has another field book of 1628[6]. The relative sizes of the fields are shown above (measured in folio numbers). They were similar to other dates, but with Wood Field not separated.

A manor called the Burystead had its land in the same fields as listed above in 1650, 1765 and 1802. The demesne was a dispersed type; it lay in single lands and several large pieces of up to 17 lands[7]. Comparison of the distribution of two farms of *c.* 1765/1802 is given below:

	J. Gardiner	*Chas. Robinson*
Large fields		
Ham Field	29.25	27.375 acres
Thorn Field	20.5	32.375
Eminston Field	30	33.625
Small Fields		
Wood Field	5	0.875
Norman Gate Field	10.25	7.5

A small part of the township near Old Field pond was mapped in 1842[8]. A plan of all the fields of Castor and Ailsworth made by the tithe commissioners in 1846 shows the exact details of the open-field holdings at that time[9]. The map marks the fields and the parcels owned by the the main landholders, but gives no furlong names. They can be worked out by detailed comparison of a terrier of the Dean and Chapter Burystead Farm made in 1650 with the tithe commissioners' survey of the same property[10]. The fields of Castor were named as above, being substantially the same as in 1597. It is likely that there was a three course tilth with the small fields worked in with the 3 large ones. There was enclosure around the vill and around Belsize Grange at the north.

Several groups of up to 4 furlongs have lands in alignment, suggesting there was once a much simpler layout of with fewer, but larger, furlongs. This can be observed very clearly on a large-scale plan of part of the township in 1841[11]. The curvature of the lands is mapped very accurately; three furlongs called Milton Piece have exact alignment making an aratral curve 700 yards in length.

Ailsworth

M 1976 P 1846 F 1597

In 1340 Ailsworth had 3 fields called Doles, Nether, and Wodefeld. Two yardlands of a stated 27.75 and 24.5 acres have terriers with rather unequal amounts of land in each field[12]. The terrier lies under the heading 'Castor' but the field names show that Ailsworth is being described (compare names below).

Ailsworth had 4 unequal fields in 1597, along with meadow and some enclosed pasture[13]; Ening well Field 17 pages of field book; Litill Field 3 pages; North Field 7 pages; Wood Field 11 pages. The middle two could be grouped together to form a three-field tilth.

In *c.* 1765 and 1813 the distribution of farms in the fields was as below[14]. They are similar in relative sizes to the fields of 1597.

Tenant 1765	*W Miller*	*Ant King*	*Geo Wright*	*Skellington*
Upton Field	19.5 acres	19	11.25	25.75
Little Field	9.5	3	4.75	5
Ingwell Field	35.5	31	21.375	38
Wood Field	37.75	18	33.75	28

As with Castor there was little ley in the arable block, Anthony King's farm having only two leys, a half acre (0.7 percent). He had 12 neighbours in Ingwell Field (pp. 119–110) occupying 58 positions, 7 of whom held 78 percent of the total. This is a fair state of disintegration as might be expected; the old yardlands had gone and the farms were leased to a few tenants with fairly large farms (for the time). The releases noted in the survey, dating 1802–1821 show the farms of 1765 being split up and re-combined; doubtless the same process had gone on previously.

The tithe map of 1846 shows the disposition of 4 fields called Upton Field, Doles Field, Little Field and Nether Field. Ailsworth Heath, a large common pasture, lay on the west of the Hanglands and next to Helpston Heath[15].

Castor and Ailsworth were enclosed together in 1895[16].

Milton

M 1976

There was some open-field land at Milton in 1519, although enclosure had occurred[17]. The whole was enclosed by 1576[18]. A map of 1582 shows 6 closes, 3 of them very large; Brooke Felde is named[19]. Part of Milton mapped in 1625 shows 213 acres called *Goodluck pastures*[20].

Sutton

M 1976 P 1845

Sutton had three fields in 1768, when the farm of the manor house, presumably the demesne, had 'pieces' in the following fields. Two other farmers had normal sized lands (1–3 roods), mostly in singles, dispersed as below[21]:

Field	*The 'Farm'*		*C. Lister*			*R. Hopkinson*		
	Pieces	*Acres*	*A*	*R*	*P*	*A*	*R*	P
Mill or Middle Field	6	39	28	3	0	36	1	0
North, Gall or Heath Field	5	43	48	2	0	37	2	20
Meadow Field	3	13	32	2	20	29	0	0

There was a heath and Sutton had very little ley in the arable block, Charles Lister's 109.5 acres having only 3.5 leys (3 percent).

Three fields are marked on a tithe map of 1845[22], called North, Middle and Meadow Fields. The map does not show much detail of the furlongs because there were only a few owners. In the North Field 4 furlongs can be seen to have lands in exact alignment, 800 yards in all. In the South Field, there is an alignment of 7 furlongs being 1,200 yards. This curve survives on the ground as hedge lines east of Manor Farm continuing as the road to Upton Lodge as far as the A47 (TL 0998 and TL 1099).

Sutton was enclosed in 1901[23].

Upton

M 1977

Upton Neats pasture was enclosed in *c.* 1557[24], and a completely enclosed township is shown on a plan of 1686[25]. Upton was formally enclosed in 1843[26].

1 E. J. King *Peterborough Abbey* 1973 pp. 67, 69.
2 *Carte Nativorum* p. 211.
3 *Id.* 356.
4 *Id.* p. 211.
5 NRO Fitzw. Misc. Vol. 424.
6 NRO Fitzw. Misc. Vol. 454, a 19th century copy.
7 NRO ML 892 pp. 18–25.
8 NRO Map 1043.
9 NRO Map 1964, Fitzwilliam version of T 236.
10 NRO ML 892 p. 23 seq.
11 NRO 1041A.
12 *Carte Nativorum* p. 211.
13 NRO Fitzw. Misc. Vol 424.
14 NRO ML 892, which is a copy of a 1650 Parliamentary survey of Peterborough Dean and Chapter property made in *c.* 1765 with annotations of tenancies, 1801–1821.

15 NRO Map T263.
16 Bill (1895) NRO Castor 60P/157; Map 2674.
17 M. E. Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families 1540–1640*, Northamptonshire Record Society 29 (1956) p. 104.
18 *Id.* p. 114.
19 NRO Map 1202.
20 NRO Map 1239, pp. 8–9.
21 NRO ML 892 p. 145 seq.
22 NRO Map T 18.
23 VCH ii p 473.
24 Finch *Five Families* p. 116.
25 NRO Map 997.
26 VCH ii p. 473.

Chacombe

M 1991

There were two fields in the 14th century, called East and West, of which Chacombe priory had 76.25 acres and 77.625 acres respectively[1].

A map of 1632 shows part of the fields[2], and the parish was enclosed 'recently' in 1636[3]. Deeds of Thorpe Mandeville refer to Chacombe common fields in 1614 and 1634; in 1647 they had become 'Chacombe pasture'[4]. The enclosure date appears therefore to be 1635.

1 PRO E 315 378 f.6d.
2 NRO Map 5401.
3 NRO FFS LXXIV.
4 NRO X8477.

Charwelton

M 1986

There were two fields in the 13th century when a grant was made of 8.75 acres in one field and 13.75 acres in the other[1]. The township was open in 1477, the Knightley family possessing several yardlands[2] of the total of 42[3]. Enclosure took place in *c.* 1480, '50 years and more' before 1531[4].

The holdings in 1086 amounted to 3.65 hides[5] and there were 2.5 hides and 12 small virgates in *c.* 1124[6]. The 1124 total agrees with 42 yardlands of 1480 at 12 to the hide, or 3.5 hides in all. The 1086 estates also add up to 3.5 hides if the smallest of them, one Domesday virgate, was actually a 'small virgate' or yardland.

1 BL Harl. Ch.86 C 50.
2 NRO K667.
3 NRO K938.
4 NRO Charwelton glebe terrier 1687.
5 Thorn and Thorn 10–2, 18–36, 18–36, 23–15.
6 VCH i p. 270.

Chelveston and Caldecott

M 1969 H

The villages of Chelveston and Caldecott formed part of the manor of Higham; the church is a chapelry of Higham. The shape of the township is rather extraordinary with a long tongue going to the meadows of the Nene two miles distant. This must have been

an arrangement with the chief manor of Higham to provide a mill on the river and give access to meadow land for the benefit of its subsidiary manor. The arrangement was possibly in existence by 1330 when meadow on the river was mentioned.

A description of 1789[1] states that 'Chelveston and Caldecott are two small villages situate about one and a half miles from Higham Ferrers and half a mile from each other ... the chapel stands in the common fields between them ... some parts of the common fields which lie far from the two villages ... [have] very poor [soil]. The manor of Higham Ferrers ... includes the whole parish of Higham ... and the hamlets of Chelveston and Caldecott'.

The subsidiary status of the townships is confirmed by the medieval Higham Ferrers Hundred court rolls where only parishes had representatives; there are no persons from Chelveston and Caldecott[2]. By the 17th century either it was decided that the community needed a representative or the chapelry acquired a certain independence, since in 1678 and 1679 the hamlets were represented[3].

Analysis of the detailed survey of Duchy of Lancaster lands made in 1789 shows that Chelveston and Caldecott each had its own field system, and the chapel site was placed over the township boundary. This is confirmed by other terriers showing that land was in one township or the other. From the furlong pattern it is not possible to determine whether the townships were formed before or after the fields were set out.

The township boundary was described in 1844 by Nathanial Martin who had been shown it from one Houghton, an old man who had died in *c.* 1796. It agrees exactly with that reconstructed from the furlong evidence[4]. The 1844 boundary can be identified using the field names given in a sale catalogue of 1919[5].

Caldecott

Caldecott Duchy of Lancaster estate, in 1789, lay in 3 fields, and had 210 sheep and 19 cow commons[6]; Home Field 59 acres, Middle Field 69.25, Higham Meer Field 91.25, 219.5 acres in all. High clay ground at the east was left as common leys called *watery leys*, 'upwards of 100 acres which appears to have been ploughed formerly and being very poor land was probably laid down as common for the sheep by common consent'[7]. Other sheep and cow commons were made up of ley ground set down 'many years ago'.

Chelveston

In 1330 there were two fields[8] which had been rearranged into a three-field system by 1627[9].

The furlong names of Chelveston show that all the high ground next to Bedfordshire was called the *old*, being divided into three furlongs (split between all three fields in 1789). This was probably woodland before 1086 (there being no wood accounted in the Domesday Survey); it would serve as a valuable resource and protect the vills from east and north-east winds. The area involved was more than 300 acres, nearly as much as the arable of the open fields, which when cleared would almost double the yardland size. The furlong and close names show a strong manorial 'presence' at Chelveston, with hall land furlongs, manor closes, and 'conjurs' (cf conygears at Irthlingborough). This was probably the site of the manor controlling the two settlements.

Chelveston has four great fields named in 1789, but two of them are small and a three-field cultivation is likely. The Duchy copyhold estate at that time was:

Church Field	20.25a	
Caldecott Meer Field	79.25	99.5
Hedge Field		126.25
Ridgeway Field		105.25

Yardlands are mentioned in 15th-century court rolls but not during the 17th or 18th centuries.

Both townships have entries in the Higham Ferrers Duchy of Lancaster court rolls[10]. In 1422 there were cases of animal trespass and reference to 'a common order'. Half a yardland was taken up in 1433 at Chelveston. Yardlands in both townships were transferred in 1436, which proves there were two field systems. Yardlands were mentioned again in 1465. In 1450 a stone pit was opened on the lord's ground and it was ordered that no one should collect rushes or peas cods, and that pigs should not go free in the sown fields.

Both townships were enclosed in 1801[11].

1 NRO Map 1140 pp. 26, 21, 5.
2 NRO in X688, X690, and X691, 1428–1508.
3 NRO FH 551, FH 561.
4 NRO X3475.
5 NRO SC 658.
6 NRO Map 1140 p. 67.
7 *Id.* p. 67.
8 From a demesne extent, VCH iv p. 8.
9 Terriers of 1627 and 1638 in the Overstone Collection, NRO X9939.
10 NRO X700.
11 Act NRO ZA 3722. The award was not made until 1807 NRO X3475; Map 3007.

Clipston

M 1976

The parish consists of two townships, Clipston and Nobold, the last being completely deserted. Nobold was first recorded in 1284[1], but studies of Clipston early taxation figures show that it was most likely in existence by 1086[2]. A plan of the fields with furlongs named has been published[3]. The fields and furlongs were identified by using names and abuttals described in various terriers with post-enclosure field names, many of which are furlong names. The enclosure map was reconstructed from the descriptions of the award, which allow the exact locations of the great fields to be determined.

Clipston had three fields in 1700 until 1776, named Caudwell, Portway and Brickhill[4]. A few orders are recorded in court rolls of 1429–48[5]. William Grobbe broke a bylaw that pigs should be kept with a swineherd and beast trespassed in the corn.

There was contraction of arable by the 17th century with leys and green ends recorded. Terriers of 1700, 1732 and 1737 had respectively 43, 51 and 45 percent of leys. Four yardlands in 1739[6] totalled 225.5 lands, making a yardland 28 acres, if all the lands were 0.5 acre. There was 41 percent ley. The lands laid in singles and groups of three, suggesting that there was a regular order. The distribution of arable between the fields was similar (total land and ley in each field was 66.6, 88, 71, but the corresponding arable was 46.5, 47 and 39). Cow pasture was mentioned and there were many furlongs of leys at the north during the 18th century.

Nobold

Nobold had three fields in 1381, in 1633, and at enclosure in 1776. They were called Uglesdalefeld, Stokedenefeld, and Moselewfeld in 1381[7] and later Low, Stoyden or Toss, and Marislow or Moseley. In 1767[8] there were 43 percent leys.

The 1633 glebe terrier had 6 people occupying 29 positions in the Low Field, of which 55 percent were held by one person (the lord) and 76 percent by three others, indicating a decaying regular order. The 1767 glebe terrier refers to William Pepin's rick place; he was a freeholder allotted 139 acres in 1776, showing that rick places were not only the privilege of the lord. Another 'rickstead' occurred in 1658.

The amount of leys does not vary between 1633 and 1767. Any changes seem to have been done by agreement and then left. None of the leys seems to be convertible and they were probably part of a pasture agreement and therefore always expected to be available as common pasure. Since ownership is noted it is possible that in cropping years the owner had the grass.

Yardlands. The remarkable concordance between various surveys describing the number of hides and yardlands at Clipston and Nobold has been given in Chapter 6.

Both townships were enclosed in 1776 and the award made in 1777[9].

1 Gover et al. *PNN* p. 111, from *Feudal Aids* iv.
2 D. Hall, *Introduction to Northamptonshire Domesday*. p. 15 (Allecto Historical Publications 1987).
3 Council for British Archaeology Group 9 *Newsletter* 1979, pp. 21–9.
4 NRO ZA 3665; Acc 1979/16 Bundle 11.
5 NRO LB 59.
6 NRO ZA 3665.
7 *Ancient Deeds* iv (1902) A 6099.
8 NRO Clipston glebe terrier.
9 NRO ZA 1244 (6 open fields and 84 yardlands); NRO ZA 4179

Clopton

M 1981 H

A 13th-century cartulary of Clopton[1] and a plan of the open fields have been published[2]

In 1202 there were 3 fields containing 16.24 acres; 13 acres; 13 acres[3]. The lands described were probably pieces of block demesne. In 1250 a long terrier of the demesne lists five fields[4]; (Unnamed, next to Lilford) 87.785 acres, Tornhil (next to Thorpe) 115.5, Hulke (next to Weston) 65, Medwefeld (next to Winwick) 57, West Field (next to Thorpe and Titchmarsh) 129.5 acres.

The last two fields were stated to be run together. Hulke field, isolated from the first two by the combination of Medwe and West Fields was presumably run with the first, unnamed, field. This would give a three-course system, but with very unequal sizes of 153, 116, and 187 acres. Another terrier of some of the demesne specifies that there was a three-course tilth; 'in the third year it is ordered that an equal portion of the fields shall be partly sterile'[5].

The reasons for such a complex arrangement can be attributed to assarting. The furlong pattern shows that Medwe and Hulke Fields are different from the others (Chapter 7). Removal of these assarts leaves three, still unequal, fields. An extent of the demesne in 1346 had a third waste, confirming the three-course tilth[6]. There may have been re-arrangement of the fields since 1250 to get a regular system, but more likely

there were the same fields as operated in 1250, since multiple fields again existed in *c.* 1633[7]:

	Arable	*Leys*	*Total*
Tift Field	41.5	8	49.5
New Park	20		20
Inome	8.5	3	11.5
Long Thong	12	1	13
Old Fard	31		46
Total	108	18	142

These are very similar to the fields of 1250, as determined from good abuttal information, and there must be doubt whether there were only three fields in 1346, but merely a three course tilth. There is no information on how the fields were grouped in 1633. There were 14 percent leys by then, and a sheep walk is mentioned in a lease of the demesne.

Analysis of glebe neighbours for Tift Field, with 14 families named in 44 positions, shows that two people occupy 39 percent and 4 have 57 percent of the positions. There was therefore a fair disintegration of any regular order.

Hides. Clopton belonged to the Peterborough Abbey Fee (which had 4 hides and 1 great virgate in *c.* 1250) and the Lovetot Fee (1 hide and 1 great virgate[8]). There were stated to be 7 yardlands to the hide in the Peterborough fee and 6 in the Lovetot, but it is further explained that the great virgate of the last fee had 3 yardlands. There were therefore 29.75 and 9 yardlands in each of the two fees on this reckoning, 38.75 in all[9]. This tallies with a reference to 4 chief tithing men (who would have been responsible for 10 families with 10 yardlands each[10]). The individual hides are listed with named holders of which there were; First hide 7 yardlands, Second 7.625, Third 9, Half hide 4, and Fourth 4[11].

These look to be the hides of the Peterborough fee, although it is not stated, making 31.625. If the great virgate of this fee were 3 yardlands then the calculated total from the above at 7 to the hide is 31 yardlands. Either way the agreement with total is fair, but the details show that matters could be complicated with differing numbers of yardlands assigned to each hide. The 13th-century listing does prove that lords of the manor (and doubtless tax officials) were and had been concerned with the number of yardlands to a hide, even though hides were abolished as taxation units in the 12th century. The Hotot cartulary gives details of how various taxations were broken down and levied upon the individual yardlands[12].

Half a yardland was 24 acres in *c.* 1250[13], and therefore the yardland was 48 acres. This is large and consistent with woodland or waste being assarted and added to the individual yardlands. At 39 yardlands the total arable was 1872 acres in 1250, agreeable with a total size of 1920 acres[14], since there was almost no meadow. *Work services* owed by the villeins of Clopton were not valued and were probably still demanded in kind in *c.* 1250[15].

Demesne. Furlong abuttals of the 1250 demesne are sufficiently good to give some idea of the field locations and show that the demesne was dispersed in blocks of 1–6 and

occasionally up to 12 and 14 acres[16]. The demesne of 1632 consisted of closes next to the manor and church, with 180 acres stated to be dispersed[17].

Pasture and woodland. Clopton was short of pasture and the lords in 1250 had acquired some riverine meadow in the meadows of Thorpe and Achurch, opposite Wadenhoe manor-house[18]. The two fields on the east were probably made by assarting woodland, as explained in Chapters 7 and 8.

Clopton was open field in 1633 and enclosed before 1705, when reference to a Chancery Decree was made[19].

1 E. J. King *A Northamptonshire Miscellany* NRS 28 (1983) pp. 1–58.
2 D. Hall 'The Late Saxon Countryside' in D. Hooke (ed.) *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* 1988, p. 110.
3 *Miscellany*, pp. 48–50.
4 Gray 1915, p. 482.
5 *Miscellany* p. 52.
6 Gray p. 484 from, BL Cott. Cleop. Cii f.123.
7 NRO Clopton glebe terriers.
8 *Miscellany* pp. 48, 54.
9 *Id.* p. 55.
10 *Id.* p. 57.
11 *Id.* pp. 18–19, 41.
12 *Id.* pp. 55–7.
13 *Id.* p. 52.
14 Whellan's *Directory* 1876.
15 *Miscellany* p. 23.
16 *Id.* pp. 49, 51–2.
17 NRO FH 962.
18 *Miscellany* pp. 33–4.
19 NRO Clopton glebe terriers.

Cogenhoe

M 1992

In 1627 there were 4 fields with lands distributed in 3 tilths, as shown below[1]:

	1627		*1702*	
	Arable	*Leys*	*Total*	*Total*
East and part of West Field	38 (+ 18 roods)	4	42 (58)	32
West Field to Billing Bridge	31.5	3	34.5	34.5
South Field	33 (+ 18 roods)	6	39 (57)	46

The lands were scattered mainly in singles except for two larger parcels (indicated in brackets). The state of the fields in *c.* 1630 is shown on a small scale plan, which does not name them except for West Field[2]. An area coloured green and two separated yellow and uncoloured areas probably represent the 3 tilth areas of the glebe.

There had been some enclosure in *c.* 1622 (next to the village), followed by more enclosure by Chancery Decree in *c.* 1660, and Parliamentary enclosure in 1827. By 1702 enclosures had reduced the size of the East Field. Two of the larger parcels had been reduced from 9 lands to 8 and the other from 6 to 4, the last caused by encroachment from the highway. There was 11 percent ley in 1627. Enclosed in 1827 with Little Houghton[3].

1 NRO Cogenhoe glebe terriers.
2 NRO Map 5695.
3 NRO X4579.

Collyweston

M 1993

The were three fields in 1638, with land distributed irregularly; Condet Field 5.25 acres (in 3 parcels), Wood Field 6 acres (6 parcels) and Hill Field 2 acres (3 parcels); 5 leys lay in unspecified fields[1]. A yardland was therefore 15.25 acres and there was 16 percent ley calculated on area. The glebe refers to the same three fields until enclosure[2].

Enclosed in 1841[3].

1 NRO SG 48, for 0.75 yardland.
2 NRO Collyweston glebe terriers.
3 Bill NRO CAM 92; Act J(D) 753; Map 3009 (1842).

Corby

P 1616

A demesne of 180 acres had 120 acres sown in 1335, showing there was a three-course tilth[1].

A map of the demesne made in 1616 shows 3 fields called North, West and South, with their boundaries marked[2]. The South Field has a detached part at the north west next to Cauldwell Leys and Calle Shrub Wood. Most of the furlong pattern can be deduced from the disposition of the demesne pieces. There is a large block of demesne north west of the village, in the West Field called *inham furlong*; the rest of the fields have smaller pieces scattered in most furlongs. There are more large demesne pieces next to the surrounding woods as at Bansley Slade Coppice. In all, the demesne was 294 acres plus 'free ground', 57, and 3 copyholds of 39, 13, 31 acres (434 acres).

In *c.* 1633 there were 4 fields, which lasted until enclosure[3]:

	1633		*1736*	*1783*
Field	*Parcels*	*Land no.*	*Parcels*	*Acres*
South Field	22, some 4, 6, 12, 14 lands	78	23	18
East Field	7	15	4	5
West Field	8	48	10	9
North Field	19, one is 25 lands	74	20	12.75
		215		44.75

There were 28 leys in all the fields (13 percent). The lands were very narrow according to the acreages given in 1783; the 25-land piece was only 2.5 acres, and a 12-land piece was 2 acres, averaging 0.1 and 0.17 acres per land. Overall the size of the lands was 0.21 acres, or slightly less than a rood.

These fields were probably still run as a three-course tilth, since the 2 small ones have a similar area to the other larger two. The South Field of 1739 had 4 people as neighbours on 77 percent occasions, probably indicating a regular order at one time.

Enclosed in 1829[4].

1 Gray p. 484 from PRO E 135 44 m6.
2 NRO Map 2644.
3 NRO Corby glebe terriers.
4 NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. O p. 171; Map 3148 (1831).

Clay Coton

M 1988

There were probably two fields in the late 16th century. A survey of the manor made in *c.* 1580 describes the open field area in 'quarters' rather than 'fields' as is found in East Anglia[1].

Field	*Area*			*Total*		
	A	*R*	*P*	*A*	*R*	*P*
North-east quarter	422	2	0			
South quarter	50	2	0	473	0	0
North-west quarter	209	3	0			
South-west quarter	176	0	0	480	3	0

The divisions seem to be locational, viewed from the village and either side of the main brook. The survey itself places the quarters into two groups, as shown, which are nearly equal. There were about 28 yardlands (25 belonging to the manor in 1526[2] and 3 glebe yardlands in 1580[3]). The yardland contained 28.5 acres in 1526.

The fields were probably called East and West. The parish was enclosed in 1652[4], affirmed in 1663[5].

1 NRO EY 1.
2 PRO E 36 179 pp. 15–20.
3 NRO EY 1.
4 NRO XYZ 359.
5 NRO S(G) 79.

Courteenhall

M 1981

In 1637 there were 3 fields, the glebe being slightly unequally divided between them; West Field 8.25 acres, Middle Field 9 acres, and East Field 13.5 acres[1]. There was 11 percent ley.

Part of the field had tithe shared with Quinton; it was possibly an assart of jointly shared woodland. It remained open until Quinton was enclosed in 1814 when it was 50 acres in extent.

Some enclosure took place at Courteenhall in 1630, but most of it occurred in 1650[2]. Belonging to the manor, in about 1654, were Furzen Close in Quinton, 40 acres, and 'new enclosures' in Courteenhall Brooks Field, 46 acres[3]. In 1659 demesne closes (17) and 17 other closes were named, suggesting that extensive, probably complete, enclosure had taken place. Two of the enclosures were called North Field Close and Main Field Close[4]. Most of these closes and others were listed in 1673 with details of stock and crops. Only one close had corn (Furzen Close, probably 40 acres), the others being used for hay and for grazing 570 sheep and 18 beef animals[5].

1 NRO Courteenhall glebe terriers.
2 NRO Courteenhall 86P/32–4.
3 NRO WC 98.
4 NRO WC 105.
5 NRO WC 111.

Cranford

M 1973 P 1748 F 1748

Cranford has two townships and parishes, St Andrew and St John. A 'field book' is written on a map of 1748, but in the form currently available is not legible.

Cranford St Andrew

There were three fields marked on the 1748 map, Hollowmore, Middle and Bartondale Fields[1]. However, the map also shows that about half the parish was enclosed. In 1628[2] the enclosed area was called 'a large enclosed ground called yenpasture'. It had probably not been enclosed long before 1628 because the glebe of one yardland (28 acres) contained 17 acres lying in the pasture and was described as lying in 6 furlongs. The remaining 11 acres of open-field land was dispersed in East Thorne Field (later divided into three, above). Possibly there had been a two-field system before the partial enclosure.

By 1711 the glebe in the pasture grounds had been brought into two closes. The remaining open-field land was enclosed in 1775[3]. There were then 22.5 yardlands.

Cranford St John

Three fields are likely to have been in use in 1408 according to the names East Field and Middle Field that were mentioned in court rolls, and in view of the same names being used until enclosure[4].

The glebe of *c.* 1628 describes three equal fields, East, Middle, West with 19.5, 17 and 20 roods, mostly dispersed as single roods. There was 10 percent ley. The glebe of Burton Latimer had tithe of 2 yardlands in Cranford St John; it describes the same fields and there were 9 percent leys[5].

An area of contraction at the eastern periphery was called the Wold, marked on the 1748 map. The map shows the extent of the fields and they are described in a terrier of 1797, where 6.5 yardlands are dispersed fairly equally; West Field 54 acres, Middle Field 53 and East Field 61 acres. From which the yardland was 26 acres. The meadows had divisions called hides or leys, making nine quarter hides in all; Kings 2 quarters, Wingman first half hide, Lady half hide; Firnell half hide and Peck, Rawlett third quarter[6].

Many furlongs marked on the 1748 map have lands in alignment, some of them curved, suggesting large blocks of land had been laid out and that the furlongs were formed later by subdivision. The glebe of *c.* 1628 had in the East Field five people as neighbours sharing 33 positions of which 61 percent were occupied by two people and 79 percent by three. A regular order is likely.

Leys occur from 1404 and lands were referred to as 'ridges' in 1408. There were 'orders of the manor' in 1404[7]. The yardland was stated to be 28 acres in 1797[8].

Demesne. The demesne consisted of groups of lands dispersed in many furlongs in 1440. In 1456 some of it was tenanted as 'quartrons'[9]. The demesne was probably 5 yardlands, referred to in a manorial extent of 1606[10]. In 1797 a terrier that included this

same manorial land had some single lands and several pieces of 5 or 6 lands with town balk next to them[11]. This is likely to be the demesne, and confirms its dispersed nature, as indicated in the 15th century. There was woodland in the northern tongue of Cranford St Andrew in which the lord of St John had rights, thorns being stolen from it in 1464[12].

Enclosed in 1805[13].

1 NRO Map 2682.
2 NRO Cranford St Andrew glebe terriers.
3 Act NRO Buccleuch 13–65 in X363.
4 NRO Buccleuch 13–61, court roll 8–11 Hen 4 in X363.
5 NRO Burton Latimer glebe terriers.
6 NRO Buccleuch 13–64 in X363.
7 NRO Buccleuch 13–61, court rolls 4 and 8–11 Hen 4 in X363.
8 NRO Buccleuch 13–64 in X363.
9 NRO Buccleuch 13–60, account rolls 18 and 35 Hen 6, in X363.
10 NRO Buccleuch 13–56 in X363.
11 NRO Buccleuch 13–64 in X363.
12 NRO Buccleuch 13–61, court roll 4 Edw 4 in X363.
13 Act NRO BSL 9; ML 758; Map 3019.

Cransley

M 1986

Cransley had two fields, East and West in the 13th century[1]. In 1554 there were Middle East and Nether Middle Fields[2], which is reminiscent of the complex changes made at Broughton (qv), probably indicating a change to three fields. A map of 1598 marks Great North and Great South Fields[3].

Cransley was enclosed before 1720[4].

1 *Ancient Deeds* vi (1915) C3930.
2 *Id.* C7691.
3 NRO Map 1430.
4 NRO Cransley glebe terriers.

Creaton

M 1979 H Q 1781

Creaton has two vills, Great and Little Creaton, the last being in the parish of Spratton. Two townships with separate fields are possible and this is implied by the assignment of yardlands to each vill in some of the enclosure papers of 1781[1]. However since Little Creaton was enclosed with Great Creaton it is likely that they both belonged to the same township; if Little Creaton was a separate township in Spratton parish it should have been enclosed with Spratton.

The matter is resolved by examination of terriers which show that the yardlands of Great Creaton spread throughout the field system area of both vills. A quality book of 1781 lists all furlongs in the township[2] and terriers refer to furlongs in all the five fields named in the the quality book; there is not a division into separate two and three field systems as the five fields might indicate.

Apart from the spatial distribution of the furlongs, some of the terriers state that yardlands are 'in Great Creaton and Little Creaton'[3] or in the 'feilds and precincts of Great Creaton and Little Creaton and Spratton or some or one of them'[4]. In both these cases the owners lived at Great Creaton and the yardlands would be expected to belong to it (rather than Little Creaton). A glebe terrier of 1684 simply says that the land is part

of Great Creaton, probably thinking in parish terms, but the land once went through the same five fields (the pieces formerly in the small rye fields having been 'lost')[5].

The structure is therefore two vills, one field system (township), and two parishes. The lands assigned to Little Creaton were dispersed throughout the fields even though they were in Spratton parish. This is the same arrangement as found with Coton in Guilsborough, being in Ravensthorpe parish, and part of the township of Murcott, which really belonged to Watford, being in Long Buckby parish for payment of tithes, but not physically within Long Buckby fields.

A few terriers survive from the 17th and 18th centuries. By 1662 there were five fields, two of them small rye fields and the others larger and about equal in size. The distribution of land in them was as below for three small holdings, the figures are in roods.

Holding Yardland	*South Rye*	*West Rye*	*Upper*	*Middle*	*Nether*	*Totals*	
0.25	5	2	11	11	14	43	1665[6]
0.25?	3	3	9	11	14	40	1665[7]
0.5	8.5	9	24	13.5	25	80	1662[8]
0.5	*missing*		19	15	18	52	1684[9]

From the totals a yardland works out to be 40–43 acres, for the first and third examples, which is large.

The three fields plus two rye fields presumably form the same system as adopted for Newnham, where the rye fields ran as a two-field shift and the others on a three-field rotation. Morton notes the suitability for rye of the red stony land at Great Creaton in 1712[10].

Neighbours holding lands in the terriers are not completely regular but in a half yardland transferred in 1662[11] 3 people were neighbours in 61 percent of the positions, suggesting there was a regular order once. There were 23 percent leys. With such large yardlands split on some occasions into 16ths[12] a multiplicity of neighbours is to be expected.

The enclosure claims state that there were 4 horses, 4 cows and 40 sheep per yardland in 1782[13]. There was a total of 28.75 yardlands for both of the vills. In 1086 Creaton was asssed at 1.75 hides[14], which equates 16 yardlands to the hide if the real total of yardlands was meant to be 28.

Both Creatons were enclosed by Parliamentary act in 1782. Several of the detailed papers survive; the state of ownership, the claims and petitions, and the quality book[15].

1 NRO A 179.
2 NRO A 178.
3 NRO XYZ 4530; 1662.
4 NRO XYZ 1549; 1665.
5 NRO Creaton glebe terriers.
6 NRO XYZ 1549.
7 NRO Markham Box 3.
8 NRO XYZ 4530.
9 NRO Glebe terriers.
10 Morton p. 56.
11 NRO XYZ 4530.
12 NRO A 177.
13 NRO A 179.
14 Thorn and Thorn 18–53; 30–18; 48–8.
15 NRO A 177, 179, 178, as well as the Award NRO Enrolment Vol. H p. 509.

Crick

M 1975 Q 1777

Fields and furlongs have been identified using enclosed field- names recorded in 1839 and relating them to the furlongs named and valued in the quality book of 1777[1]. A plan of the furlongs has been published, but the identifications there given are only tentative[2].

Crick had four fields from 1598 until enclosure in 1776, as listed below; they were run on a three-year tilth. There were two types of yardland, called Hall Land and Hain Land, that had lands restricted to only three of the four fields. The North and Mill Fields were common to both types of yardland, and the third field was either the Hall Field or Hain Field, according to the type. Hall Land was, or had been the demesne.

Date	*1598*[3]	*1605*[4]	*1632*[5]	*1648*[6]	*1680*[7]	*1698*[8]	*c.1750*[9]	*1777*[10]
Field names	North	North	Dockame	North	North	North	North	110
		Heyne	Craxhill	Hayne	Craxhill			68
	Mill	Mill	Mill	Mill	Mill	Mill	Mill	126
	Hall					Hall	Hall	57
Type	Hall land	Hain land		Hain land	Hain land		Hall land	

The last column gives the number of valued parcels in the quality book. The fields do not seem to be equal sized measured in this way. The Crick fields are very unusual, being an overlapping double system. Perhaps there had been some partial dispersal of the demesne at an early date, or perhaps the Hall and Hain Fields represent very early separate field systems for the lord and his villeins, the rest of the land being common waste before it was encroached upon by arable lands.

The Hall land was not exclusively demesne by the 17th century. The non-resident lords had let it become tenanted, freehold and mixed. A deed of 1686 referred to a lease of 0.25 yardlands of Hain land and 0.333 yardlands of Hall land[11].

In a glebe terrier of 1632, 15 people are named in 120 neighbouring positions, of which 3 held 65 percent, one of them being the lord, Richard Andrews. A remnant regular order is possible. A more regular order can be seen in a terrier of 1698 where, of 53 positions, one person occupies 57 percent and two people hold 75 percent[12]. There was 38 percent ley in 1632; a rick place was mentioned at this date. In *c.* 1750 one yardland of Hall land had 38 percent of leys[13]. A yardland was 30.5 acres in 1776[14].

Yardlands.

In 1249 a third of the manor belonged to William de Essebi and consisted of 6.25 yardlands of demesne, and 15 yardlands held by customary tenants[15]. This survey is in remarkable agreement with another third of the manor that descended to Thomas Marquis of Dorset, which in 1526 was assessed at 14 messuages, 1 house, 1 cottage, 18 closes, 6 yardlands of hall land, 15 yardlands of hain land and 22.25 acres of meadow[16].

From these descriptions it follows that there were 18 or 18.75 demesne yardlands and

45 villein. It is also clear that the hall lands of later centuries were the demesne, as would be expected, and the villein lands were called hainlands by 1526 (probably from the Middle English *hean*, 'poor or wretched', presumably referring to the one-time status of the villeins). Glebe documents give several versions of the number of yardlands, calculated in different ways[17]. These are collected in tabular form for comparison:

Date	*Hall land*	*Hain land*	*Glebe*	*Total*	
1652	18.5	55.625	2	76.125	Yardlanders' names given
c. 1660				78	Glebe probably excepted; estimated from rate values.
1689				78.25	Levy of yardlands at 1.333s. rate totalled £5 4s. 4d.
1733	18.5	60.375	2	80.825	

No mention is made of free land except in 1526 when it is not quantified. By 1733 the only distinction between types is hall and hain; there is no suggestion that at that date the hain land was either leasehold or copyhold from the glebe records or any 17th and 18th century deeds, all of it seems to be freehold. The probable structure of the original manor was therefore.

Type	*Yardlands*
Demesne or hall	18.5
Villein or hain	45
Glebe or plowmans	2
Free (by difference)	14.5
Total	80

The size of the yardland was 30 acres both for the demesne and villein holdings in 1526, agreeing with the value for 1776 (above). Each yardland could have 10 great beast and 40 sheep in 1545, 6 beast in the *great pasture* and 4 on another called *rudhill*[18]. A list of 23 field orders was made in 1658, dealing with the standard range of matters[19].

In 1086 Crick was assessed at 3.75 hides and 8 ploughlands[20]. This would equate at close to 16 yardlands to the hide if the demesne were not assessed, or *c.* 21 yardlands if all the yardlands were assessed. The 8 ploughlands may equate at 10 yardlands to the ploughland for the villein and demesne land total.

Some details of the management of the fields can be seen from vestry and church wardens' accounts made during the 17th and 18th centuries. The pinfold wall was repaired with 12 loads of stone in 1684, and 37 yards of wall were mended with 20 loads of stone and 6 loads of 'earth' (clay-mortar) in 1757. There are several references to a town plough; Thomas Cowley mended the plough ironwork in 1711. It was used to open furrows in 1736, probably to mark out the grass ends of lands and make drainage channels. The plough was dug out in 1739 'when fix'd fast in Clarke's Close ditch'. It was sold when Crick was enclosed in 1777[21].

The great fields and the parish boundaries seem to have been hedged, which would be useful to control animals in a particular fallow field. Weeds were removed from the quick and mound at the Old in 1739, which seems to be maintenance of newly set

hedges. A hedge there was laid there in 1740. In 1744–5, 5,000 quicks were purchased. These hedges were pulled up at enclosure in 1776, presumably because they were in the way. William West was paid 10s yearly for killing moles (1723). Trespassing sheep from Kilsby were run out of the Hall Field (1763) and notices were placed at the parish boundary to keep Yelvertoft people from trespass in 1771. A cryer informed people not from Crick that they could not glean (1772). Notices were also written to inform people where the town bull was kept; a bull was bought from Rugby Fair in 1773. Payments were made to keep horses out of corn and off the tilth[22].

Enclosed in 1776[23]. An 1839 copy of the quality book survives[24].

1 NRO 72P/115 and 116.
2 D. Hall and R. Harding, Council for British Archaeology Group 9, *Newsletter*, (1977) pp. 28–31.
3 NRO YZ 4546.
4 NRO SAS 140.
5 NRO Crick glebe terriers.
6 NRO SAS 88.
7 NRO SAS 35.
8 NRO YZ 4559.
9 NRO A 187.
10 NRO Crick 92P/115, copy *c.* 1839.
11 NRO S(G) 143.
12 NRO YZ 4559.
13 NRO A 187.
14 NRO YZ 3684.
15 *Cal. Inqu. Post Mort. Henry III* iii, no. 123.
16 PRO E 36 179.
17 NRO Crick 92P/141; pp. 18, 26, 28 and 92P/119.
18 NRO Crick 92P/141 pp. 7, 9.
19 *Id.* p. 19.
20 Thorn and Thorn 47–2.
21 NRO Crick 92P/119, 121–3.
22 NRO Crick 92P/119. etc
23 Bill NRO D2480; Award, Enrolment Vol. E p. 95.
24 See f.n. 10.

Culworth

Two fields occurred in a charter of 1295, with 72 parcels in each of the North and South Fields[1]. Three field names are recorded in 1333, with lands irregularly distributed; South Field (0.75 acres in 3 parcels), West Field (0.25 acres in 1 parcel), and North Field (3 roods in 2 parcels)[2]. In *c.* 1510 a yardland had in South Field 12 lands (called 'yards') plus 0.5 acres; West Field 19 lands and 0.5 acres; North Field 34 lands plus 2 half acres[3]. These are tabulated below with another terrier of 1480[4]. The totals of the South and West Fields add up to that of the North Field, suggesting that there was still a two-year course.

Field	*1331*		*1480*	*1510*	
	acres	*lands*	*lands*	*acres*	*'yards'*
South Field	0.75	3	9	0.5 +	12
West Field	0.25	1	20	0.5 +	19
North Field	0.75	2	34	1.0 +	34

A continuing two-field tilth is confirmed by a terrier of 1533[5], when one yardland had in the North Field 55 roods and in the South Field 66 roods. A yardland was therefore 30.25 acres.

At enclosure in 1612[6] the open field land was North Field 781.25 acres, South Field 402, and West Field 483 acres, 1666.25 in all. This shows that the same three names as earlier were in use, but again the last two add up to the first, and that therefore there had been a two field system continuing. The demesne at this date consisted of some enclosures and several yardlands dispersed. Each yardland was allowed about 30 acres of enclosed land. There were 29.75 yardlands in all. In 1086 Culworth was assessed at 1.5 hides and 0.667 virgates (1.667 hides[7]), or very close to 18 yardlands to the hide (which would require a total of 30 yardlands).

An incomplete terrier of 1486 shows a fairly regular order of neighbours, with one person almost always the same and the lord holding about 50 percent of the other neighbouring positions[8]. There were very few neighbours in 1553, with one person occupying the nearly all the positions, so originally there was a regular order.

Culworth was enclosed following an agreement made in 1612[9] and closes are mentioned in 1630[10].

1 BL Add. Ch. 44,285.
2 BL Add. Ch. 44,241.
3 BL Add. Ch. 44,354.
4 NRO Aa 33.
5 NRO Aa18.
6 NRO F(C)43.
7 Thorn and Thorn 45–9.
8 NRO Aa 32.
9 NRO F(C) 43.
10 NRO ZA 5829.

Dallington

An extent of the demesne had a third waste in 1346, showing that there was a three-field tilth[1]. In 1633 and 1711 a small glebe holding refers to South Field, Stanchill Field and North leys cow pasture, probably indicating there were still three fields.

Enclosed in *c.* 1725[2].

1 Gray p. 484 from BL Cott. Cleop. C ii f.123.
2 NRO Dallington glebe terriers in X528; 'new inclosed' in 1726; Map 2884.

Daventry

F 1571

The parish contains two settlements, Daventry and Drayton which had separate field systems, proved by reference to half yardlands of land in each of them in *c.* 1150[1]. The cartulary of Daventry Priory has terriers of lands lying in each township. Some furlongs are marked on a map of 1802[2]. As well as the cartulary, a tithing book (1700–1818) has been printed[3] and there has been discussion of a 1571 field book by Leonard[4] and Brown[5].

Daventry had 2 fields in *c.* 1190, when a grant of 6 acres was exactly distributed as 3 one-acre plots in each of the North Field and South Field[6]. There were 3 fields in the 15th century[7], the same as described in the 1571 field book[8]. The book lists the number of lands, the names of the occupiers, their tenure (Duchy of Lancaster or freehold), the

size of land and the total acreages of each furlong. There are useful statistical tables and the town is surveyed as well as the fields. There were compact demesne furlongs and a dispersed demesne farm. Borough Hill and Spellow, 122 acres, were common; there was pasture at Burntwalls, Crowhill and Hackwood, in all 113 acres, and seignurial wood, a park and westwood, 72 acres, leased out. The fields and some of the farms were of the following sizes (acres):

Field	*Total*	*The Farm*	*Hen Roper*
West Field	368.5	106.25	7.5
East Field	383.75	98.75	12.5
North Field	524.625	180.25	26.75
	1,276.825	*390.75*	*47*

Holdings were not uniformly distributed among the fields, the North Field being larger than the other two. The same distribution is found in 1676, with a yardland containing 21.5 acres distributed as 29 pieces; 5.5 acres in West Field, 6 acres in East Field, 10 acres in North Field[9].

The yardland of 1571 was said to be 28 acres and had a stint of 50 sheep and an unlimited amount of cattle[10]. The total number of yardlands in Daventry and Drayton was 80[11]. This corresponds to the Domesday assessment of 8 yardlands[12] at 10 to the hide. After Drayton was enclosed (1752), the 1756 tithing rates indicate that in Daventry were *c.* 40 yardlands[13], in spite of the enclosure claim that there were 42.75 yardlands in Drayton township[14]. It is clear that each township had 40 yardlands.

The 1672 terrier had 13 percent leys, and 9 people shared 52 named neighbour positions, 3 of them holding 63 percent of the total. This indicates there was a remnant regular order.

The demesne, called 'the farm' in 1571, was in a block form lying around the town with mostly smaller parcels in furlongs farther out[15].

Daventry was enclosed in 1802[16].

Drayton

An early 13th-century grant of 4.5 acres was exactly divided between two fields called the North and South Fields with 4 half acres and one rood in each[17]. The same two fields are mentioned in 1232 when 16.625 acres were divided between South Field 6.125 acres and North Field 10 acres[18]. There were still 2 fields in the 14th century[19].

The 1571 field book has similar tables of analysis as for Daventry, and the open land is distributed in 3 fields as follows (in acres):

	Total	*The Farm*	*Hen Roper*
West Field	528.75	37	3.75
North Field	572.75	35	2.75
East Field	414	30	4
	1515.5	*103*	*10.5*

A regular order of tenants is clear in *c.* 1200 where a grant of 16.25 acres names 27 neighbouring positions held by only 2 people[20].

Enclosed in 1752[21].

1 M. J. Franklin, *The Cartulary of Daventry Priory*, Northamptonshire Record Society, 35 (1988), no. 66.
2 NRO Map 4352.
3 R. L. Greenall in E. King *A Northamptonshire Miscellany*, Northamptonshire Record Society 32 (1982), pp. 59–108.
4 E. M. Leonard, *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, NS 19 (1905) 101–46, from PRO DL 42 113 and a survey made in 1591 (DL 42 117 f.100).
5 A. E. Brown, *Daventry* (Leicester 1992), with a reconstructed plan (p. 42).
6 *Cartulary* no. 159–160.
7 *Daventry* p. 61.
8 NRO copy of PRO survey, D2419, and 18th-century copy D2751.
9 Taking a 'land' to be 0.5 acre, NRO RD 202.
10 Leonard p. 106.
11 *Tithing Book* p. 90. In the total published for 1725, quarter lands are written in an old notation, so that 5 1/3 means 5 plus three quarters; not 5.333 but 5.75. When added up with this in mind the total is 80.375, exactly agreeable with money total of £16 1s. 6d. at 4s. per yardland per half year. The 1729 payment gives the same values (p. 92); the calculation for 1751 makes the total 80.625 yardlands (p. 97).
12 Thorn and Thorn 56–21.
13 *Tithing Book* p. 99, £15 14s. 0d. at 8s. per yardland gives 39.25.
14 NRO D 2752.
15 Mapped in *Daventry* p. 55.
16 Bill NRO ZA 9243; Act D2754; Map 3005 (1803); Award (1804) Enclosure Enrolment Vol. L p. 1.
17 *Cartulary* no. 211.
18 Terrier published in *Cartulary* no. 336 (see also no. 348 of *c.* 1200, which is probably the same land).
19 *Daventry* p. 59.
20 *Cartulary* 348; see *Daventry* p. 53 for comparative 1571 name lists of 3 furlongs where two positions (12 and 15) have the same persons in all 3 lists, which indicates there was a relict regular tenurial order in 1571.
21 Act NRO YZ 8099.

Deene

The parish includes Deene and Deenethorpe townships. The rights of Deene in Rockingham Forest were recited in *c.* 1600[1]. It had common in Gretton and Corby woods since the waste of Deene was undivided from the Forest and because the Brudenell family owned Deene Wood, which after the age of 8 or 9 years was thrown open to the forest common.

Five fields were named in 1612, although there had been enclosure of demesne previously[2]. Enclosures were made in 1481 and 1508[3], and others in 1557, 1573[4] and 1586[5]. Complete enclosure was achieved in 1612[6]. North and East Fields are enclosed names in 1634.

Deenethorpe

Deenethorpe was open in *c.* 1634. The demesne consisted of Great Meadow 24 acres, two Langley closes 90 acres, Brand Coppice 54 acres, Langley Close 42 acres, and Weldon Park 33 acres. The tenants' lands lay in 4 fields (Helland, Langley and Mill, and Park Field) but the grouping of 2 of them suggests a 3-course tilth[7]:

An enclosure agreement was made in 1627[8], but did not take immediate effect. Enclosure had occurred by 1642[9].

1 NRO Bru E.xxiii.11.
2 M. E. Finch 1956, *Five Northamptonshire Families* NRS 19, p. 156.
3 NRO Bru. A.iv.19.
4 NRO Bru A.iv.20 and 1584 *id.* 21.
5 Finch *Five Families* NRS 19, pp. 146–7.
6 *Id.* p. 156.
7 NRO Map 2991, f.12.
8 NRO Bru B.ii.1; Bru ASR 139.
9 Finch p. 160.

Denford

M 1986 P *c.* 1730

A terrier of 1598 shows there were 3 fields; West Field 14 lands, Middle Field 13, and Croaden Field 11 lands[1]. There was a fairly regular order of neighbours with 3 people holding 82 percent of the 39 named positions.

In *c.* 1728 there were 4 fields and an enclosed block on high ground 'above the field' to the west of the township[2]. Two of the fields were grouped together, and the distribution of the lands of two major landholders was:

	Sir Jeremiah Sambrooke	John Freeman
Field		
West and Meer	260 acres	40
Middle	199	30
Crawden	205	30
West meadow	31	8
Overham meadow	69	8

From which it is clear that the four fields were run as a slightly unequal three-year tilth. Only the major holder (who presumably held the demesne) had land in the closes, which was probably once assarted demesne wood and waste. The enclosed area had all been ploughed (from field survey) but in 1728 contained several closes (Great Old 60 acres, Denford High Ash 20 acres, Chapel Ground 20 acres, Lodge 20, Pasture 20 acres). The name Old shows that there was once woodland in the area.

The total arable and pasture was 1305 acres, meadow 161 acres and the commons and highways were 205 acres (1671 acres in all). Four owners with over 50 acres held 77 per cent of the whole, most of it being in the hands of Jeremiah Sambrooke (1029 acres). There were 41 acres of lot grass distributed among the fields, and the stated total was 1711 acres. Holdings in the furlongs were mostly in groups of 1–3 lands but there were also a few groups of 4–13.

The survey has columns numbered I-XVI and each column gives for all the tenants the number of lands in each parcel, the furlong name and the areas in acres roods and poles; the fields are named. A table summarizing each holding gives letters by the owners' names that refer to a map and then totals for arable and pasture; meadow; and the total. The size of each furlong can be added up.

A map of Denford has fields, furlongs, and closes named; some lands are marked with numbers and letters, probably relating to the above written survey[3]. The West Field lies next to Ringstead and the river, being a continuation of Meer Field. Pasture lies along the slades and on the slopes near the river towards Thrapston.

The enclosed ground of 1728 totalled 265 acres; the remainder of the township was enclosed in 1765 by Parliamentary Act[4].

1 NRO YZ 8686.
2 NRO Buccleuch terriers.
3 NRO Map 5156.
4 Award (1766) NRO ML 381.

Denton

M 1982

Denton, fomerly Little Doddington, had three fields in 1565, Osey Field, Field next to the Forres, and the Field next to North Brook, for an estate of 4 yardlands that was possibly demesne[1]. There was exact distribution of 63 acres between all three fields. The yardland was 15.75 acres stinted at 5 beast, 1 horse and 20 sheep; meadow lay in Denton Old. Three fields remained until enclosure in 1770, called North, West and Wood Fields in 1685[2]. In 1689 the North Field was called Whiston Field[3].

The manorial structure was unusual in that part belonged to Whiston and part to Yardley Hastings (one hide), an arrangement that existed from at least 1086. Manor Farm, and Hall Close mentioned in 1685[4] suggest a manor house once existed, probably for Ramsey abbey. There are terriers of the Yardley Hastings part of the township (still called a hide in 1704[5]) dating from the 17th century and later[6]. The 1704 terrier shows that the hide consisted of blocks of lands dispersed in the furlongs. The Wood Field had 26 parcels varying in size from 1–21 lands, but most of them were near to 10 lands, in the range 9–11 lands. In the range 8–12 lands were 17 parcels, being 69 percent of the area. Perhaps Yardley Hide was meant to be in parcels of 10 lands, and therefore once there were 10 yardlands to the hide.

Early surveys give the following sizes of the vills of Denton and Whiston:

1086[7]	Countess Judith 1 hide	Ramsey Abbey 3 hides (with Whiston)
1124[8]	King David 1 hide	Ramsey Abbey 15 yardlands (small virgates) (1.5 hides in Whiston)

From which Denton had 1.5 hides of Ramsey abbey land in 1086, and there were 10 yardlands to the hide, and 2.5 hides in all. There were 33.5 yardlands in the township in 1770[9].

The cartulary of Ramsey abbey notes that Brithnoth, who granted Denton to the abbey, died in 1029, and that there was only one hide of land in 1243[10]. This was recorded as 10 yardlands in *c.* 1270[11]. There is discrepancy on the size of the holding between the sources. Woods were mentioned in 1301[12] and in *c.* 1270 each yardland paid 8s. rent yearly and owed the following work service[13]:

Plough three half acres of land.
Cart for 1 day in the autumn.
In autumn from the 1st August to Michaelmas they owe work on Mondays.
At hay time they mow for 4 days, carry for 4 days, make hay or carry for 1 day.
They pay 1d for the use of the mill.
If the lord wills, they owe the same work as Whiston.

Whiston work was similar, but rather more, and included giving 2 pullets for *wodegong*, carriage in each week of Lent to the nearest Ramsey manor of Bythorn, Hunts., and carry anywhere around Whiston for a distance of 12 leagues. They owed 4 boon works in the autumn. All came with their wives, and were fed by the lord with bread, ale or cider, meat, cheese or broth, and each had 6 apples. If it was a fish day, they had herrings.

A terrier of 1689[14] had 14 people as neighbours, two holding 56 percent of the

positions, but there was considerable dispersion from a regular order as 27 percent were occupied by people mentioned only once. The neighbours of the Yardley Hide are more regular; in Wood Field[15] 3 people occupied 78 percent of the positions, there being 9 different neighbours in all.

Wood.

Childerwood in Yardley Chase belonged to Denton. It was mentioned in 1284[16] and specifically referred to in 1300 as 'the wood of Denton called Chylderwode in Yardley Chace'. Five people held parts of it and it lay next to the wood of Henry Hastings, lord of Yardley. A grant made in 1311 of 8.75 acres of land included a 'yardland of meadow on le Wolde', showing that Denton had always had its pasturing in assarted woodland and not in the river meadows.

Late field orders are printed in Chapter 2. Enclosed by Parliamentary Act in 1770[17].

1 NRO Compton Catalogue no 247.
2 NRO ZA 9751.
3 NRO Denton glebe and enclosure papers.
4 NRO ZA 9751.
5 NRO glebe terrier.
6 NRO Compton Catalogue 770B.
7 Thorn and Thorn 56–20a; 9–6.
8 VCH i p. 376.
9 Bridges states 33 in *c.* 1720.
10 Hart and Lyons *Cartularium Ramseia* iii p. 167; 211.
11 *Id.* i p. 57.
12 *Id.* ii p. 306.
13 *Id.* i p. 59.
14 NRO YZ 2764B.
15 NRO 1704 glebe.
16 Griffen cartulary f.64, NRO ZA 6242.
17 NRO ZA 2450, when there were 33.5 yardlands; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Volume B p. 312 seq.

Desborough

M 1983 P 1726 (furlongs)

Three fields are referred in the late 14th century[1]. In 1776 there were and 3 major fields called Garbrooke, Howe and Bestowe, with a small Little Field. They were probably run on a three tilth system. A few old enclosures called the Plain lay away from the vill[2].

Enclosed in 1776[3].

1 Gray p. 482 from BL Cott. Otho B xiv f.169.
2 NRO Map 4643; see also Map 4626 (1726).
3 NRO ZB 615; Award Map 4643.

Doddington, Great

M 1975

Doddington is sometimes known as Great Doddington to distinguish it from nearby Little Doddington (now Denton). The township includes the deserted vill of Thorpe, or Doddington Thorpe, lying in a valley at the north west, next to Wilby. There is no evidence that there was a separate township, but the existence of Thorpe is acknowledged in part of the intermixed open-field lands called Thorpe Hide (see below).

The furlong plan is shown in Figure 12. Most of the furlongs lie one below another in

parallel blocks on the valley slope. There is an overall curved alignment that suggests a large-scale planned layout with lands almost a mile in length, subsequently being subdivided into 7 or so furlongs.

There were four named fields from 1613 until 1767; West (later Debdale), North (later Hadland), Thorpe and South (later Nether) Fields. They were stated to be in 'three fields' (tilths) in 1687[1], court rolls of 1671 and 1675 linking Nether Field to the detached Thorpe Field for fallowing purposes[2]. The relative sizes of the fields also suggest the same linking in 1764 (and on other occasions[3]):

Field				*Totals*
Nether Field	6.5 lands	1 ley	2.5 acres (est.)	
Thorpe Field	2.5		0.83	
				3.33
Debdale Field	7	2		3.0
Headland Field	10			3.33

From which there were 10 percent leys. Other ley values were: 1613[4] 15 percent, 1666[5] 8 percent, and 1694[6] 11 percent.

Yardland stints in 1613 were 6 beast and 45 sheep reduced by 1764 to 4 cows and 30 sheep. The yardland size estimated from the above terriers varies between 19 and 24 acres.

Yardlands and hides. Lands in the fields were grouped into blocks called hides. There is no overall statement of the detailed structure; the names were:

Name	*Date*
Eight Yard Hide	1666[7]
Thorpe Hide	1666[8]
Wain Hide	1666[9]
Boon Hide	1613[10]
Vitter Hide	1613[11]
Five Yard Hide	1742[12]
Twelve Yard Hide	1613[13] also Middle Twelve Yard Hide

The (three) Twelve Yard Hides are probably the same as the Thorpe, Wain and Boon Hides. To make the total for the township of 56 yardlands (below) there are 7 missing from the main block listed above. They may be demesne, there being 6.5 yardlands mentioned in sales of the manor in 1712, 1720 and 1730[14]; in 1712 they were specified as 'antiently belonging' to the manor house. The following field structure is likely:

Eight Yard Hide, containing	8 lands, representing	8 yardlands
Five Yard Hide	5	5
Twelve Yard Hide	12	12
Twelve Yard Hide	12	12
Twelve Yard Hide	12	12
Demesne		6.5
Total		55.5

The hide names relate to Thorpe hamlet and villein land (boon). Wain and Vitter are probably medieval personal names; they do not occur in the village in 1649[15] or later.

There were 56 yardlands in all[16], corresponding to Domesday 4 hides, making 14 yardlands to the hide overall. A different relationship is found if the demesne is not included (there is no evidence that it was dispersed in the fields). There were then 49 yardlands, making the ratio close to 1:12; three groups of lands were called '12-yard hides' and would correspond exactly to the Domesday hides.

Orders were made in 1649 and 1672–1730[17], they covered the usual range of matters; 24 sheep were allowed per yardland and 4 for a cottage; mere stones were to be placed in every place in the three fields of Doddington where there was a need. In 1730 many orders similar to those for Wollaston, Grendon and Denton were listed.

Tenurial order. There was a remarkably regular order of tenants at Doddington. A yardland of 1666[18] described 72 lands and leys, Richard Whitworth and Widow Callis were paired neighbours lying either side 66 times. In 1694[19] a half yardland with 35 lands had Edward Whitworth and Peter James as a pair of neighbours 29 times, and Edward Galton and a balk 4 times (or 2 people held 92 percent of the positions). A terrier of half a yardland in 1764[20] had throughout its 30 single lands John James on one side and a balk on the other. A yardland in 1716, traced from 1638, was said to lay in a Twelve Yard Hide, 'the several dispersed parts of which yardland are adjacent unto the balk in the same hide throughout the fields of Doddington'[21]. Both these cases had the same neighbour in 100 percent of the positions.

Enclosed in 1766[22].

1 NRO GD 8 m.14.
2 NRO GD 8 m.18, m.16.
3 NRO GD 10.
4 NRO Doddington glebe terriers.
5 NRO YZ 773.
6 NRO GD 135.
7 NRO YZ 773; 1748, GD 144; also in GD 62, GD 100.
8 NRO YZ 773; 1729, GD 124.
9 NRO YZ 773; Wane 1720, GD 124; 1764, GD 10.
10 NRO glebe; 1728, GD 105/6.
11 NRO glebe; 1652, GD 8 m.23; also GD 12, 88, 124, 146.
12 NRO GD 125.
13 NRO glebe; 1743, GD 122; Middle Twelve Yard Hide GD 37, 40.
14 GD 137–8, 61.
15 NRO court roll GD 8 m.2.
16 1766 Enclosure Act, NRO GD 5.
17 NRO GD 8.
18 NRO YZ 773.
19 NRO GD 135.
20 NRO GD 1.
21 NRO GD 16.
22 Act NRO B(D) 704; Award (1767), Enclosure Enrolment Vol. B p. 72.

Dodford

M 1988

Three fields are described in terriers of 1402 and 1403[1]. In 1403 South Field had *c.* 2.75 acres in 9 parcels, West Field 4.875 acres in 8 parcels and North Field 2.25 acres in 6 parcels. There were 3 roods of meadow in Brockhall meadow next to the meadow of the lord of Dodford. The distribution of this land is not uniform and the neighbours

were many; it was possibly a composite holding made up of many small grants. Neighbours were numerous in 1403, 23 positions were shared by 19 people, indicating a very dispersed arrangement[2].

A rental of 1468 implies that there were 44.33 yardlands (3d. per yardland, total 11s. 2d.[3]) The glebe of 4 yardlands[4] was probably excluded from this total, making 48 yardlands in all. Domesday rates Dodford at 3 hides, so there were 16 yardlands to the hide. Field orders occurring in several court rolls for 1427–64 have been printed in Chapter 2.

Demesne.

The demesne was let out during 1467–77, generally to local wealthy farmers, like the Billings of neighbouring Weedon Bec, acting as bailiffs and accountants. A detailed descripton of the property is given in 1541[5]. There were closes next to the manor house and towards Newnham. In Farthingstone parish, extending to Stowe Wood, were woods and closes that included Castle Diggs, 10 acres (the site of the motte and bailey castle). The earlier possession of this detached area is made clear in 15th-century account rolls by a tithe payment from Dodford manor to the vicar of Farthingstone. In 1608[6] the demesne was said to be 9 yardlands, and from the information given at the enclosure a yardland averaged 19.72 acres[7], so the demesne would have been 177 acres. The closes next to the manor house total 97 acres.

The demesne was principally a consolidated block, lying in the south-west and south of the parish next to the manor house. The parish was probably designed to cross the Daventry road to reach the Nene, needed to drive a watermill, which was linked to the manor house through the demesne. Meadow in Brockhall and woodland in Farthingstone were useful assets since Dodford had so little of either.

Dodford estate of 1086, in the hands of the count of Mortain and William de Keynes, was an ancient entity based on a Saxon estate. It included property in Dodford, Brockhall, Creaton, Flore, Hannington, Harlestone and Farthingstone, going to the Keynes family[8]. Dodford was owned by descendants of the same family until 1725[9]. The Saxon estate explains why Dodford had meadow in Brockhall and wood in Farthingstone. The motte and bailey castle in Farthingstone woods was most likely built by the Keynses in the 12th century, making use of suitable topography in the seigneurial woodland.

Dodford was enclosed by private agreement enrolled in Chancery in 1623[10].

1 G. R. Elvey *Luffield Priory Charters* NRS 26 (1975) 310 and 313.
2 *Luffield* 313.
3 *Luffield* 766, p. 428.
4 NRO K776.
5 NRO K694.
6 NRO K742–3.
7 NRO K776; 4 yardlands were 78.5 acres.
8 Thorn and Thorn 18–58.
9 Baker i pp. 350–6.
10 NRO K776; Th 575–7.

Draughton

M 1975

Several terriers of *c.* 1375 show there were three fields with lands distributed as below:

	Will. Laundon[1]	*Hen. Isonde*[2]
East Field	8.75 acres	37
South Field	7	37
North Field	7	39.5

Most of the lands of William Laundon were single roods or half roods, with 3 neighbours holding 62 percent of the positions. A regular order is likely. A rental of *c.* 1300[3] gives Walter de Laundon's holding as 1 and 1/6 bovates (yardlands), making the yardland 20 acres. Henry Isonde had a few leys in 1375. There were 35 named neighbours in the East Field, three holding 66 percent of the postions. Most of the lands were in singles but there were a few groups of up to 4 lands. Other terriers of similar date have the same three fields described[4].

The same fields occur in 1418, with 5 blocks of demesne totalling 6 acres and lying in South Field 8 roods, North Field 7 roods, East Field 6 plus 2.5 roods[5]. A small glebe was unevenly distributed between three fields in 1631–1726 then called, South Field (or Field next Lamport), Middle Field (East Field or Old Field next Orton), and North-west Field (Blackhill or North Field). There were 54 percent leys in 1631, with the lord being the neighbour on most occasions. In 1684 there were 13 neighbours occupying 23 positions[6].

A few orders and offences are recorded in court rolls 1419–42[7], including trespass of sheep in lord's meadow, and the rector's geese in rye. Everyone should keep sheep in the fallow, cows and bullocks should be with the neatherd and not in 'secret places' unless on their own property, and pigs should be with the swineherd. Several people were fined for not making an autumn work service, and an ash tree growing on a balk of the lord leading around the vill had been cut down.

Demesne. In 1392–3 there was reference to 'bovates' instead of the usual yardlands. A few socage tenants had work service listed, 3 works in autumn, to make one mowing of the meadow, and to plough three lands[8].

A lease of manorial pasture, in 1394, consisting mostly of leys and 'hadons', refers to many furlongs showing that the demesne was dispersed, one piece touching Lamport mere, and two of the three fields (South, and East) are mentioned[9]. A similar list of demesne pasture made in 1419 refers to leys and *conyleesbourd*, showing that rabbits were kept[10]. The demesne was called the Hall land.

Yardlands and Domesday. In 1086 the estates at Draughton were[11]:

Countess Judith		2.5	virgates, later Huntingdon Fee
King	1 hide	0.5	
Maino the Breton		1	later the Wolverton Fee

An early 14th-century description of the manorial descent (1295 or 1316) lists the names of 13.25 yardlanders of the Huntingdon Fee and accounts for 33.25 more, 46.25 in all[12]. The Wolverton Fee is stated to be 5 'bovates' in 1392[13]. The Huntingdon estate therefore equates closely at 20 to the hide, (it should be 12.5). The Wolverton Fee 5 bovates equates to 20 yardlands to the hide exactly.

Draughton was enclosed 1726–30[14].

1 NRO FH 190 and 391.
2 NRO FH 2682.
3 NRO FH 2665.
4 NRO FH 459.
5 BL Add. Ch. 81, 829.
6 NRO Draughton glebe terriers.
7 1419, FH 425; 1432, FH 395; 1440–2, FH 349;
8 NRO FH 485.
9 NRO FH 2692.
10 NRO FH 444.
11 Thorn and Thorn, 56–11, 1–15d, 54–3 respectively.
12 FH 2665.
13 FH 485.
14 NRO glebe.

Easton on the Hill

M 1993

Much of the parish at the south is woodland, called Easton Hornstocks, and there was heathland as well, together being over 1,000 acres in 1820[1]. No furlong boundaries were found in this area by field survey. To the north, the clay scarps of the Welland Valley had 500 acres of pasture and wood.

Charters of 1343 and 1413 mention West Field, Wode Field and East Field, but not all at the same time[2]. There were three fields by the early 18th century, Hill Field, Wood Field and Fishpond Field. In 1722 the proportions of one holding were, Fishpond Field 19 acres, Wood Field 13.5, Hill Field 13 acres with 29.5 acres of ley and 16.5 acres of meadow[3].

They were run on a three year tilth as proved by a meadow lot being held once every three years[4]. There was 39 percent of ley in this case. Some of the farms (below) had no ley and it is likely that, as with the Soke, the arable was mainly in one block without ley, grass being on the clay slopes and on the dry limestone plateau next to Rockingham Forest.

In Wood Field in 1722, 12 people occupied 27 positions, 3 of them holding 52 percent, but 5 had single positions[5]. A fair state of disintegration is indicated, as so often found with large tenanted estates.

The yardland consisted of *c.* 20 acres of arable land with variable amounts of ley and meadow, as shown by the following farms which had[6]:

2 yardlands of 40 acres arable, 7.75 ley, 4.785 meadow
2 yardlands of 40 acres arable.
1 yardland of 19 acres arable, 15.5 ley, 2.25 meadow

The fields of 1795 have slightly different names; 10 acres being dispersed in Great Field, 3 acres; Wood Field 3.5 acres; Little Field 4 acres[7].

The large proportions of ley and meadow reflect the extensive resources available. There would be common rights on the heath and in the woods as well. A draft enclosure map shows that only the plateau near the vill was ploughed in 1819[8]. Little Field lay to the west, Race Course Field to the east and Wood Field to south west. A field book is referred to in 1777, but has not been discovered[9].

Woodland. Easton Hornstocks was part of Rockingham Forest, Easton being in the Cliffe bailwick. A small wood lay on the east, called Easton Grove in 1611 and separated from it by the A43 was a wood called the park[10].

Enclosed in 1817[11].

1 NRO Map 3024.
2 Exeter Muniments, Burghley House, Stamford; Ex 38/45 and 38/47.
3 Exeter 38/31.
4 Exeter 38/32/2.
5 Exeter 38/31.
6 Exeter 38/86; 38/80; 38/77.
7 Exeter 37/14.
8 NRO Map 2894.
9 Exeter 38/31/2.
10 Exeter 38/73 and 38/74.
11 Award, NRO Enrolment Volume H p. 816; Map 3024 (1820).

Easton Maudit

M 1964 H

Easton had 4 fields that belonged to a double two-field arrangement, that is there were two townships. This can be demonstrated from the unequal dispersion of lands in the four fields at various times between 1343 and 1634, as well as by grants of lands lying in only two of the fields in 1631 and 1634.

Date	Upper or Wood Field	West Field	Lowe Field	Nether Field
1343[1]	21	18	2.5	3.5 roods
1435[2]	30.5	31.5	12	16.5
1631[3]	29	18	9	4
1634[4]			32	22

Proof that independent townships existed at an early date is to be found in a charter of *c.* 1240 when John Malduyt granted to Easton church the tithe of 3 virgates on the Lowe and Asscehylle in the fields of Easton, that is, in Lowe Field and Nether Field[5].

Terriers of 1343 describe 66 acres, two of them imply that once the lands had a regular order. One has Roger Abovetoun as neighbour 4 times out of 14, and another has Robert Lullay 13 times out of 16 (81 percent). Neither name is common in the remaining terriers[6].

The whole parish had been opened up to the plough, except for two medieval woods, Horn Wood and the Hicket, probably by the end of the 13th century. Iron smelting sites dated to the 13th century farther south confirm the presence of woodland there[7], and the furlong names of Brerheg, Eldehay, Hertewell, Stockwelle, Stub and Wold further attest to an extensive area of assarted woodland. Long furlong, lying at the extreme south west of the parish was mentioned in 1343. The terrier of 1435 shows that most of the parish was still arable.

Soon afterwards there was a contraction of arable land, for in 1518 a dispute between Easton and Bozeat over common grazing rights shows that much of Easton had reverted to grass. The common pasture called 'le shyppe pasture' or the 'playne pasture' was used by Bozeat inhabitants, but the men of Easton said that Bozeat had no rights there[8]. Easton Plain in 1841 lay west of Horn Wood (Tithe map); the modern fields in Bozeat parish, immediately to the south-east of Easton, have the same name. It is

probable, therefore, that the whole of the region between the two parishes was called the Plain, and had reverted to grazing by 1518, the flocks of both easily becoming mixed (see Bozeat for the lands shared in common with Easton and Grendon). In 1631 Long Furlong, at the extreme south west, was not only grass but also had trees growing on it[9]. This is the area where Easton Great Wood now stands.

A few open-field orders and offences are recorded in court rolls, some printed in Chapter 2. John Alison ploughed land that was not his in 1414; Thomas Smith of Brokhowse ploughed diverse lands in 1571[10]. A series of orders for 1519 stated that no horses were to be kept separate from the main herd, nor put on the meadows until the haycocks were removed. Sheep were not to be put on the cow pasture after Martinmas. No one was to keep cattle or other beast separate from the main village herd in the Mylfelde, which must therefore have been fallow[11]. Orders made in 1571 were that no one should cut down thorns or bushes on any common lands for 6 years and no horse or beast should be put on common land until 22nd August[12]. The next year it was forbidden to let bitches out unless splayed. Orders for 1571 said that mere stones or stakes should be set 'where the nede is'. In 1576 the jury was ordered to perambulate the fields and meadows and set markers between parties. No great cattle were to be put on the commons above the prescribed rate in 1572. Only poor people who had no peas were allowed to glean them in 1575. Grass was not to be mowed on balks until harvest was finished in 1574[13].

A manorial transfer of 1343 mentions a strip of land 'under the park' and the same description is given in 1435 to a land in the Low Field. In 1588 Richard Basse broke into the park and took 4 of the lord's pigs[14]. The Park was presumably taken out of the lord's demesne land. A decayed wall, the only walled field in the parish, probably marks the boundary. Its line kinks and changes from furlong to furlong, probably reflecting where the demesne ended and the common furlongs began.

Yardlands are referred to in *c.* 1240 and in 1275[15] but not in any later records, and perhaps like Grendon and elsewhere in the Higham Hundred holdings were dispersed at an early date.

Woods are described in Chapter 7. Easton was enclosed by Sir Christopher Yelverton, probably in 1639. There were several exchanges of open-field lands with proprietors in Easton and neighbouring parishes who had land at Easton, between 1631 and 1634[16]. One transaction was a purchase and the others were exchanges of strips giving open-field land at Bozeat in return. Charles I visited the Yelvertons in 1636, and in 1639 Sir Christopher had licence to empark 500 acres. Elizabeth Clarke who died in 1719 aged 101, 'could remember this parish inclosed'[17].

1 NRO NPL 9.
2 NRO XYZ 370.
3 NRO XYZ 1072 and 1074.
4 NRO XYZ 1071.
5 BL Harl. 53 C 39.
6 NRO NPL 9.
7 Hall *Beds. Arch. J.*, 16 (1983) pp. 91–5.
8 NRO LB 61 m.5.
9 NRO XYZ 1072.
10 NRO LB 39 m2.
11 NRO LB 44.
12 NRO LB 39 m.2.
13 NRO NPL 1105 mm.1, 3, 5. 6.
14 *Id.* mm.7, 5, 8, 9.

15 *Hundred Rolls* ii p. 10.
16 NRO XYZ 373, 1069–72, 1074.
17 NRO Easton Maudit parish register 111P/1.

Easton Neston

M 1993

The parish contains the separate vills of Easton Neston and Hulcote; there may have been two townships, one for each vill. Records sometimes refer to just one village, as in 1425 when a six-acre holding was dispersed equally between the three fields (West, North, East) of Hulcote, implying that it was separate[1]. Later in the 15th century, records tend to refer to 'the fields of Easton Neston and Hulcote'[2]. Reference to both villages could mean that there was one system for the whole parish, or that there were two separate field systems, but that a particular grant included land in each of them.

There were 2 fields in a holding divided between the North and East Fields as 3.5 acres and 4 acres in 1341[3]. Another charter of the same date had 2 acres exactly divided between the same fields[4]. There were 3 fields at Hulcote in 1425 (above).

Enclosed in 1499 when it was emparked[5].

1 NRO Fermor-Hesketh Catalogue, MSD/F/29/1.
2 *Id.* MSD/F/35/8, 1477; MSD/E/31/2, 1486; MTD/E/29/5, 1497.
3 NRO Fermor-Hesketh *Calendar*. 249.
4 *Id.* 251.
5 Baker ii, 144.

Ecton

M 1978 P 1703

Ecton had 3 fields, West, East and North in *c.* 1290, when 4 single roods and one piece of meadow were described, all having the same two neighbours[1]. There were 6 named fields grouped as 5 from 1609 until enclosure. They are shown on a plan made in 1703[2]. On the high sandy ground were 2 rye fields, leaving 3 on the heavier soils. This seems to be a Newnham type of double field system. All figures below are in acres:[3]

1	*Glebe*	*2*		*3*		*4*		*5*		*6*	
	4 yardlands			*1 yardland*		*1 yardland*		*1 yardland*		*1 yardland*	
1609	*1627*			*1674*		*1691*		*1706*		*1748*	
		Arable	*Ley*	*A*	*L*	*A*	*L*	*A*	*L*	*A*	*L*
West Rye Field	West Rye	12	0.5	2	1	2.125	0.5	1.75	0.75	1.75	0.75
East Rye Field	East Rye	10.5	0.5	1.75	1.5	3.375		1.75	1.25	2.25	1.25
The Irons and Little Field	Thyons and Little Field	7.5	1	2	0.25	2.125	0.125	1.5	0.5	1.5	
Nether Field towards Barton	East Clay	13.5		2.75	0.5	2.5	0.5	2.25	1.75	2.25	1
Nether Field towards Billing	West Barley	5		1.25	0.25	2.25	0.25	1.25	0.5	1.75	
		48.5	2	8.75	3.5	9.375	1.375	8.5	4.75	8.5	3
	Yardland size	12.625		12.25		10.75		13.25		11.5	
	Percent leys	4		29		13		36		26	

The glebe was for 4 yardlands, 50.5 acres plus 3 pieces, implying that one yardland was 12.625 acres. Lands lay contiguous and were mostly ploughed together as single acre-lands[4].

Orders. In 1628, among many offences and orders it was noted that green peas should only be gathered on the tenants' own land[5]. Orders of the usual late type made in 1719, noted that there should be 24 sheep per yardland plus 8 ewes and lambs, and 2 cows[6]. No mares or foals were to be staked within 40 yards of any corn land, and jointways should be 10 feet wide.

Tenurial order and hides. The regular tenurial order existing in Ecton lands has been described in Chapter 8. The 1703 map of the cycle names 11 subdivisions called hides[7] but does not state how many lands there are to the hide. Terriers of 1609 specify that there are 10 roods to the hide[8]. So in all there would have been 10 × 11 yardlands in the whole township, agreeing fairly well with the stated 103 in the enclosure papers of 1759[9]. The map, made to record the hides, each hide in each furlong being marked with its acreage, has been discussed by Goransson in 1961. A plan of the furlongs with the hide cycles plotted is published[10].

Particulars of the hides and the yardlands accounted for in the Sotheby muniments are given below[11]:

In 1703	*Hide names*	*Variants*	*Number of yardlands*	*Origin of name*
Marys	1559		7.25	Owned by Delapre Abbey?
Corrall	1608	(84)	9	
Lawrence	1630	(453b)	10	Laurence family 1357 (156)
Stannymans	1685	Stainbourne (127)	9.75	
Dickins			7	Dykon family 1430 (601)
Abbits	1581	(105)	3	Abbot of Warden, Beds
Hall			3.75	Contained the demesne
Billings	1664	(1)	6.5	Billing family, 1397 (185)
Badgers	1559	Bedgaries (104)	1.5	
Parsons	1464	(179)	3	Partly glebe 1464 (179)
Holton	1641	Houghton (111)		Haughton family 1430 (171)
			60.75	

Enclosed in 1759[12].

1 NRO E(S) 180.
2 NRO Map 2115.
3 Sources are NRO; 1 is E(S) 1117; 2 Glebe; 3 E(S) 1085; 4 E(S) 3826; 5 E(S) 424; 6 E(S) L5 in X9094.
4 NRO Ecton glebe terriers.
5 NRO E(S) 1195.
6 NRO E(S) 1183.
7 NRO Map 2115.
8 NRO E(S) 83–4.
9 NRO X1071.
10 D. Hall 1983, 'Fieldwork and field books'.
11 The map of 1703 provides a full set of hide names; other information comes from Ecton (Sotheby) muniments; the relevant numbers are given in brackets.
12 Act NRO E(S)B 1182; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. A p. 1.

Elkington

M 1990

No Elkington terriers have survived. Three fields occur as close names; South Field and Middle Field closes were mentioned in 1540[1] and High Field in 1550[2]. It seems to

be completely enclosed before the Dissolution, but perhaps not very long before, since the names of the great fields were remembered in 1540.

Pipewell cartulary[3] states that there were 48 yardlands in the parish of which 42 belonged to the abbey (in *c.* 1230). Details of the holdings and the Domesday Survey have been given in Chapter 6.

1 PRO SC6 Hen 8, 2784 m.57–58d.
2 *Cal. Pat. Rolls Edw VI* iii p. 269.
3 BL Cott. Calig. A xiii f.19.

Etton

M 1977 F 1597

Etton contains the vill of Woodcroft which was probably once a separate township. Much of Woodcroft was enclosed by the 17th century. A plan of the northern part of the parish has been published[1].

A field book of 1599 describes 6 fields in Etton with the same names and proportions that were used in 1631 (below, respectively 1, 0.5, 2.5, 3.5, 4 and 3 pages of the field book)[2]. In 1631, a survey (described under Helpston) shows the distribution of farms among many fields[3]:

	J. Wells Woodcroft cap. mess.	*J. Wells Etton farm*	*Edw. Knowles Woodcroft*	*Ant. Taylor farm in Etton*
Chappell Field	20	7	24	18
Little Field	17		1	
South Field	19	24	13	
Old Field	15	12	6	11
West Field	15	23	18	33
East Field		27		10
Helpston East Field	7		13	
Closes	44	12	34	

Note in first farm Little Field is partly enclosed, but leys are described.

This is a complicated arrangement, as with Helpston, where the townships are becoming mixed up. 'East Field' (of Etton) is to be disinguished from Helpston East Field, as proved by the different furlong names listed.

There seem to be 4 main fields, not counting Little Field and Helpston ground. Lands are frequently one acre; thus 15 lands total 11.5 acres, 5 of them being acre-lands, and 26 lands totalled 21 acres with 7 of them actual acre-lands.

A terrier of 1798 also describes the same field names and proportions, except that South Field was called Woodcroft Field; Little Field 26 acres, Woodcroft Field 107, Old Field 99, West Field 150, and East Field 74 acres[4].

Enclosure. Woodcroft Pastures are referred to in 1547[5]. An early 17th-century map shows Woodcroft enclosed with 3 houses. Farther away is Ox Wood and Leas, with Bratlands Furlong and a green way at the south[6]. A map made in 1625[7] shows Woodcroft pastures of 117 acres, which include fields called Snow Closes on a map of 1772[8], lying between The Snow and Etton Long Green. This last plan shows Etton vill with the church, manor-house and formal gardens.

The remainder of Etton was enclosed with Helpston in 1809–19 (qv).

1 Hall 1982, *Medieval Fields* p. 42.
2 NRO Fitzw. Misc. Vol. 424.
3 NRO Fitzw. Misc. Vol. 71.
4 NRO Fitzw. Misc. Vol. 86.
5 Allison et al. *Deserted Villages* p. 48.
6 NRO Map 1251.
7 NRO Map 1239 p. 4.
8 NRO Map 1072.

Evenley

M 1994

Evenley parish contains the township of the deserted Astwick. Evenley had two fields in *c.* 1225, called the East Field and West Field[1]. A printed version of the same charter[2] has 3 parcels with two neighbours either side, probably indicating there was a regular tenurial order.

By *c.* 1550 there were three fields with 2 yardlands divided between West Field 17 acres in 15 parcels, South Field 13 acres in 13 parcels, East Field 17 acres in 16 parcels[3]. The yardland was therefore 23.5 acres. A glebe terrier of 1685 had 3 fields, 4 acres each in two of them and 3 acres in the other[4]. In the 18th century these fields were called Corlik or Mill Field, Middle Field, and Hollowell Field or the Field towards Brackley.

Enclosed in 1779. Astwick was enclosed before 1535[5].

1 Gray p. 478 from Magdalen College, Oxford, B178; Bodleian Library, Rawl. B 408 f.45b.
2 NRO Calendar of Magdalen College charters 1867/1909, Brackley 178.
3 Gray p. 482 from PRO SC6 13/25.
4 NRO Evenley glebe terriers.
5 Award NRO Enrolment Vol. G p. 263; for Astwick see Allison et al. p. 35.

Everdon

M 1986

The parish contains three settlements, Great Everden, Little Everden, which is shrunken, and Snorescombe, now deserted except for a single farm. There were three townships, one for each vill.

Great Everdon, in 1361, had two fields; the South Field 0.5 acre, and the North Field 1.75 acres, granted in a charter[1]. There were 4 fields in 1685, that probably included Little Everdon[2]:

Field	*Lands*	*Leys*	
Moore side	6	2	
Fausly side	17	4	
Newnham side	21	7	
Weedon side	13	4	also meadow lots
Totals	*57*	*17*	*74* in all

There was 23 percent grass. In Newnham Side there were 13 neighbours named occupying 50 places, of whom three held 72 percent, indicating a regular tenurial order. The same fields were used during the 18th century; there is reference (1761) to Hall Ground and haddons of lands' ends and balks between roods and lands. The Moore side may have been run with Weedon Side to form 3 equal areas.

Little Everdon

Daventry Priory had 6.75 yardlands 'in Everdon' with inland (presumably demesne) and hutland[3]. Another charter[4] shows that this property was in Little Everdon.

Little Everdon had two fields in 1490, when a terrier of 2.5 acres was exactly divided between the North Field and South Field with 1.25 acres (3 lands) in each. Three of the 6 parcels have Henry Michell as a neighbour, indicating a regular order[5].

Great and Little Everdon were enclosed in 1764[6].

Snorescombe

Furlongs are named 'in the fields of Snotescumbe' in 1354 and 1410[7]. In 1508 the Knightley family had enclosed 200 acres of land, allowed houses to decay and 28 people had left[8]. The 1767 glebe refers the hamlet of 'Snawscombe', for which Lucy Knightley paid £30 yearly in lieu of tithes.

1 NRO K Charter 98.
2 NRO Everdon glebe terriers in Box X584.
3 *The Cartulary of Daventry Priory*, M. J. Franklin, NRS, 35 (1988), 609, early 13th century.
4 *Id.* 612.
5 NRO K Charter 262.
6 Act NRO Th 2481; D2749; Award Enrolment Vol. A p. 614.
7 NRO K Charter 94, 145.
8 Eton College Records ECR 28–77; Beresford, *Lost Villages* 1954, pp. 410–12.

Eydon

In 1667[1] there were two fields only; East Field 7.75 acres arable and 6.25 leys being 14 acres in all; and West Field 6 arable and 4.75 leys, 10.75 acres total. This is a rare example of a late two-field system; leys amounted to 44 percent. The terrier was for half-yardland and one yardland therefore was *c.* 25 acres.

The glebe[2] shows an unchanging two-field system from 1627 to enclosure in 1761, with the same names as above. In 1633 there was 25 percent grass, unequally divided between the fields, although the amounts of arable were equal; about 23 percent of the arable was used for rye. In the 1627, 9 people shared 37 neighbour positions of which 62 percent was occupied by 3 people, suggesting a fairly regular order. The yardland was approximately 23 acres.

Enclosed in 1761[3].

1 NRO XYZ 213.
2 NRO Eydon glebe terriers in X584.
3 Act NRO X8484; Award, Enrolment Vol. A p. 409.

Eye

M 1977

Eye lies at the far north-eastern tip of Northamptonshire and is a Fenland vill; its appearance contrasts immensely with Aynho lying on the edge of the Cotwolds, 75 miles away at the south-western tip of the county. Much of the area was marsh until 1650, and the dry land, fragmented into two peninsulas, was shared by four monastic granges belonging to Peterborough abbey. It was a chapelry of the abbey. A plan of the open fields and a village history have been published[1,2].

The fields occupied less than half the dry land. A map made in 1821 marks Blackman Field, Cranmoor Field, and Northam Field[3]. Many topographical fen names are recorded in a Peterborough abbey account roll of 1309–10[4]. Enclosed in 1820[5].

1 D. Hall *Fenland landscapes and settlement between Peterborough and March*, East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 35 1987, p. 36.
2 P. J. Randall *Eye Life* 1972.
3 NRO Map 4426.
4 NRO F(M) charter 2389.
5 Act NRO in X1130; Map 4426 (1821); Award ML 854.

Farndon East

M 1993

There were three fields in 1655; a terrier of 1 yardland showed the following distribution[1]; the glebe is similar[2]:

	1655		*Glebe 1711*		
Field	*Arable*	*Ley*	*Arable*	*Ley*	*Total*
Brakenborowe Field	20	8	56	27	83
Oldemill Field	21	8.5	61	38	99
Debdale Field	21	6	53	28	81
				93	263 lands

The fields were fairly equal and the 1655 yardland was *c.* 43 acres with 27 percent leys. The terrier has only a few neighbours, indicating there was once a regular tenurial layout. The glebe of 1711 had 35 percent grass and Old Mill Field included a small second part called Nether Field. The hedges of Bowdon, Clipston and Oxenden were mentioned in the glebe of 1684 and 1711; it seems that Farndon was surrounded by a hedge, the first two places being unenclosed. Glebe neighbours (17) occupied 56 positions in 1711, and four held 52 percent, indicating a decayed order. Hops were planted in 1730. The glebe 263 lands probably represent 2 yardlands, and lie together in twos.

Enclosed in 1780, when there were 45 yardlands, corresponding to the Domesday assessment of 2.5 hides at 18 yardlands to the hide[3].

1 NRO YZ 3611.
2 NRO East Farndon glebe terriers.
3 NRO Enclosure Enrolment.

Farthinghoe

M 1974

There were two fields in *c.* 1200, with 6 acres in each[1]. The same charter[2] refers to 40 sheep in a fold, 7 beasts, and 3 swine with litters in the pasture.

The demesne, called *Beryfelde* was in a block and surrounded by a hedge in *c.* 1510. The other land was called the town field[3]. A copy of an early demesne terrier of St Mary's Delapre, Leicester, notes that the whole field was divided into two parts[4]. A lengthy terrier of St Mary's lands made in 1510 seems to be a field book of the enclosed demesne shared with the lord.

Enclosed in *c.* 1612[5], the glebe of 1633 refers to closes[6].

1 Gray p. 478 from Magdalen College, Oxford, B 246.
2 NRO Calendar of Magdalen College charters 1867/1902 p. 8.
3 BL MS Cott. Galba E iii ff.104d-108.
4 *Id.* f.103d.
5 NRO C(A) 3406.
6 NRO Farthinghoe glebe terriers.

Farthingstone

M 1986/1993

Five fields were decribed in the glebe of 1686; West Rye Hill 25 entries of mostly 0.5 acre, East Rye Field 20, East Field 21, Middle Field 20, and West Field 20 entries plus 7 acre pieces of arable next to the woods[1]. The fields were of similar in size. There were 5 neighbours in 28 positions of the Middle Field, one of whom held 79 percent, indicating a regular order.

Five fields operated in 1751, then called West, Middle and Lower Fields, as well as East and West Rye Hill[2]. The cultivation was presumably a five-field system of the Newnham type.

A terrier of a half yardland in 1691[3] had no fields specified for its 55 parcels, nearly all of which were single roods. The total area was 14 acres, hence a yardland was 28 acres. One neighbour was specified, almost always the same man, so a regular order is likely. In 1728, 1.5 yardlands were surveyed as 38.5 acres, that is 26 acres per yardland[4], and another estimate of *c.* 1750 made the yardland 24.5 acres[5]. In 1744 there were 53 percent leys in the glebe.

In 1751, 47.5 yardlands were recorded. At Domesday there were 4 hides belonging to count of Mortain[6], making 12 yardlands to the hide.

The township has woodland to the north, once shared with Dodford and other nearby townships. A grant of *Grymescote wode* in Farthingstone in 1357, had John de Keynes, the lord, as a signatory, showing the wood had seignurial connections[7]. Grimscote in Cold Higham belonged to the earl of Morton in 1086 (the predecessor of the Keynes family) and to Leofric in 1066[8], and seems to have shared the Farthingstone woods along with Dodford (qv). Wood tithes in kind were taken from closes called West Closes, and from a coppice called Castle Dikes. In 1711 reference was made in the glebe to a heath and an enclosed wood called the Stubbs. In 1579, 5 'crooked pieces of timber' for cogg wheels and waterwheels from Farthingstone Wood were taken to Brockhall[9].

Enclosed in 1751[10].

1 NRO Farthingstone glebe terriers.
2 NRO Th 747a.
3 NRO S(G) 239.
4 NRO Th 747c.
5 NRO Th 746.
6 Thorn and Thorn 18–57, 75.
7 NRO K Charter 96.
8 Thorn and Thorn 18–28.
9 NRO Th 2047 end.
10 Award 1752 in NRO X3572.

Fawsley

M 1988

Two fields were recorded in 1240 in a small grant of 2 acres, one in the North Field and the other acre in the South Field[1]. A terrier of 2 yardlands (said to be a bovate) was made in the 14th century, referring to the same 2 fields[2]. The place is not specifically identified other than being titheable to the vicar of Fawsley, but furlongs *bandlond* and 2 roods behind *gosecroft* are mentioned, both of which were described as being in Fawsley in 1240[3].

In 1477 Fawsley was still open field, but there was reference to a park and other enclosures called *stertys, kyndman, hoggestoft, newefeld, le lytel park* and *leys*. Seven tenants had 6.5 yardlands varying in size from 0.25–2.5 yardlands[4]. It was probably enclosed by 1547 when 2,500 sheep were kept[5].

1 M. J. Franklin, *The Cartulary of Daventry Priory*, Northamptonshire Record Society, 35 (1988): 638.
2 *Id.*; 648.
3 *Id.*; 638.
4 NRO K667.
5 Allison et al. p. 39.

Faxton

M 1984

Faxton parish included the deserted vill and township of Mawsley.

Three fields are described at Faxton in *c.* 1587, one yardland of glebe having in Nether Field 10.25 acres of arable and 10.25 acres of meadow and grass; West and Wood Field 8 acres arable and 6.25 meadow and grass; Over Field 10.75 acres and 3.5 grass[1]. From which the arable was 29 acres and the meadow and grass 20 acres. It is not easy to identify leys in this description but in each of the fields they are probably 5.25 acres, 4 acres and 3.5 acres respectively, making in the field totals of 15.5, 12, 14.25 acres, or a yardland of 41.75 acres. There was 31 percent ley in the glebe yardland, and 27.5 yardlands in the parish[2].

Enclosed in 1745[3], when there were 3 fields called Nether, Middle and Upper[4].

Mawsley

M 1987

Mawsley 'field' was still open in 1416 and 1486[5], but by *c.* 1590 Mawsley 'hedge' occurs implying that enclosure had taken place[6].

1 NRO IL 1491 m.10.
2 *Id.* m.1.
3 NRO L(C) 1717.
4 VCH iv p. 170.
5 NRO YO 365; Allison et al. p. 42.
6 NRO YO 320.

Finedon

M 1971 F 1739

Finedon had multiple fields between 1633 and 1805[1]. In 1739[2] there were 11 fields, run as a three course tilth:

	1739	*1789*	*1805*
1	Townside	Townside Field	Town Side
	New	New Field	Ryeborough Hill
	Sallows		Sallow Side
	Neasdale Hill	Neasdale Hill	Neasdale Hill
2	Up	Upper Field	Upper Field
	Calwell Hill	Calwell Hill	Calwell Hill Field plus South Hill Field
	Wells Hill	Wells	Wells Hill
	North East	North East	North East Field
3	North Side	North Side	North Side Field
	South East	South Side	South East Field
	West	West Field	West Field

The names and number of fields vary slightly in the sources, but whenever stated there was always a three course tilth. The arrangement is not just a multiplicity of names, the fields do not lie in three blocks, the tilths being made up areas not adjacent. This was probably done to even out variation in soil type, there being disparity between the ironstone soils of the west (where there were ryeborough hills furlongs) and the heavy clay of the east.

Field boundaries are marked on the enclosure map and have also been worked out from a 1739 field book when plotted on a surveyed open-field plan (Fig 7). Although the parish is much damaged by quarrying the plan was completed from the detailed abuttals and measurements of the field book.

The fieldbook made by William Brasier in 1739[3] is in the usual format (see Broughton) the town and closes were also surveyed. The land of the Gloucester Fee is that of the impropriate parsonage, which in all was 267 lands (93 acres) run in 3 tilths[4].

A broken-down regular tenurial order can be observed in the fields, as shown from the following example. The names are written as they occur in the field book (with some furlongs printed in reverse order) making no allowance for the number of lands in each parcel. None of the sequences here is for a complete furlong, but show central regions either side of the impropriate parsonage, where the order seems to be best preserved. The meadows had the same sequence. Near the parsonage 4-lands, a sequence of 8 lands occurs where 4 or all 5 of the names from the randomly selected five furlongs are the same. Very probably if more analyses were done, taking into account the sizes and number of lands, more order would be discovered among the holders farther away from the parsonage positions.

Furlong 2 Abutting Willets Way p. 3 reverse		*Furlong 15 Hither Hungerborrow p. 15 reverse*		*Furlong 16 Middle Hungerborrow p. 16*		*Furlong 19 Abutting Irthlingb. mere p. 72 reverse*		*South Meadow p. 139*	
Chapman	1	Vicarage	2	Vicarage	2	Sarah York	1	Whitlock	1
Mrs Merston	1	J Lambert	1	Ld Malton	2	Ld Malton	1	Th Mulso	1
Mrs Dolben	2	Mrs Dolben	2	Mrs Dolben	2	Th Mayle	1	Vicar	3
Ld Malton	1	J Mackerness	1	J Harlock	1	Roger Carter	1	Geo Wallis	1
Rog Carter	1	Ld Malton	2	Th Mulso	2	Rt Knight	1	Ld Malton	1
Mrs Dolben	1	Th Mulso	2	J Harlock	2	Geo Wallis	1	Wid Dole	1
Th Mulso	1	J Lambert	2	J Lambert	2	Mr Pyewell	1	Geo Wallis	1
Mr Pyewell	2	J Garratt	1	J Garratt	1	Th Mulso	1	Mr Pyewell	1

J Eady	2	Mrs Dolben	1	Ld Malton	1	Mrs Merston	2	Charity	1
J Mackerness	1	Widow Smith	1	Mr Pyewell	1	Ann Day	1	Wid Smith	1
Sh York	1	Sarah York	1	Sarah York	1	Th Mulso	1	Sarah York	1
Parsonage	4	Parsonage	4	Parsonage	4	Parsonage	4	Parsonage	4
Th Wallis	2	Th Wallis	2	Th Wallis	2	Th Wallis	1	Th Wallis	1
W Roberts	1	W Roberts	1	W Roberts	1	W Roberts	1	W Roberts	1
Ld Malton	4	Ld Malton	4	Ld Malton	4	Ld Malton	2	Ld Malton	1
Mackerness	1	Th Mulso	1	Th Mulso	1	Th Mulso	1	Th Mulso	1
J Garratt	2	J Garratt	2	J Garratt	2	J Lambert	1	J Garratt	1
Mr Pyewell	1	Mr Pyewell	1	Mr Pyewell	1	Geo Wallis	1	Mr Pyewell	1
Mrs Dolben	1	Charity	1	Deb Hampton	1	Ld Malton	1	Lambert	1
Hum Wallis	1	Wallis	1	Hum Wallis	1	Th Mulso	2	Hum Wallis	1
Mackerness	1	Mrs Dolben	1	Mrs Dolben	1	Th Wallis	1	Mrs Dolben	1

Usually the lands lie in ones or twos but a few larger groupings of 4 half-acres occur, and Mrs Dolben, lady of the manor, had some groups of 10 and 20 lands that are probably demesne.

Enclosed in 1805[5].

1 NRO Finedon glebe terriers, which describe 8 fields in 1633.
2 NRO ML 125.
3 *Idem.*
4 *Id.* p. 150.
5 NRO BSL 59; Award 1808, Vol. N p. 158.

Flore

M 1980 F 1727 Q 1778

Flore includes the deserted vill and township of Glassthorpe.

Flore had two fields in 1203, called East and West, when 15 acres in each were granted from the demesne[1]. By 1608 and until enclosure there were three fields called West, Middle and East:

	1684[2]	*1714*[3]	*1727*[4] lands	area		
	West	12 roods	1120	325	1	26.25
	Middle	15	1135	364	1	16
	East	15	1174	335	3	35.75
			3429	*1025*	*2*	*38*
Yardland size	22 acres	21 acres				

The East Field is mentioned in an incomplete terrier of 1509[5]. The 1727 data come from a field book (below), which gives the average area of a land as 0.3 acres and the yardland size 21–23 acres.

The glebe 3 yardlands were distributed among the fields in 1684 as below, when leys amounted to 29 percent:

	Arable	*Ley*	*Total*
West	14	12.25	26.25 acres
Middle	13.5	4	17.5
East	20	3.25	23.25
	47.5	*19.5*	*67*

Demesne. The demesne was dispersed in blocks throughout the furlongs. In 1668 two-thirds of the Hall land was 4.25 yardlands, indicating that the whole was 6.375 yardlands. The 4.25 yardlands occurred as groups of 2–5 lands together[6]. Reference to these same yardlands in 1683 mentioned that they were part of the 6.333 yardlands called the Hall land[7].

Flore has a field book of 1727, which lists all the lands by field and furlong, numbering the lands in each furlong and giving the owners' name and the area to the nearest quarter of a pole. Using the statistics and abuttals from this field book, abuttals from other terriers[8], the quality book of 1778[9] and the enclosed 'modern' field names[10], the furlongs have been identified reasonably satisfactorily. See Chapter 2 for correlation of the quality book to the field book.

Order. In 1509 an incomplete terrier had a fairly regular order of neighbours on one side, but 15 occupied the other side[11]. There may have been splitting from 2 yardlands that were otherwise in a disordered state. No tenurial sequence has yet been identified in the 1727 field book.

Farming. An account book of 1723–43 gives some details of farming methods[12]. In 1733, 35 tegs and 71 sheep were branded, and 85 sheep and 38 lambs were sheared on 11th June 1735. Between May and July 1743, 10 sheep died in the field.

In 1735 harvest started by mowing barley on 8th August, followed by wheat until 16th. Beans were mowed on 18th August, and harvest finished on 10th September. There were equal amounts of grain from each of the three fields, suggesting that fallow had been abandoned that year. In 1739 beans were sown on 27th February.

Harvests began early when corn was mowed by hand, because it had to be cut before it was fully ripe, maturing occurring as the shocks stood to dry; harvesting standing ripe grain would cause much loss during gathering and carting. Harvest dates varied in the 18th century, doubtless because of the weather.

Year	*Harvest dates*		*Days taken*
	begun	*finished*	
1737	19 July	11 August	23
1738	28 July	31 August	35
1739	31 July	25 August	26
1740	9 August	10 September	32
1741	18 July	8 August	22

Enclosure. Flore has a quality book of 1778[13], made for the enclosure that took place in that year[14]. Glassthorpe was still open in 1509, according to reference to its *field*[15], but the existence of 'Glassthorpe Pasture', in 1547, suggests that enclosure had taken place before then[16].

1 Gray p. 478 from PRO CP 25 172/7/86.
2 NRO Flore glebe terriers.
3 NRO S(G) 210; see Th 1359 for 1608.
4 NRO ZA 3080.
5 NRO YZ1070.
6 NRO YZ 6294.
7 NRO YZ 6295.
8 NRO YZ 1070, 1509; YZ 6294, 1668; YZ 9375–6, 1684; Glebe, 1684–1774; S(G)210, 1714; ZA 3081, 1726

9 Th 1663.
10 NRO A132b, 1801; Map 2952, 1837; SC 338, 1924; Field-name 1932.
11 NRO YZ 1070.
12 NRO ZA 3081.
13 Th 1663.
14 Act NRO YZ 3328; Map NRO D2750.
15 NRO YZ 1070.
16 Allison et al. *Deserted Villages* p. 41.

Gayton

The cartulary of St James Abbey, Northampton, refers to two fields in a grant of 2 roods, made before 1313, one each in the East Field and West Field[1]. Another larger grant of 16.25 acres begins with the East field, 7.75 acres, and ends with the West Field. A full terrier is given, but owing to fire damage to the manuscript all the details are not legible. Since the East Field has nearly half the land a two-field system is likely. Named furlongs are *catwelleslade* and *wold fordeweye*.

Three fields occur in a 1388–9 list of demesne pasture; Drynel Feld, Catwel Feld, and Milne Feld[2]. Hence there was a change from two to three fields at some time in the 14th century. The demesne of 1388–9 was probably dispersed, since it lay in parcels of 1–9.25 acres.

In 1600 the parish was still open with yardlands[3]; the enclosure date seems to be 1603 since two deeds survive for that year, both dated 3rd April, with the participants quit-claiming all rights to the other. The properties were described as being 'now enclosed, fenced and ditched with mounds' in Catwell and Myll Fields[4].

1 BL Cott. Tib. E. v. mm.129d-130 (dated 1313, G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* (London 1958) p. 79).
2 NRO FH 348 m.3.
3 NRO YZ 758; see also *Cal. Charter Rolls 1341–1417* vol. 5 (1916) p. 424.
4 NRO YZ 7437–8.

Geddington

M 1979 P 1717 F 1716

Four fields were named in 1461; Debdale, Middle, South and West. A yardland (probably copyhold) had 7.5 acres in Middle and 6.25 acres in West Field[1]. It is possible that these two fields were for copyhold lands, and the other two were demesne. In 1716 the copyhold area included a West Field. At that time a field book (described in Chapter 1) shows that there were 5 fields plus a few acres in Boughton Field (probably an unenclosed piece of Boughton township added to Geddington). The following field structure is evident[2], the areas exclude enclosed ground and meadow attached to some of the farms:

	1716		*1702 (Montagu tenants)*		
	Montagu	*Copyholders*	*Thomas Ashley*	*Th Plummer*	*Th Smith*
Wood Field	112 acres	51 acres	23 lands	24 acres	27 acres
Debdale Field	86	66	29	17	13
Boughton Field	20	6			
Tickley Field	49	132	14	9	
Mill Field	41	150	20	5	8
West Field	68	160	22	5	7

The Duke of Montagu had acquired the crown manor and its demesne, as well as having his own holding that had belonged to Bury St Edmunds abbey. The copyholders of the crown estate are therefore the most reliable guide to the distribution of the open-field land. The difference between the copyhold land and the other fields is demonstrated by the copyhold not having any land in the Breaches, Little Stockings, and Backside Piece furlongs where Montagu had 68, 17, and 6 acres. These pieces are likely to be demesne.

A map relating to the field book, made in 1717 by John Booth[3] shows that the three copyhold fields all lay in the west, Boughton field consisted of only a few plots, Debdale was to the east and Wood Field was at the north next to Geddington Chase.

The 1716 field book exists in tabular as well as book form[4]. The table has the usual format of columns explaining the number of the parcels on the map in each furlong, the number of lands in each parcel, the name of the tenant or copyholder, the area of Montagu tenants' land, and the area of copyholders' lands. Each furlong is then listed; at the end are various summary tables.

The distribution of individual farms shows that there was more than one field system, although the exact arrangement is complicated. There seems to be mixing up of tenures and fields by some of the farmers to form their own individual systems, many of them having land in all the fields. Boughton Field is not really part of the arrangement, nearly all of it belonging to three people and occupied by only four farmers, two Montagu tenants and two copyholders. That leaves 5 fields to deal with, the last three listed above being the main copyhold fields, with one tenant (James Bean) having land in them only.

There seems to have been a double system with the western three fields being the crown estate and the other two perhaps once belonging to Bury St Edmunds abbey, or perhaps being a large demesne. Montagu had 87 percent of his land in the hands of 6 tenants, and the copyhold had 91.5 percent in the hands of 4 people and 77 percent belonging to one person. This concentration of land into the hands of a few people may have disguised or altered early arrangements.

The size of the yardland in 1461 was 15 acres of land with 3 acres of meadow.

Demesne. The demesne of the crown manor, in 1461, lay in named furlongs (with rents, acreages and tenants' names detailed). It was let out in small parcels to several people. The first 67.5 acres described consisted of a few large blocks and several small pieces. There were also 4 pieces of breach, 14–28 acres, which seem to be assart in seignurial possession. In all, the Geddington demesne was 167.5 acres of open land. In a rental of 1607 the arable demesne was 168 plus 13 acres, and there were 18 yardlands of ancient copyhold, 5 yardlands and 6 acres of copyhold by separate purchase and 36 cottages. What is likely to be the crown demesne is described in a survey of 1702[5], called the 'king's or queen's lands' let to three people; it includes two Breaches.

Geddington chase was commonable for the horses and neat beast of Geddington, Stanion, Little Oakley and Newton, from 1st April to 11th November[6]. Some field orders are given in Chapter 2.

Enclosed in 1807[7].

1 NRO Buccleuch 10–30, in X354.
2 NRO Buccleuch 10–50, in X354.
3 NRO Map 1379.
4 NRO Buccleuch Terriers.
5 As f.n. 2.
6 NRO Buccleuch 23–16, p. 11, in X 887.
7 NRO Act ZA 368 in X3857; Award 1810, Vol M. p. 33.

Glapthorn

M 1988

Glapthorn is a chapelry belonging to Cotterstock[1]. It had a three-course tilth lying in multiple fields in 1470 and 1563 according to the detailed descriptions of the demesne (below).

A 1635 map and survey of the parish of Glapthorn and Cotterstock shows there were multiple fields, whose names must have been mainly for locational purposes, since a three course tilth was still practised according to the accompanying survey[2]. The demesnes consisted of compact closes, about 100 acres next to Glapthorn that included Hall close, with woods in Glapthorn and Southwick. Detached were *case dibbings* next to Short wood and a small island of osiers on the river. The tenants' farms (two listed below) were distributed in three tilths:

Field	*Farm 1*	*Farm 2*
Fallow Field	7	14 acres
Pease Field	10	14.5
Wheat Field	9.5	16
Plus tenanted demesne		16

Seven areas are called fields, with other areas called furlongs and others with no specification. Symbols marked on the fields indicate where Glapthorn tenants had commoning rights, which were over the whole parish except for Cotterstock Field, lying next to Cotterstock, and an area northwest of Glapthorn, and the demesne. Stone Field lay next to the Oundle to Cotterstock road in 1635. It is unlikely that there were separate field systems for the two vills.

Demesne. The demesne, in 1470, lay in 9 parts (some of them called 'fields'), grouped into three lots of three, the first set being fallow[3];

In carstlebeyng, fallow	37 acres	
In stonfeld, fallow	7	
Suthewekefeld, fallow	7	
		Sum 51
In the garden feld	20	
In Stokewell feld	9	
In the smeythehell feld	16	
		Sum 45
In estfeld towards Codystok	18.5	
In the west feld towards Benfeld	15.5	
In Carselbeyngfeld	10	
		Sum 44, 140 acres in all.

This list shows a three course rotation of nearly equal blocks. As part of what seems to be a mathematical arrangement, a different list of the furlongs was made to achieve three exactly equal cropping areas:

Carstlebeyng	17	
le Gardeyn	20	
at horswel breke	3	Sum 40 acres
Carstlebeyng	17	
Sothewek feld	10	
Stonfeld	13	40 acres
Carstlebeyng	17	
the Estfeld towards Codstock	15.5	
the West Feld towards Benfeld	8	
	40.5 acres;	total of arable land 120 acres.

Another list describes the crops; 'wet' (wheat) 10 acres, mesteldum 6, barley 44, 'otis' (oats) 4, and 'pese' 16 acres. Sum 80 acres set yearly, and remaining for fallow, 40 acres yearly. There were 60 acres of grain and 20 acres of peas and beans. Hired labourers were used for the demesne in 1470 paid either 'be the daey or be the weke'[4].

A terrier made in 1563 shows that the demesne was dispersed in 18 furlongs (called 'fields') as single lands and as small dispersed blocks with up to 9 adjacent lands and a few larger ones[5]. The furlongs are separately grouped into 'wheat field, peas field, and fallow field'. The acreages in most of the furlongs are given, and there seem to be about 44 acres in each tilth, similar to 1470.

Enclosed with Glapthorn in 1813[6].

1 Bridges ii p. 460.
2 NRO Map 2991 ff.15–18.
3 NRO Bru O.xxii.1, f.39d.
4 NRO Bru O.xxii.1 f.52.
5 NRO Bru B.xiii.17.
6 Act NRO Bru.J.xxvi.43; Award 1815, NRO Enrolment Vol. N p. 299; Map 2842 (1820).

Grafton Underwood

M 1979 P 1758

Glebe terriers of 1705–26 refer to 3 fields called Wood Field, Field next to Cranford or East Field, and the West Field next to Warkton. In 1733 the respective acreages were 15.5, 17 and 14.5. A survey by John Brasier made in 1748 is referred to in 1771[1].

A 1758 map[2] shows there were three fields, Wood, Cranford, and Warkton Fields, as well as a common called Grafton Wold next to Grafton Wood and the Park. The map has a terrier written on it, probably the Brasier survey (not legible in the copy available). Enclosed in 1777[3].

1 NRO Grafton glebe terriers.
2 NRO Map 1372.
3 NRO Bill Buccleuch 13–41, in X362.

Greens Norton and Duncote

P 1767, 1798 (both maps of furlongs only).

Greens Norton contains the hamlets of Duncote, Caswell, Field Burcote, and part of Potcote (otherwise in Cold Higham[1]). Caswell and Burcote were presumably separate townships. An 1816 glebe terrier refers to a 115 acre allotment in Whittlebury and to 5 acres in Silverstone Field; both these townships were part of Greens Norton medieval parish[2].

The glebe of 1635 had land in 2 fields of Norton, the East and West. There was also meadow in the East and South Fields of Duncote. By 1720 there were 3 fields called

Church Field, Kingthorne Field, and Nether Field towards Towcester. In 1726 the last field was called the Upper and Nether Field, and these 4 names are often used until enclosure.

A terrier of 1752[3] describes 4 fields grouped as a three-course tilth, with a limited number of neighbours implying a regular order. Totals; Church Field 19 roods arable, 5 roods ley; Upper and Nether Fields 20 roods and 13 roods; Kingthorne Mill Field 20 roods arable and 10 roods ley. In all 24, 33 and 30 roods each field, with 32 percent ley.

A map of 1767[4] has fields marked in red, and shows there were two townships. In Norton 3 fields with named furlongs were called Black Bridge Field, Kingthorne Side Field and Norton Church Field. Duncote had a cow pasture to the north and east of the vill, the fields were called North Field, Duncote East Field and Duncote Church Field.

A draft enclosure map of 1799[5] marks furlong boundaries and furlong names. Norton had 4 fields; Upper or Black Bridge Field, Kingthorne Field, Church Field and Lower Field. Duncote also had 4 names; North Field, East Field, Church Field and Mixt Field. In both cases the 4th name was probably locational rather than showing a change from a 3-course tilth.

The 1767 map shows 6 closes with 'park' names making an approximate square on the north-west. Beyond that the whole north west was enclosed. The glebe of *c.* 1590 refers to enclosed pastures. Norton and Duncote were enclosed in 1799[6].

Caswell was enclosed in 1509 and Field Burcote in 1499[7].

1 *Baker* ii p. 57; Alison et al. pp. 36, 40.
2 NRO Greens Norton glebe terriers.
3 NRO X5266.
4 NRO 4219 in the slightly ambiguous format used by the Grafton surveyor (as with Hartwell). Furlongs have green lines across them to identify their extent rather than represent the lands. Closes have similar lines.
5 NRO Map 2897.
6 Baker ii p. 57; Act NRO BSL 11; Map 2897.
7 Allison et al. pp. 36–7, 40.

Grendon

M 1963 H

Grendon contains the deserted hamlet of Cotton. There is no evidence that it ever had a separate field system. A plan has been published[1].

There were 3 fields from 1596[2] until enclosure in 1780. The fields were named after the neighbouring parishes, the Field towards Ashby, the Field towards Easton and the Field towards Strixton[3]. A cropping scheme for 1712 until 1769 proves there was a three year tilth[4]. A two year shift system operated in the meadows, which may be evidence that there was once a two-field arrangement.

The demesne was probably dispersed. Yardlands ceased to be used before 1596[5]. Late field orders are printed in Chapter 2.

Grendon fields and furlongs have been identified using the field- survey plan and names collected from all the available terriers[6]. A furlong called Longlow probably takes its names from Bronze Age barrows visible as mounds until quarried away in 1969–74. *Blackmile* furlong takes its name from dark-stained soil associated with a large Roman site.

Grendon was enclosed in 1780[7].

1 J. M. Steane, *The Northamptonshire Landscape*, 1974, p. 90.
2 BL Add. Man. 39,836 f.16–17.
3 NRO NPL 713.
4 NRO YZ 7166.
5 BL Add. MS. 39,836 f.11.
6 Tresham survey 1596, BL Add. Man. 39,836 f.14; NRO NPL 713, 1619; NPL 714, 1623; YZ 7462, 1659; NPL 721, 1672; NPL 720, 1673; YZ 512, 1687; XYZ 1689, 1676; BNP 24–5, 1621 & 1716; YZ 7166, 1759; NPL 746, 1759; X6848, 1749 & 1774. Modern field names were compiled from NRO Map 1730 (1833), YZ 7203 (1903), SC 127 & ZA 5366 (1911), SC 133 (*c.* 1920) and Field-name Map 1932.
7 NRO enclosure awards.

Gretton

M P 1583

Gretton contains a deserted settlement called Cotton which appears to be a hamlet, and part of the township of Kirby.

A map of the demesne made in 1587 shows the general layout of 3 Gretton fields called Wood Field, West Field and East Field. The demesne was dispersed among them with 97, 57 and 119 acres respectively, as well as 119 acres enclosed. Woods and a deer park lay to the south with several enclosures next to them[1]. In 1793[2] and 1819[3] there were 3 main fields called North, West and South with a small Little Field. Enclosed in 1832[4].

Kirby

P 1585 and 1587

Kirby is deserted apart from the ruined Stafford/Hatton mansion, and lay partly in Gretton and partly in Bulwick in *c.* 1720[5]. A terrier of 1402 seems to be the demesne, being parcels of lands often containing 4–9 lands and sometimes more, dispersed in many furlongs[6]. East Field is mentioned.

Two plans of 1585 and 1587[7] show the great house and its gardens engulfing the vill. There were 3 fields called West, Oak and Bulwick Field. Much of the open-field land was left as pasture such as Hollow Bottom 95 acres and Great Pasture 260 acres. Enclosure had begun by 1508 when 80 acres were ditched and hedged for a pasture, and 8 people were dispossessed[8].

1 NRO FH 272.
2 NRO Gretton parish records 142P/34.
3 *Id.* 142P/74.
4 NRO Bru.M.i.18; Maps 2699, 2700 (1837).
5 Bridges ii p. 315.
6 NRO Bru C.vi.4.
7 NRO FH 272.
8 NRO Bru A.iv.19.

Guilsborough

M 1982 P 1764 (furlongs)

Guilsborough parish contains three townships, Nortoft, Hollowell, and Guilsborough with Coton. The last has the separate vill of Coton which shared intermixed lands in Guilsborough township, but paid tithes to Ravensthorpe, so intermingling the parishes of Ravensthorpe and Guilsborough. Some records have been published, including the enclosure map which has furlong boundaries and names marked[1].

The glebe shows there were three fields of unequal size at Guilsborough and Coton in 1634 until enclosure:

Field	*Arable*	*1634 Leys*	*Total*	*Arable*	*1684 Leys*	*Total*
Church Field	17 roods	—	17	10	6.5	16.5
Middle Field	21	15	36	15.5	7	22.5
West Field (Upper Field 1720)	30	7	37	8	14	24
Heath						36
Totals	*68*	*22*	*90*	*33.5*	*27.5*	*99*

There was 24 percent ley in 1634, and 9 people occupied 58 named positions in the Middle Field, of which Richard and John Lucas held 76 percent, suggesting there was a regular order of lands. Apart from the heath there were furlongs called heathway, high furze, small thorns, fernhill, castle furze, and flinthill. In 1684[2] the glebe was described differently, isolating heath ground. The ley and known ground in the heath give a total of 51 percent ley. The half yardland totals 24.75 acres, or 49.5 for a whole, large probably because of intake of waste land, presumably heath. A rick place is mentioned in 1730.

A regular order of tenants is consistant with Bridges' statement that the glebe was half a yardland lying next to another half yardland, implying the two were physically next to each other throughout the field system[3]. John Champernon, the grantor, died in 1476, showing that the regular order was of medieval origin.

Yardlands and hides. Coton manor had in Coton 3.5 virgates in 1086[4] which was assessed at 7 yardlands in 1251[5], implying there were 8 yardlands to the hide. Yardlands were still used in 1705 and referred to as lying in the fields of Guilsborough alias Guilsborough and Coton[6].

Nortoft had 0.5 hide belonging to William Peverel in 1086 which was stated to be 5 yardlands in the 13th century[7]. Hence there are 10 yardlands to the hide in this township.

Enclosed in 1764[8].

Hollowell

Some of Hollowell was enclosed by 1659 when 24 acres of closes next to other closes 'lately allotted' in lieu of dispersed lands are described[9].

Enclosed in 1774[10].

Nortoft. In 1588, when enclosed, Nortoft had 2 fields, North Field 266 acres, East Field beyond London Road 272 acres, and a Heath 172 acres[11].

1 *Records of Guilsborough, Nortoft, and Hollowell, Northamptonshire* by Ethel L. Renton and Eleanor L. Renton 1929.
2 *Id.* pp. 63–7.
3 Bridges i. 571.
4 Thorn and Thorn 13–19.
5 Bridges i. 537.
6 NRO BSL 1509/4.
7 Thorn and Thorn 35–19; Bridges i 571, from Book of Fees.
8 Act NRO in X1602; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. A p. 569. Map published, see f.n.1.

9 NRO YZ 5101.
10 Bill NRO D3350; Award Vol. D p. 361.
11 NRO Fermor-Hesketh Baker 715a, was Phillipps MS 17,174; 18th-century transcript.

Haddon East

M 1978 F 1598 (survey)

East Haddon had a double field system, separated by the village street. It is possible that there were two villages next to each other; the western end, called Tilbury, may have been an independent settlement. At Domesday, in 1086, East Haddon was held by three tenants of the Count of Mortain as 2.5, 0.5 and 1.5 hides (total 4.5;[1]). The parish was held as one manor of 4 hides in *c.* 1124[2] and was split into three in *c.* 1211[3]. There is nothing in the manorial descent to account for a double field system; it is likely to be older than 1086.

The furlongs and fields have been identified using a field-survey plan, the 'modern' field names, and a survey made in 1598, as explained in Chapter 3 and shown on Figure 5. The furlong names taken from the 1598 survey[4] are listed in Table 15.

Table 15 East Haddon furlong data

Number	Name	Orientation of lands	Number of lands	Abuttals and notes
South Field				
1	South Field Heath furlong	NS	63	All leys
2	Burdge leys furlong	EW	58	All leys
3	Nether dod furlong	EW	49	
4	Manewell furlong	EW	72	
5	Butlers leys	NS	14	Leys
6	Sharmans craft furlong	NS	77	Narrow lands
7	Over dod furlong	EW	14	Leys
8	Samberhill furlong	EW	87	
9	Nether whitland furlong	EW	40	Next sylleybroke leys
10	Longe whiteland	NS	27	
11	The butts	(EW)	46	Shoots W to Long Buckby brook
12	Homes hollow furlong	NS	34	
13	Homes furlong	EW	88	
14	Hurtlow more furlong	EW	30	
15	High hurtlow	EW	32	
16	Breer furlong	NS	53	
17	Over whitland	EW	28	
18	Jackwell leys	NS	21	Leys
19	Breach furlong	EW	39	
20	Dryhill furlong	NS	45	
21	Peasland pytt furlong	EW	26	
22	North overland furlong	NS	29	
23	South overland furlong	NS	10	
24	Watrie dole furlong	NS	65	
25	Readland furlong	EW	32	
26	Shortleys furlong	NS	51	Leys
27	Meer hill furlong	NS	99	
South Field called Middle Field				
28	Bentley leys furlong	EW	39	
29	West Wolfey leys	EW	41	
30	Lames leys	EW	22	
31	Wolfay hill furlong	NS	81	
32	Enborrow furlong	EW	52	
33	Nether enborrow	NS	32	

Table 15 *continued*

Number	Name	Orientation of lands	Number of lands	Abuttals and notes
34	West enborrow	EW	10	Leys
35	Over stoven furlong	EW	56	
36	Garbadge leys furlong	EW	42	Leys
37	Over furlong of black leys	NS	15	Leys
38	Nether furlong of black leys	NS	25	Leys
39	Long meer hill furlong	NS	71	
40	Short meer hill furlong	NS	62	
41	Wolfay meade furlong	NS	37	
42	Nether stoven furlong	EW	47	
43	Middle stoven furlong	EW	31	
44	Furlong under Brington way	EW	19	
45	Over readland furlong	EW	24	
46	Nether meer furlong	NS	161	
47	Small doles furlong	NS	123	
48	Nether readland furlong	EW	27	
49	Little ditch furlong	NS	21	
50	Flatland furlong	EW	34	Next hollow brook
51	Shetshawe furlong	NS	102	
52				
The East Field or the South Field				
53	Old yard furlong	NS	24	Leys
54	Furlong betwixt Holdenby ways	NS	135	
55	Hadden well leys furlong	NS	19	Leys
56	Rabbett dole furlong	NS	23	
57	Hadden well furlong	EW	35	
58	Flaxland furlong	NS	154	
59	Red pit furlong	EW	39	Leys
60	Rysell leys furlong	EW	35	Leys
61	Leys under rysell furlong	NS	40	Leys
62	Leys beyond rysell	EW	23	
63	Risell piece	NS	38	
64	Tare hill furlong	EW	75	Leys
65	Gunwell furlong	NS	32	Leys
66	Hither rowell hill furlong	NS	22	
67	Under town hadland	NS	44	
68	Whytland under tare hill	EW	34	
69	Portway furlong	EW	91	
70	Stubb furlong	NS	53	
71	Whytland under gunwell	NS	42	
72	Rowell leys furlong	NS	36	Leys
73	Furlong under stranglond		35	
74	Strangland furlong	EW	58	
75	Flyburrrow furlong	NS	31	
76	Flyburrow furlong	EW	22	
77	Flyburrow furlong	NS	20	
78	Strangland brack furlong	EW	63	
The North West Field				
79	Ferty furlong	NS	104	
80	Stonepit furlong	NS	34	
81	Rye hill furlong	EW	145	Butts hassock and Daventry way
82	Burne hill furlong	EW	40	Leys
83	Hangwell slade furlong	NS	9	
84	Furlong butting hangwell		53	
85	Fishdam furlong	EW	65	
86	Hyngwell leys furlong	NS	72	Leys of heath
87	Springwell hill furlong	NS/EW	77	

Table 15 *continued*

Number	Name	Orientation of lands	Number of lands	Abuttals and notes
88	Nether swath leys	NS		Leys
89	Church leys	EW	67	Leys; called shepey
90	Slepyldon furlong	EW	25	Leys (heath)
91	Nether little dyke furlong	EW	37	
92	Over hanging furlong	EW	15	Leys of heath
93	Over little dyke furlong	EW	23	
94	Mereswell furlong	NS	69	
95	Bannell green furlong	NS	21	
96	Nether hanging furlong	EW	14	Leys
97	Stanell hook furlong	NS	27	
98	Wylcoll hill furlong	EW	18	
99	Sand furlong	NS	17	
100	Symons bank furlong	EW	38	
The Middle Field				
101	Chappell leys furlong	EW	21	Leys
102	Blackwell furlong	EW	69	
103	Blackwell furlong	NS	30	
104	Blackwell furlong	EW	14	2 leys
105	Raddells furlong	EW	44	
106	Prestwell furlong	EW	>27	2 leys
107	Furlong on Saunders Close	(NS)	59	Leys
108	Cockrell dole furlong	EW	34	
109	Furlong butting leys at Saunder's yard	(NS)	25	
110	Lennard well furlong	NS	28	Buts ruddles
111	Stannell furlong	EW	34	Buts North East Field
112	Muswell furlong	EW	91	
113	White earth furlong	EW	37	
114	Broddey meadow	NS	92	
115	Broddey meadow			
116	Great horse poole furlong	NS	49	
117	Brakenborrow furlong	NS	20	Leys
118	Brackenborrow furlong	EW	43	Buts new well
119	Water furrows	NS	12	
120	Cuttell furlong	EW	31	
121	Furlong under hills home	EW	22	Leys
122	Dole meadow			
123	Furlong under fullwell hill	NS	30	
124	Swaythes meadow			
125	Nether dunland furlong	NS	24	Leys; buts North East Field and Ravenstrop brook
126	Dunland willows furlong	EW	24	Leys
127	Middle dunland furlong	NS	35	Leys
128	Fullwell hill furlong	EW	70	
129	Furlong in curles pit	NS	21	
The North East Field				
130	Furlong shooting sowe sleck	NS	20	Leys
131	Muswell furlong	EW	21	
132	Grey bawke furlong	EW	11	11 leys
133	Astwell furlong	NS	13	
134	West brodway furlong	EW	23	
135	East brodway	EW	>32	
136	Mill way furlong	NS	>35	
137	Gallow furlong	NS	75	
138	Gallow lowe furlong	NS	15	
139	Stubb furlong	NS	28	1 ley

Table 15 *continued*

Number	*Name*	*Orientation of lands*	*Number of lands*	*Abuttals and notes*
140	Sallows furlong	EW	30	
141	Foxhole furlong	NS	40	
142	East lampit furlong	NS	12	
143	Middle lampit furlong	EW	9	
144	West lampit furlong	NS	13	
145	Hare dole furlong	EW	59	Buts astwell way
146	Curles pit furlong	NS	30	
147	Over dunland	EW	19	Leys
148	Debdale furlong	EW	54	
149	West on town hedlond		31	
150	Nether lampit leys	NS		Leys
151	Copperd hill furlong	EW	36	
152	Shovell hill furlong	EW	79	
153	Nether middle hill furlong	NS	12	Leys
154	Over middle hill furlong	EW	30	Leys
155	Hollywell hed[land]	NS	10	
156	Hollywell hill furlong	EW	45	Leys
157	Curles hill furlong	EW	28	Leys

The two field systems were called the North Fields and the South Fields. The 1598 survey of both of them describes in detail the Dive manor, stating the total number of lands in each furlong with its abuttals. In the furlongs, the land of the lord, John Dive, is measured to the nearest pole and the number of lands and their position in the furlong noted. The name of the tenant is also recorded, except for the demesne; an example has been given in Chapter 3. At the end of the survey a summary table for the manor of John Dive, one third of the 13th-century manor, names the tenants, giving particulars of the holdings: *see opposite page.*

Areas are given to the nearest acre. Although the summary does not state in which field system the yardlands lie, inspection of the survey shows the first four properties are in the South and the last four are in the North Fields.

Both fields had the same animal stint; 2 horses, 5 beasts, and 40 sheep per yardland. The arable in the South Fields for a yardland averages 18 acres, and in the North 11 acres. If the acreages of leys and pasture are added the yardlands become 25 and 17 acres in size.

Each field system had areas set down to leys. The South Heath was still 'known land', stated to be all leys and used as cow pasture. The North Fields had a common pasture at the west, with lands unidentified. The fields are confirmed to be separate because the lord's tenants had yardlands in one field or the other, the demesne lay only in the South Fields, which had a different enclosure history from the North Fields. The statistics of the fields are given below:

South Fields	*Land number*	*North Fields*	*Number*
South Field	1,228 (includes the Heath)	North West Field	970 (heath not described)
Middle Field	1,171	Middle Field	914
East Field	1,223	North East Field	775

The North Field was divided into three throughout its recorded existence, called East or Holdenby Field, Middle Field, and West or Upper Field[5]. A yardland of 1653[6] was

Name [and field]		*Tene-ments*	*Yard-lands*	*Private pasture acres*	*Heads, ley meadow*	*Arable land*	*Common pasture*	*Heath*	*Horses*	*Beast*	*Breeder*	*Sheep*	*Rent*	*Capons*
Demesnes	S	1	6	6.5	14	84	37	7	12	30	1	240	£4 1 8d	2
John Facer	S	1	2	0.5	5	32	7	2	4	10	1	80	1 10 0	2
Will. Chapman	S	2	2.5	0.75	5	47	11	5	3	13	1	100	1 12 0	2
Robert Jeyse	S	1	1	0.5	2	20	4	1	2	5	1	40	1 0 0	2 hens
Anth. Bushope	N	1	2	0.75	4	20	7	1	4	10	1	80	1 0 0	2
Thomas Watts	N	1	2	2.5	4	23	12	3	4	10	1	80	1 12 0	2
Thomas Harbard	N	1	1	1	3	12	5	2	2	5	1	40	1 10 0	2
Henry Traslowe	N		0.33	—	—	3	2	1	1	2		13	5 0	

distributed in West Field 5.25 acres arable 3.25 ley, Middle Field 4.5 and 2.75, East Field 5.0 arable and 2.75 acres ley; the total was 24.5 acres with 40 percent ley.

A 17th-century terrier of 3 yardlands of the North Fields described, in the West Field, 12 neighbours of whom 3 held 63 percent of the positions, indicating a likely regular order. Most of the lands were in singles, so the yardlands were not next to each other.

Court rolls of 1664, concerned with the North Fields only, refer to bushes cut on common heath contrary to order. A list of open field-orders for the same year notes there were 4 beast per yardland; every half-acre land should leave a greensward balk 2 feet wide, and every rood 1 foot wide; no one 'shall trompel . . . with his horses . . . turning upon any hadeland . . . [and] shall allow for every furlong 24 feet to turn upon'; jointway ridgeways were to have 20 feet left either side[7]. In *c.* 1772 it was stated that the cow pasture for 153 cows was 600 acres in extent and had not been ploughed for more than 500 years[8].

The South Fields were divided into three, only recorded in the 1598 survey. The demesne of the Dive manor was all in the South Fields (except for 5 small parcels of a few acres that lie in the North). It consisted of 6 yardlands and was distributed fairly uniformly in small blocks, generally in groups of 3 half-acres, showing that the fields had been laid out in roods that represented a yardland when added up through all the tenurial cycles. A plan has been published[9].

The tenurial cycles as indicated by the demesne are not perfectly regular, blocks of demesne being between 24 and 27 lands apart, suggesting a cycle of 25. A few furlong pairs (Betwixt Holdenby Waies (Fig 5. no. 54) and Flaxlands (58); Little Ditch (49) and Shetshawe (51)) have the demesne cycles going through the boundaries.

Yardlands. In *c.* 1752 the North Fields contained 38.25 yardlands, and the 1774 Enclosure Award accounts for 37.79 yardlands and 39 acres, suggesting a total of *c.* 38. The Award records that South Field Heath, *c.* 61 acres, was used as a common by 21.5 yardlands, which presumably had been the yardland rating of the South Field. Both townships totalled 59.5 yardlands, of unequal size, since the area of the South Fields was much greater than the North, yet it contained fewer yardlands.

The 1598 Dive manor 6 demesne yardlands, 10.83 of tenanted land and 4 freehold, totalled 20.83. If it were exactly a third of the 12th-century single manor then there would have been 60.5 yardlands, agreeing fairly well with the 18th-century figures.

There were *c.* 15 yardlands to the hide using average figures, but it is not known if each township had the same ratio of hides to yardlands; there could have been say 12 to the hide for the South and 18 in the North to allow for the different sized yardlands. This would give the total as:

North	38	yardlands at	18 to hide equals	2.11 hides
South	21.5		12	1.79
Total	59.5			3.9

A similar calculation at 20 and 10 yardlands to the hide becomes 2.15 and 1.9, in all 4.05 hides. These calculations are speculative.

Enclosure of the North Fields took place by Parliamentary Act in1773[10]. Also included was South Field Heath that had remained open.

The South Fields in 1772 were thought to have been 'enclosed 130 years ago' (1642[11]). However a lease of 1629 referred to ancient enclosed ground of 6 acres and 200 acres of new closes, enclosed by agreement with the lords of the manor, who included Sir John Dive senior[12], deceased, father of Lewis Dive. The enclosures were for 7 yardlands of which 6 were demesne; a shepherd's dwelling had been built in the village[13]. A date between 1598 and 1607 is therefore indicated; probably the 1598 survey was made for the purpose of exchanging the scattered demesne into an enclosed block before an enclosure of *c.* 1600.

1 Thorn and Thorn 18–5, 18–87, 18–93.
2 VCH i p. 378.
3 Baker i p. 160.
4 NRO IL 2120.
5 17th IL 945; 1709 X5418; 1774 encl.
6 NRO IL 935.
7 NRO X6155; IL 945.
8 NRO IL 2122.
9 Hall, *Medieval Fields*, p. 34.
10 Act in NRO X5417; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D p. 191.
11 NRO IL 2121.
12 Died in 1607, Baker i, 83.
13 NRO IL 936A.

Haddon West

Q 1784

In the early 13th century there appear to be 2 fields from a grant of 3 roods, 1 in the North Field and in the other field towards Thornby, 2 roods. A similar charter of the same date grants a rood in the North Field and one in the other Field[1]. Another charter[2] refers to a land butting to holbroc in the West Field, which may be an alternative name.

The distribution of half a yardland of glebe in 1720 describes 6 fields; South Field 22 roods, Deepdale Field 14 roods, West Field 13, West Rye Hill 16, East Rye Hill 5, and the Heath 3 roods[3]. It is not clear how these operated; there could be a three-course tilth with grouping of South (22 roods), the Rye hills (21) and Deepdale and West (27), but most likely the Rye Fields were run independently, leaving the others as a three-field arrangment, the whole being like Newnham. Total area of one yardland is 36.5 acres.

Several 13th-century terriers are copied in the cartulary of Pipewell Abbey. One granting 8 lands had neighbours on both sides mentioned[4], one neighbour was the same and Richard or Henry le Swon occupied 7 others; 3 people had 94 percent of the positions, indicating a regular order.

Yardlands. The enclosure papers give the assenting proprietors' yardlands as 35–2–1 (the fractions being quarters and 16ths). The remaining smaller landholders who would not sign (mostly because they were old or doubted if it would do them much good) held 13–0–2 yardlands, so the total is 48.6875[5]. This calculation is of interest since it was arrived by totting up individual holdings accurate to the nearest 1/16 and is not a round figure passed down over the centuries. The glebe of 1767 gives the total number of yardlands as 48.

In 1124 there were 3 hides and 3.5 virgates, differing from the Domesday value. This is close to 4, making 12 yardlands to the hide, using the the 18th-century 48 yardlands[6].

West Haddon was enclosed in 1764 which caused opposition[7].

1 M. J. Franklin *Daventry Cartulary*, NRS 35 (1988), 804–5, 819.
2 *Id.* no. 816.
3 NRO West Haddon glebe terriers.
4 NRO FH 145 f.51.
5 NRO ZA 9053.
6 VCH i p. 379.
7 Bill NRO B(D) 700; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. B p. 92 and ZA 9055; Map 2875 (1780). The quality book is ZA 938; see J. W. Anscomb's notes for the enclosure disputes and article in *NPP*. iv (1969) p. 175–8.

Hannington

M 1975

A terrier of 1599 describes 3 fields, East, Wood and Burrough, with lands and leys distributed unequally 3:4:11. There were 28 percent leys[1]. The glebe shows equally balanced three fields from 1634 (42:45:45 lands), with the same names and 9 percent of leys. In Burrow Field 11 neighbours held 51 positions, of which 69 percent were occupied by 4 people, indicating a decaying order[2].

Hannington was enclosed in 1802[3].

1 NRO S(G) 263.
2 NRO Hannington glebe terriers.
3 Act NRO in X1653; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. K p. 297; Map 2998.

Hardingstone

M 1972 F 1660 Q 1765

Hardingstone had a double field system, called the East Fields and West Fields in 1538[1] until enclosure. Settlement was complicated by Cotton End and Far Cotton, lying next to Northampton, as well as by Delapre Abbey and a grange belonging to St Andrew's priory. In view of the name 'cotton', so often given to early Saxon settlements, it is possible that the Cottons should not be regarded as 'overspill', but were always there, and that the West End Fields of Hardingstone are really the fields of the Cottons. St Andrew's priory rental of 1475 has the place name simply entered 'Coton'[2]. However by 1705, and probably in the Middle Ages, the division was not quite as simple as this model, because a glebe terrier listing titheable dwellings shows that the vill of Hardingstone itself was divided between the East and West Fields[3]. Both the church and Delapre lie in the West End, and there was a chapel of St Leonard at Cotton.

The division of the fields is ancient; a yardland of glebe was given to Hardingstone church in the 12 century, and is referred to in *c.* 1220[4]. The glebe terriers show that this land lay in the West End Fields only. A different yardland in *c.* 1220 was said to lie 'in Cotes'[5]. Grants of yardlands in 1269 suggest the same complexity, being described as lying in 'in the fields of Hardingstone and Cotton', and 'in the fields of Cotes outside Northampton and in the fields of Hardingstone'[6], presumably referring to the West Fields in the parish of Hardingstone. A plan of Hardingstone fields with furlong names and the township structure worked out has been published[7]. Reference to furlong numbers, below, are as given in the 1980 article.

East End Fields

A terrier of 14th century, probably referring to the East End Fields, shows there were 3, called East (?), Middle and South. The exact distribution is not legible in the fire-

damaged original, but probably equal[8]. A fixed regular order is very clear since in all these parcels (at least 5) the neighbours are always Richard son of Ranulph and John son of Gode.

A field book of *c.* 1660 lists furlongs, with the owner of each land and the land size (1 rood, 1 land (for 0.5 acre) etc), and states whether it was ley[9].

Field	*Lands*	*Leys*	*Totals*	
Upper or Preston Hedge	593	193	786	
Middle	303	163	753	
Nether	235	52		*part of Middle Field*
Moor	328	86	647	
Firedale	125	108		*part of Moor Field*
Totals	1584	602	2186	

There were 5 fields run on a three tilth system, suggested by the sizes (Firedale is very small), and implied by statements in the field book. The ley ground of Firedale Field was said to belong to Moor Field in 1764[10], and in the 1660 meadow description there is reference to three fallow seasons, for Preston Hedge Field, Middle Field and Moor Fields.

The lay-out is much more complicated than the three course tilth and the field names imply. Although most of Firedale Field lies in a block next to Upper Field, it also had two detached parts, one of them a long way off in Moore Field. The was also a block of cow pasture that was probably once part of Moor Field. So although there were three main fields and a three-course rotation there were in all 8 different locational regions. None of this could be appreciated from terriers alone, but only from the full analysis made available in the field book (Fig. 7).

There were 602 leys in the 2,186 lands of the East End Field in 1660 (27.5 percent). Other later terriers occur[11]. They all have the same three fields of Upper, Middle and Moor, only occasionally mentioning the subdivisions.

There were 33 yardlands in 1765[12], which were about 23 acres in size in 1660 (from the totals of lands in the field book). Yardlands were stated to be 20 acres in the 14th century[13].

Tenurial arrangements. The East End Fields had a regular layout, with a cycle of 32 lands, discussed in Chapter 8 and fully analysed previously[14]. The cycles were probably not apparent to the surveyor of 1660, since in some furlongs the sequence is in reverse order, and a furlong began and ended anywhere within the cycle. When plotted on a plan it was shown that the cycles ran through many furlongs, crossing their boundaries, indicating that the landscape was once laid out in fairly simple manner, with lands up to 800 yards in length.

Middleburrow Hill Furlong (20) is a good example of the tenurial cycle, containing 29 names, each person holding single lands except for two groups, one of 3 leys and one of two leys, making up one complete cycle of 32. The names in positions 1–5 (John Green, J. Green for Edwards, Thomas Gee, John Eyle for Savage, J. Green for Edwards), 8 (Thomas Gee), 11 (France), 14 (John Eyle), 19 (William Walker), 25–27 (Robert Pack, John Green for Naylor (twice)), and 31–32 (Edward Tate (twice)) rarely change, but in other positions there are considerable variations in ownership.

Within the cycle of 32 lands was a further subdivision into 8 groups of 4 lands that were called *hides*. The hides had names listed in Chapter 8[15] which were described in connection with the meadows in the 1660 field book. Three hide-names are mentioned in deeds, where they relate to arable land[16]. The names of the hides are probably those of medieval tenants or freeholders, although none of them was mentioned in a rental of St Andrew's Priory made in 1475[17].

The demesne probably had two elements. The last four lands in the 32-cycle nearly always belonged to the lord in 1660 (Bartholomew Tate), and so are likely to be a dispersed demesne. There are several furlongs near the core of the village that do not have the 32-land cycle, one of which, *pennylands*, wholly belonged to Delapre Abbey in 1539[18] and to Bartholomew Tate in 1660. These furlongs were probably part of a block demesne.

The masking of a regular order by exchanges and concentration of land into the hands of a single owner is demonstrated in another field book of 1738[19], by which time only one of the 1660 family names survived and no regular order is discernible. The destruction of the tenurial cycle would have been considerable during the later part of the 17th century, when Bartholomew Tate, hoping to enclose the West End Fields in 1676, exchanged lands in the East End Fields for the purpose[20].

West End Fields. The West End Fields of the 17th and 18th centuries were 5; Mere, Moor, Ransdale (alias Grange), Long Haukway and Long Bromhill Fields. The last 2, lying on ironstone land at the far west, were almost entirely leys and it is likely that the other three were run as a three-course tilth. The alternative names for the 2 western fields, Upper and Lower Rye, suggest that they were or had been used as separate rye fields on a five-field system like Newham. All the fields were of similar size[21].

The published furlong name-list is based on a terrier *c.* 1740 with detailed abuttal descriptions[22]. There are other terriers from 1660–1748[23].

The tenurial neighbours in a terrier of 1660 (before recorded exchanges were made), had 38 positions occupied by 8 people, three of them holding 66 percent. It is probable that there was a regular order. A later terrier[24] had the lands numbered in each furlong, but a regular order is no longer apparent.

There were 46.5 yardlands in 1765[25]. The glebe 1 yardland was stated to be 19.25 acres in 1705; a yardland of 1660 accounts for *c.* 24 acres[26].

Some demesne was probably in block form next to Hardingstone, since the 19.25 acres of glebe, stated to be demesne in the 12th century, lay in small parcels in five furlongs only. There also seems to have been a block demesne around Cotton End, Delapre Abbey having been founded, in *c.* 1145, on a piece of land belonging to the grange of St Andrew's Priory, which must have been more than a few lands[27].

St Andrew's rental, 1475, accounts for 17 yardlands and 6.25 acres. Seventeen topographical names are mentioned, all those identifiable are in the West End (foxholes, thevedale, calde satesforde, dypdale, admede, dame alys holme, caldewell mede).

Both field systems of Hardingstone were enclosed in 1765[28].

1 R. M. Serjeantson, *A History of Delapre Abbey, Northampton*, 1909, p. 31.
2 Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rolls Northants 12.
3 NRO Hardingstone glebe terriers.
4 A. Gibbons, *Liber Antiquus Hugonis Wells* 1888, p. 33.
5 NRO Northampton Borough Records no. 11.
6 NRO photostats 30, 31.

7 D. Hall, 1980, 'Hardingstone Parish Survey 1972'.
8 BL Cott. Tib. E v ff. 115–115b.
9 NRO B(D) 85.
10 NRO B(D) 65.
11 NRO B(D) 65, 1674; 787, 1679; 475, 1685; 688, a field book of 1738; 323a, 1752.
12 NRO B(D) 551.
13 Serjeantson 1909,13.
14 Hall *Hardingstone*.
15 See also *Hardingstone* p. 125.
16 NRO B(D) 659 and 787, dating from 1651 and 1679 respectively.
17 Bodleian MS Rolls Northants 12; but the land of St Andrew's Priory was probably all in the West End Fields, and the date is late.
18 Serjeantson, *Delapre Abbey*.
19 NRO B(D) 688.
20 NRO B(D) 396, 466.
21 NRO D(B) 698–90.
22 NRO B(D) 689–90.
23 NRO B(D) 474, 1660; 724, 1673; 729, 1691; 746, 1727; 350, 1748.
24 NRO B(D) 689–90, *c.* 1740.
25 NRO B(D) 551.
26 NRO B(D) 464.
27 Stenton NRS IV, pp. 144–5.
28 Bill NRO G 1252; Act B(D) 543; Quality Book B(D) 1060; Award (1766) Enclosure Enrolment Vol. B p. 1.

Hargrave

M 1969

In 1618 there were 3 fields, Mill Field, Moore Field and Grove Hill Field, a holding having 4 acres of land in each field with 9, 11 and 10 lands. The distribution in the furlongs was unequal with Moor Field having all the lands in a single place[1].

Three fields are similarly listed in 1613 (Mill, Rowland slade, and Bletsmore[2]) and 1671 (Mill, South and Bletsoe[3]). In 1671 there were 4 percent leys. Only a few neighbours occur but most of Hargrave was in the hands of a few people.

Two 18th-century terriers record many field names that were locational rather than indicative of cropping, but there was still a three-course system in 1791 with meadow allotted on a three-year cycle[4].

It is likely that there were three fields; Meadow Field; Middle Field; and a dispersed third cropping area made up of Moor Field, Long Field (alias Bletso Field) and Rowley Field. The glebe, of 1774 groups the fields in three blocks[5]:

Field	*A*	*R*	*A*	*R*
Meadow Field	13	1	13	1
Bletso Field	5	3		
Rowlo Field	5	0		
Moor Field	4	0	14	3
South Field	1	0		
	5	3		
Grove Hill Field	2	3		
Middle Field	6	0	15	2

Such a complicated arrangement of fields was probably of late date. There was a contraction of arable from the parish periphery which became permanent grass. The

the north-eastern part of the Meadow Field was 'common' and the south-western tongue of the parish was 'common leys'.

The priory of Chicksands, Beds., had a grange and 11.5 yardlands at Hargrave in *c.* 1160[6]. In 1200, 7.5 yardlands were recorded[7]. A survey of 1610[8] refers to 0.5 yardland; yardlands were not mentioned after that time.

Furlongs have been identified from the names stated in the enclosure award to lie in each of the new allotments and the later field names of those allotments. Earlier furlong names are given in several terriers[9].

A small wood called the grove, still surviving, gave its name to the village. The furlong names suggest there was an area of woodland at the north, the *lawnd furlongs*. These and nearby furlongs were probably laid out on a large scale because although there was subdivision into two or three furlongs lying on the slope running from the Raunds township boundary to the brook called *mavis slade* there was only one name for each of the three subregions, the *lawnd*, *ten yards furlong*, and *mavis furlongs*. Individual furlongs were specified by being called upper or lower, or short, or where there were three furlongs, above or below the first and second joints etc.

Orders. Open-field offences were recored in Duchy of Lancaster court rolls, some of which have been given in Chapter 2 for the years 1458 and 1471. Henry Pickering broke the common order about the number of sheep that could be kept, by having 60. Orders were listed in 1566[10], among them the stint sheep of one per acre of land and ley in the fields, and 4 great beast for every 20 acres of land and ley. No one was to destroy any young hares, leveretts or partridge eggs in 1572. Orders for 1580 stated all lands should be left uncultivated 8 paces towards the hadons and slades, which is an early example of an order made to create grass at the ends of lands.

Hargrave was enclosed following an Act passed in 1802[11].

1 NRO YZ 7567 1618.
2 NRO BSL Box 1183.
3 *Id.* Box 1184.
4 NRO YZ 4467, p. 23.
5 NRO Hargrave glebe terriers.
6 G. H. Fowler, *Bedfordshire Historical Record Society* i (1913) 108 and 121.
7 *Book of Fees* p. 289.
8 PRO SC 12 13/34 m.10–11.
9 NRO YZ 4467; 1791: with data from the glebe 1774 (1753), and other terriers; YZ 5121, 1605: YZ 7567, 1618.
10 Duchy of Lancaster court rolls, Raunds manor, 8 Eliz I and 22 Eliz I in X707.
11 NRO ZA 6149; Award (1807) Enclosure Enrolment Vol L p. 163; the original map has recently (1990) been 'found' in the village and deposited at NRO.

Harlestone

This township has a detailed estate book of the early 14th century, made by one of its lords, that has been printed[1].

There were two fields in 1301; a holding of 1.5 yardlands had 100 acres exactly divided between the North and South fields[2]. Another terrier of 7.5 acres was split as 7 and 8 half acres between the same fields[3]; and in a third holding the North Field had 32 acres and the South 33[4]. In all these terriers furlongs are listed.

The two fields had been changed into three irregular ones by 1410, at which time

they were re-ordered into three equal fields by the 6 lords and the 'village community'[5]. See the full text given in Chapter 4.

The glebe from 1618 until enclosure shows that there were five fields for its half yardland[6]:

North Rie Field	0.5 acres in	1 parcel
South Rie Field	4.5	6
Redland Field	12.25	22
Wheathill Field	6.75	8
Wood Field	1.5	4

This, at first sight, appears to be a five-field arrangement like Newnham, until the acreages are studied. The Redland field at 12.25 acres is nicely balanced against the sum of all the others (13.25 acres), and it is possible that there had been reversion to a two-field tilth, one of them being described by several locational parts. This is only an arithmetic interpretation, there is no evidence that Harlestone was two field at this date. The stinting was 6 horses, 12 beast, 82 sheep and 6 lots of turves, brakes and bushes for a full yardland, which was reduced between 1736 and 1744 to 4 horses, 8 cows and 64 sheep. Cottagers had a cow common in the Hayes.

From the 1301 acreages a yardland was 67 acres, and from a rental of similar date[7] the sizes of 11 half yardlands gave an average of 65 acres for a full yardland. The glebe values suggest a similarly large yardland of 67 acres in 1633. There is a lot of heath ground in this township and some of it may have been added to the yardlands; the high animal stints are consistent with a large area.

The total of hides in 1086 was 3.5 (plus 0.0625?[8]). Henry de Bray states[9] that there are '27 yardlands in the hide and 1 yardland outside the hide'. This presumably means there were 28 yardlands in all, so 8 yardlands correspond to a hide of 1086. This low number (cf 24 at Watford and Elkington) doubtless reflects a knowledge in 1086 that the yardlands were large.

Enclosed in 1766[10].

1 *The Estate Book of Henry de Bray, c. 1289–1340*, by Dorothy S. Willis, *Camden Soc.*, 3rd ser. 27 (1916), which is a collated and rearranged version of the information surviving in two similar manuscripts BL Cott Nero C xii and Lansd. 761.
2 *Estate Book* pp. 33–4.
3 *Estate Book* p. 69.
4 *Estate Book* pp. 83–6.
5 NRO NPL 2; printed by Joan Wake in *English Historical Review* 37 (1922) pp. 406–13.
6 NRO Harlestone glebe terriers.
7 *Estate Book* p. 31.
8 Thorn and Thorn, 1–19, 18–22, 18–43, 35–3d.
9 *Estate Book c.* 1300; p. 9.
10 Act NRO B(D) 706; Award Enclosure Enrolment Volume B p. 48.

Harpole

There were two fields (not named except by reference to one and *the other*) in a grant of 2.5 acres equally distributed in 1313[1]. The demesne had a third waste in 1338, so there seems to have been a change in field number[2].

There were 4 named fields in 1682[3]; Northampton Field, North and Nether Field, and Hill Field; it is stated that there were three tilths. The sizes were irregular:

Number of	*Northampton*		*North & Nether*			*Hill Field*		
	Arable	*Total*	*Arable*	*Ley*	*Total*	*Arable*	*Ley*	*Total*
Parcels	6	6	6	4	10	5	5	11
Roods	11	11	22	9	31	9	14	23

If 'lands' were half acres then there were 32.5 acres in a full yardland with 35 percent ley. There is reference to a heath.

Enclosed in 1778[4].

1 BL Cott. Tib. E V f.29b.
2 Gray from PRO C 135 53 m.18.
3 NRO XYZ 1610.
4 Act NRO WK 309; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. G p. 1.

Harringworth

M 1979 P 1732 (furlongs)

Harringworth lies between Rockingham Forest and the River Welland. Near to the vill on the east lies the small hamlet of Shotley. Harringworth had multiple fields, possibly caused by township amalgamation, but there is no evidence.

A map of 1619 shows village closes and great field boundaries, with some furlongs faintly picked out. Houses stretched most of the way to Shotley[1]. The 6 named fields are correlated with those of 1732 below; immediately south of the vill were Lodge Leas, 155 acres. In 1732 there were 5 fields operating a three-course tilth in detached parts. A furlong map with names but no lands marked, shows the wheat field coloured blue, the peas field red, the fallow field yellow[2]:

1619	*1732*	
Lower and Upper West Field Lower East Field	West Field next to Harringworth Park, south west Nether Field at north east next to Wakerley	Peas
Warnysh Field Mill Field	Wanish Field at east S next to Short Wood Walker Well Field at S with dibbins and breach furlongs at the south next to the Park	Wheat
Lodge Field	Lodge Field, south east to Laxton and to Harringworth Warren, south	Fallow

Enclosed in 1774[3].

1 NRO Map 4527.
2 NRO Map 763B.
3 Award (1775) NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D p. 247.

Hartwell

M 1974

Hartwell lies on the western edge of Salcey Forest. Its settlement pattern is unique for the county, there being 6 deserted village sites. The present vill site may have medieval origins, making a seventh settlement. The chief site was probably the vill at Chapel Farm, where there was a chapel appurtenant to Roade.

A plan has been published[1]. Two maps show the open field area and enclosures in 1727 and 1768[2]. The 1768 map has strips marked on the furlongs that are artistic only and do not relate to the lands.

Most of the township was once ploughed as part of a field system, but by 1727 the arable had been much reduced by various enclosures. On the west, a park enlarged in *c.* 1520, has boundaries cutting across several furlongs in straight lines. On the east, next to Salcey forest was another large area of enclosure, leaving little more than a third of the total left as arable. Four furlongs on the east had *stocking* names in 1727, suggesting that they were assarts from Salcey Forest. Closes at the north east were called assart (on furlongs 60–1, 101–2 of the published plan).

There were four fields in 1727; Town Field, in two parts, East and West, Brook Field and Whallis Field. On the far west of the Park, unenclosed land was called Hartwell Piece in 1768. The fields at this date lay around Chapel Farm. The names are likely to be locational only, as their sizes are very unequal. The enclosure Award names Park Field and Town Field. A few orders survive for 1726–7[3]:

Hartwell was enclosed by an Act of 1825[4]. The Award was made in 1828[5]. The Park is described by Steane[6].

1 D. Hall, 'Hartwell, Northamptonshire, a parish survey', CBA Group 9 *Newsletter* 5 (1975), 7–9.
2 NRO G 360 and G 440; 8 irregular fields occurred in 1605 (PRO LR2 201).
3 NRO G 3905.
4 Baker ii p. 183.
5 NRO ML 1565, Map 2995.
6 J. M. Steane, 'Medieval Parks' *NPP* 5 (1975) p. 226.

Haselbech

M 1983

There were 41 yardlands in 1599, 24 belonging to Thomas Tresham, 7.5 to John Reade of Cottesbrooke and the remainder in the hands of 10 freeholders as 0.25–1.5 yardland holdings[1]. Gay says there were 40 yardlands before 1607[2]. There were 3 hides in 1086[3], equating at approximately 14 yardlands to the hide.

Enclosed in 1599.

1 NRO Map 561 with agreement attached, listing yardland ownership.
2 E. F. Gay 'The Midland revolt and the Inquisitions of Depopulation 1607, *Trans. Royal. Hist. Soc.*, NS 18 (1904) p. 216, probably from PRO LR2 211.
3 Thorn and Thorn 18–21.

Hellidon

In 1728 there were three fields, 0.25 yardland being uniformly dispersed in the Middle Field 3.5 acres, Upper Field 3.25 acres, and Farther Field 3.25 acres[1]. In all there were 10 acres so that 1 yardland was 40 acres of which 20 percent was ley.

A rental of 1477 listed 19.5 yardlands[2]. The inlands (most likely the demesne) were enclosed in 1595[3]. The remainder of the parish was enclosed in 1774[4].

1 NRO D1798.
2 NRO K667.
3 NRO Holt 638.
4 NRO Award (1775), Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D p. 433; Maps 2865–6 have furlongs marked.

Helpston

1976 F 1597

The landscape of Helpston can be reconstructed using the enclosure map and descriptions given in 1819–20[1]. There was a central village based on a cross roads, called Westgate, Southgate and Eastgate. At the south was Snape Green, *c.* 8 acres, from which led a drove 35–55 yards wide called Wood Lane, an ancient drift way, leading to the Heath on the high ground. Either side of this drift were closes in a band *c.* 550 yards wide. The closes were there in 1772 and probably 1631. The open heath land of 1819 was *c.* 200 acres.

The woods and heath lie on poor sandy ground, over drained because it lies on a thick bed of limestone. However it had been ploughed at some time since most of the land had laid ridge and furrow.

In a 1597 field book Helpston has 3 fields, the relative sizes being shown by the page length of the entries[2]; Park Field 23.5 pages, North Field 25, Barrows Field 21, and Old enclosure 2 pages. Park Field has many manorial blocks, one 50-acre piece belonging to Torpel manor. The North Field has a block next to the village but the remaining areas were all dispersed. There were no leys in the arable block.

A survey of 1631 (with 1647 tenants' names added) gives terriers of all the farms. Each entry has the estimated size of the parcel, the furlong name (or furlong description), the number of lands, abuttals in all four cardinal directions, the measured breadth and length of each parcel to the nearest 1/8th of a pole, and finally the measured area in acres, roods and poles[3].

The lordship land lies equally dispersed in three fields and had 30 of its lands as ley; only one other farm had any ley. There were several 'pieces' indicating a dispersed demesne. The tenants also have some pieces which is probably part of the demesne let out. The farms all had land in Etton West and Old Fields, which seem to make up the deficiences in the Park Field.

	Widow & Ralph Knowles Lands				*Robert Smith*				*Abiell Buddles*				*Lordship*			
	(L)	*A*	*R*	*P*	*L*	*A*	*R*	*P*	*L*	*A*	*R*	*P*	*L*	*A*	*R*	*P*
Park Field	31	28	3	13	13	7	2	15	28	13	1	8	57	28	0	24
North Field	53	31	1	0	40	27	0	19	25	16	2	0	55	41	1	12
East Field	65	36	3	32	47	30	0	37	37	20	3	3	51	21	2	11
														[30 leys]		
Etton West	5	4	3	2	22	15	2	25	9	6	0	4	18	13	3	23
Etton Old	7	5	1	35		[both]				id				—		
Closes		24				6	1	8		2	3	0		31	0	22
Farm total (lands)	161				122				99	56	2	15	181	124	3	0

The parish belonged to the Fitzwilliams after the 16th century, and had an almost enclosed economy, there was an abundance of pasture, and closes were let with the farms. Meadow was dispersed in the usual way; yardlands are not mentioned.

In 1819 the fields were Heath Field on the west, Lolham Bridge Field on the north and Woodcroft Field on the east, an equally balanced three-field arrangement. A small

detached piece, *c.* 25 acres, of Woodcroft Field lay next to the meadow on the north, and there was a large heath[4]. This represents a late functioning system that must have been much modified from an early one by the enclosures and heath. There were doubtless economic effects of the commoning rights in Borough Fen, equivalent to the Forest villages. Thus the agriculture was geared to a system best suited for arable production rather than maintaining an uneasy balance of mixed farming with rather too many animals, as in the west of the county.

Pasture grounds and enclosure. Forty Acres and Steepings in Woodcroft were enclosed by 1537[5]. An undated 16th-century map shows an extensive pasture area of Helpston Heath, Pryers Heath and Caves Heath with a lodge, surrounded by Marham Grounds, Ailsworth Common alias Hemmings Sale, and Ufford common[6]. In 1597 Helpston Meadow, called Westinge, was common to Helpston, Etton and Woodcroft, Marham, Glinton, and Maxey[7].

Helpston was enclosed following and Act of 1809[8]. The enclosure took in part of Etton Old Field on the East.

1 NRO ML 860.
2 NRO Fitzw. Misc. Vol. 424.
3 NRO Fitzw. Misc. Vol. 71.
4 NRO ML 860.
5 M. E. Finch *Five Northamptonshire Families*, NRS 19 (1955), p. 115.
6 NRO Map 1241.
7 NRO Fitzw. Misc. Vol. 424 (1597) f.2.
8 Award 1819 and map 1820, NRO ML 853; Map 1829; Map 1087 shows old and new closes; ML 860 has the Award and plan for several parishes.

Hemington

M 1990 H

Although Hemington charters describe many furlong names from the 13th century until enclosure in the 17th century, none of them gives the number of fields until 1517. By that date a terrier of Ramsey Abbey land shows there were three fields, Castell Bush, Puttock Bush and House Hill Field[1]. Since the first two share furlongs of the same name it is likely that this is a modification of an earlier two-field arrangement. The open land of Ramsey Abbey was equally divided; House Hill 128.5 acres, Puttock Bush 125.5 acres, and Castell Bush 117.15 acres, 321.15 in all.

The 1517 terrier of Ramsey land shows that often Thorney abbey or Hinchingbrook Priory had lands next to Ramsey, indicating that large parts of furlongs had been given to monasteries. Frequently the Ramsey land is at the end of a furlong (proved by abutting the next furlong), so a regular order is likely. A survey of the whole township was made by Edward Montagu in 1559, itemizing the lands and leys[2].

The two manors had different types of demesne. A terrier of Hemington's manor of 1415 shows there were 50 acres that laid in three blocks near the village with the remainder dispersed throughout the fields[3]. Ramsey Abbey demesne (1517) was in a block at the west end of the vill lying arounded a moated manor-house, called the *inlands*.

Orders. No Ramsey abbey court rolls survive, but later field regulations occur in the Montagu court rolls. In 1499 Thomas Coke had animals in the sown fields. The men of

Thurning tied horses in Hemington field in 1520; in 1510 half a yardland was allowed 2 cows and 20 sheep (4 cows and 40 sheep per whole yardland). This allowance had been reduced by 1556 to 4 beast and 30 sheep per yardland[4]. The yardland was 43 acres in *c.* 1250 and unvirgated lands are described in Chapter 6.

The number of yardlands for the Ramsey manor was 29.5 plus *c.* 2 for the demesne in 1276 and the Peterborough manor had unvirgated land in 1290 (see Chapter 6). An extent of that date showed additional seignurial resources of meadow at Barnwell, Southwick, Warmington and Yarwell[5].

Enclosed grounds. Hemington *Inland* was enclosed before 1517[6] and in 1528 there were 430 sheep and 428 lambs in it[7]. More enclosure of the township had taken place by 1623 when the Peterborough manor-house was leased for 11 years as Hemington House with 200 acres called Hemington Park[8]. Samuel Bird, usurping minister, complained to lord Montagu about having to maintain the hedge of his 'newly enclosed' ground in 1658, so completion of enclosure was probably *c.* 1657. In 1661 a block of 127 acres was said to abut New Field Close and a newly made ditch there[9].

1 NRO Buccleuch 15–59 in X8678.
2 *Id.* 25–71/152 in X889.
3 *Id.* 25–1, charter 2 Hen. V, in X8678.
4 *Id.* 25–74/100, /106, /102,/ 112 in X889.
5 *Id.* C10 in X387A for 1276 rental; 25–71 in X889 for 1290 extent; 18–56 in X388 for 1588 yardlands.
6 *Id.* 25–59 in X8678.
7 *Id.* 25–73.
8 *Id.* 25–66.
9 *Id.* 25–70.

Heyford

Baker[1] refers to Heyford as being 'perhaps one of the most complicated parishes in the kingdom'. It consists of Upper and Nether Heyford vills that were separate townships. Nether Heyford, when enclosed in 1750, had 40 yardlands of which 22.5 paid tithes to Stowe, 12.5 to Heyford and 5 to Bugbrook. The houses relating to the yardlands were mixed up in the villages. Upper Heyford tithes were split unequally between the parishes of Nether Heyford, Flore and Bugbrook. Baker further describes the deaneries to which the churches belonged, and gives complicated details about parish ratings and election of sidesmen. He explains that the complexities were a result of the divided lordship of the Heyfords in the 12 century. Land of the family of Gaunt had tithes given to the church of Stowe, their main seat; the Morton fee gave lands to its church at Bugbrook, while those of the family of Keynes were given to Flore church. Heyford church was founded by the family of Heyford, owners of a separate part of the Keynes' fee.

Nether Heyford

Three fields are mentioned in 1736[2], of which two were called the Field next Bugbrook and the Middle Field.

Enclosed by act of parliament in 1749–50, with 40 yardlands[3]. The tithe of 5 yardlands belonged to Bugbrook church. Several closes were mentioned in 1736 (Bugbrook glebe) including a park.

Upper Heyford

Two fields are mentioned in a small grant of 3 acres in 1313, called the East and West Fields[4]. The full details of every furlong are not clear in the fire-damaged manuscript.

Upper Heyford was enclosed by agreement in 1712[5].

1 Baker i p. 181–2.
2 NRO Bugbrook Glebe; the third was 'the Field towards Weedon' in 1622 (YZ 7550).
3 Baker i 181–2; Bill NRO C(H) 112.
4 BL Cott. Tib. E V f.36d.
5 Baker i 189; Bugbrook glebe 1736.

Higham Cold

M 1990

The parish contains the vills of Cold Higham, Grimscote, and the deserted vill of Potcote. Grimscote is the largest settlement and Potcote payed tithe to the rector[1]. Baker records that some of Potcote was in Greens Norton[2]. Perhaps the township was artificially split after enclosure.

Cold Higham and Grimscote

Charters and terriers often refer to Grimscote as though it were the major settlement and that the field system belonged to it, but in 1354 a full terrier of a yardland was stated to be in the fields of Higham and Grimscote[3]. At that time there were two fields, North and South[4].

There were three fields, East, West and North from 1633 until enclosure. The numbers of parcels are, respectively, 23 arable and 12 grass; 22 and 5; 25 and 6 acres. Hall land, presumably the demesne, consisted of 25 yardlands[5].

The township was enclosed by an act of 1812[6].

Potcote

Potcote was open field in 1347, when a charter described 4 lands (one lying on *tounfurlong*). Each land had Henry Hey as a neighbour, so a regular tenurial order is likely[7]. The fields of Potcote and *Gremuscote* were mentioned in 1349[8]. It was enclosed before 1472 according to references to closes and hedges[9].

1 NRO Cold Higham glebe terrier 1720.
2 Baker ii p.69.
3 NRO Fermor-Hesketh Catalogue 287; Box D Bdle IV MTD/D/4/3.
4 NRO Fermor-Hesketh MTD/D/4/20.
5 NRO glebe terrier 1720.
6 Baker ii p. 284; NRO NPL 1635–47; Award in NRO Enrolment Vol. N p. 1.
7 Fermor-Hesketh catalogue at NRO.
8 NRO K Ch.88–9.
9 BL Harleian Ch Roll 7.

Higham Ferrers

M 1968 F 1567, 1703 P 1737 and 1789

Higham parish contains the deserted township of Buscott, half of which was worked with Higham open fields, the other half being farmed from Newton Bromswold[1]. Chelveston and Caldecott originally were a chapelry of Higham, but are listed separately above.

There were three fields in 1327 when two-thirds of the demesne were under cultivation[2]. A field book made in 1703, updating an earlier one of 1567, and two open-field plans of 1737 (illustrated on the jacket and at Plate 7) and 1789, name four fields, called Brook Field, Middle Field, Handcross Field, and the Field on the West Side of the Town otherwise Gunsex Field. Analysis of the tenurial holdings shows that the first three fields have lands held in singles or very small groups, rarely more than two, which contained freehold and copyhold (former villein) holdings[3]. The fourth field, lying near to the town, was held in larger groups of lands, some of them enclosed. The holders were tenants of the Duchy of Lancaster demesne. Names of parts of the area can be related to demesne pasture leased out in the early 15th century[4]. The demesne is further described in Chapter 5.

The field book of 1567/1703 records the freeholders and tenants at both dates. For each field and furlong there is the number of lands in each parcel and the area. The lands of four 1567 holdings were distributed in the fields as follows:

Owner in 1567	*Middle Field*	*Brook Field*	*Handcross Field*	*West Field*	*Total*	*Yardlands*
Pitman Thomas	20	15	13	6	58	1 copyhold
Gurrey Chris	38	41	30	2	116	2 freehold
Walters Simon	20	19	18	4	67	1
Chichele Thomas	19	18	10	3	59	1

In Middle Field the land size for 317 lands averaged 0.41 acres. The number of lands in 16 yardlands (of both free and copyhold) was 1036, hence the average yardland of 64.75 lands (including the few in West Field), was 26.55 acres.

The land of Thomas Chichele, 1 yardland leasehold, lay in the three fields, with none in Buscott, and only a few in the demesne West Field, where the tenure is not specified, showing that it was different.

The land use in 1567 is the same as 1703. In the three open fields there is almost no ley. Most of the demesne is ley, pieces or closes. The Newton part of Buscott was also ley and mostly enclosed.

Tenurial order. No clear tenurial order is discernible in the 1703 field book, as is clear from Thomas Chichele's one freehold yardland. Some furlongs are not represented, yet in the yardland of another tenant they would be. A plot of Thomas Chichele's yardland shows that his lands lie scattered in most of the furlongs of the three 'yardland' fields. In Middle Field he had 17 lands in 9 furlongs, three of them in position 48. The probability that the same position could occur three times if the order was random is 1:110,592; there is therefore the remains of some kind of order. There may be more order than there seems, for if the sequence has been reversed in some furlongs, the position would not be 48.

The very disturbed sequence cannot be the result of random private exchanges made over the centuries. The purpose of such exchanges would be to consolidate yardland holdings, which clearly has not occurred. Neither were such exchanges continuous equilibrium events, since the collation of three field books of 1567, 1703 and 1792,

shows there was almost no change in the distribution of holdings over 225 years. The disturbance was probably caused by a large-scale exchange made at an early date. One such event may have been the creation of the large block demesne.

Court rolls record a few open-field items[5]. In 1450 tenants were ordered that no beast or horses should be tied in their neighbours' pasture, and that no rushes should be gathered, and no peascods or wheat should be gleaned. In 1452 no tenant was to put sheep or cattle in the fields unless he held 1 yardland; freeholders with 0.25 yardlands were allowed to put animals in the field.

Buscott

The first reference to Buscott is as *Britwinescote* in the early 13th century[6].

The 1567/1703 field book shows that half of Buscott was divided into three parts and and worked in with the three fields of Higham as arable. Its ownership was the same as the demesne, held in blocks of several lands. The villein land of the three fields of Higham had no land in Buscott. The other half of Buscott belonged to Newton and was left mainly as leys and closes. It was enclosed with Newton in 1800, even though it lay in Higham parish and was not part of Newton township[7]. The tenurial holding of Buscott indicates that it had been split between the lords of Higham and Newton at an early date and held as demesne. It is speculated that Buscott may be an earlier site of Newton, see Chapter 8.

Buscott was enclosed in two stages. The Newton part was formally done with Newton in 1800[8], although the 1567 field book shows that much of it was already in closes. The Higham part was enclosed in 1838 with Higham[9].

1 Illustrated in D. Hall 1988, in Hooke, pp.113–5.
2 PRO C135 6, m.26.
3 NRO Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol. 47.
4 PRO DL 29 325/5320.
5 NRO X700.
6 BL Harleian Ch.111 D 45.
7 NRO Newton enclosure papers in X3473.
8 NRO CAM 61.
9 NRO Fitzw. Misc. Vol. 700; Map 2850.

Holcot

M 1975

A terrier of half a yardland in 1316[1] describes land in 3 fields; in Est Feld, 5.4 acres; Mydylfelde 2.67 acres, and West Felde 3.58 acres (total 11.67). The last two field totals are nearly the same as the first, suggesting a two-tilth course operated. The yardland is 23 acres.

There were 3 fields in 1633 and until enclosure in 1777, called East Field, Middle Field and West Field. Half a yardland had 21, 21 and 19 roods in these fields, plus 2 'pieces' in the West Field, hence there were 30.5 acres in a yardland[2]. The animal stints were 4 horses, 4 beast and 40 sheep per yardland (1635).

Other 17th-century terriers use the names of Moulton, Middle and Hannington fields, distributed as 28:24:32.5 roods (half a yardland, implying 42.25 acres per yardland). Two more terriers of 1684 and 1688 imply 40.5 and 46 acres per yardland[3]. These later values for the yardland do not agree with that of 1316.

Orders for 1673 were 14 in number[4], and remained in force until 1687, when 7 more

were added, including that the jury were to set out the highways and lands' ends on the Thursday after Holcot feast.

Enclosed in 1777[5].

1 1430 copy, BL Cott Vesp. E 17 f.52d.
2 NRO Holcot glebe terriers.
3 NRO Overstone Collection Box 740 now in X9922.
4 NRO Markham Collection.
5 Act NRO BSL 14; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. G p. 133.

Holdenby

Holdenby had two fields in 13th century, 36 acres of demesne lying in two 18-acre lots in the East Field (16 parcels) and West Field (15 parcels), mainly in acre pieces[1]. Three fields are named in 1540, but the acreages and alternative names could imply that two fields still operated; there were 17 percent leys.[2]:

West Field called Langelond Field:	
8 acre piece plus 9 lands, 1 ley	13 acres
Wood Field	
10 lands	5 acres
Cargatt Field [West F in 13th]	
10 lands, 8 leys in Cargatt F called Wodfeld	9 acres

Holdenby was partly enclosed by 1580, but 4 open-field names are marked on a map of that date; Longland Field 249 acres, North Field 740, Wood Field 319 and Park Field 166 acres[3]. The last 2 fields had many spinneys planted. The North Field is described as the 'tenants ground', suggesting there had been been much rearrangement. Another map of 1587 shows a Park made over the Wood Field and spinneys set on the North Field.

1 BL Add. Ch.22,897.
2 BL Add. Ch.21,991.
3 NRO FH 272 for 1580 and 1587 maps, printed as plates 16 and 17 in RCHM, *An Inventory of Archaeological sites in Northamptonshire* 1981.

Horton

M 1992

Horton had 3 fields in 1458, called South, Mill and North Fields[1].

Enclosure. Closes referred to in 1511 were probably demesne; some of them possibly being assarts, such as Wyttylbury stokkyng, Curtes wode and Hockytsstokkyng. There was still arable land[2]. In 1561 Robert Lane had licence to enclose a park with a fence and ditch, taking in 200 acres of wood and 300 acres of arable and pasture[3]. The whole parish was probably enclosed at this date. The identifiable northern park boundary cuts across ridge and furrow that, from the physical evidence, has not been ploughed since the boundary was created. In 1584 ground was described as lying 'on the sowth syde of the towne of Horton joyning in parte to the parke there and parte otherwise and lately layed to pasture'.[4] This confirms that most of the southern part of the parish was pasture, and so likely was the rest.

The park included old assart formed out of a much larger wood, as shown by the

names and also suggested by the ground evidence, having no furlong boundaries. The modern parish includes lands that were once detached pieces of woodland belonging to Great Houghton and Cogenhoe (Cogenhoe Brand).

1 NRO G(H) 251
2 NRO G(H) 259.
3 NRO G(H) 263.
4 NRO G(H) 264.

Hothorpe

Hothorpe lies next to Sibbertoft but is in the parish of Theddingworth, Leics. It had two fields in the early 13th century, a small grant of 2 acres (called 'virgates') describe 1 acre in one part of the vill and the other acre in another part[1].

An enclosure agreement was made in 1666[2].

1 BL Add Ch. 22,012.
2 NRO YO 606; there were 3 fields in 1639 (YO 90, 175, 604).

Houghton, Great

M 1972

No open-field information has been discovered for Great Houghton. A plan of the furlongs has been published[1]. Enclosed in 1612[2].

1 D. Hall, 'Great Houghton parish survey' *Northamptonshire Archaeol.* 14 (1979) 80–88.
2 NRO S(G)298; NPL 241, plotted in 'Great Houghton'.

Houghton, Little

M 1972 F 1782 P *c.* 1829 (furlongs)

A plan with identified furlongs has been published[1]. Little Houghton had 3 fields in the 18th century[2]. The 1723 glebe was distributed in South Field 24 lands (1 of them ley), Middle Field 23, South Field 37 lands (13 of them leys).

The arable, lying almost entirely as single lands, is fairly uniformly distributed between the fields with leys listed at the end of the terrier. There was 14 percent ley. In the South Field 24 neighbours are named, there being 9 different people, four of them occupying 67 percent of the positions, probably indicating that there was once a regular tenurial order. Inspection of a 1782 field book revealed no observable recurring order.

The glebe meadows of 1723 refer to (unnamed) divisions called hides.

Enclosed with Brafield and Cogenhoe in 1827[3]. A draft enclosure map of *c.* 1829[4], shows the furlong boundaries and names, and landuse.

1 D. Hall 1976 'Little Houghton 1972, a Parish Field Survey', *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 5 (1976) 295–304.
2 NRO glebe and field book of 1782 in NRS Transcripts.
3 Act NRO CAM 62; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. O p. 123.
4 NRO Map 2838.

Irchester

M 1965

Irchester parish contains two townships, Irchester and Knuston, and Irchester township also contains the shrunken hamlet of Chester, lying by the side of the Roman

walled town. Knuston boundary can be established from maps, and is agreeable with the furlong pattern. Chester had an enclosed demesne in 1756[1] and its lands were in Irchester fields. The fields of Irchester and the fields of Knuston are mentioned in the same reference in 1432, proving their separate existence[2].

There were three fields in the mid-15th century; Mitteldalefeld (1437), Briggefeld and South Field (1440). Although the names do not occur in a single reference their similarity to the later three-field names of Middle Dale, Bridge, and Mill Bunch Field, and the existence of a *middle* field, shows there were three.

Several open-field orders were made during 1423–46 (see Chapter 2) and many furlong names are recorded in 15th-century court rolls (1422–46), about 30 of them being the same as those used in the 17th- and 18-centuries. Unlike many Duchy of Lancaster townships, yardlands survived throughout the Middle Ages until enclosure. In 1432 half a yardland was stated to be 14 acres and a quarter yardland was 6 acres[3].

In 1700, 2.5 yardlands were split between two heirs[4]. The total area was 57 acres with only 5.75 acres of ley (10 percent). A yardland was therefore 22.75 acres; it had 3 cow commons and 20 sheep at that time. The distribution of the yardlands between the fields of Mill Bunch, Middle Dale, and Bridge Fields was fairly uniform.

Irchester was enclosed in 1773[5].

Knuston

Delfeld is mentioned in 1452. A few 15th-century orders occur; in 1431, 'no one should tie foals or young horses in the cow pasture at the time of making and carrying hay'[6].

Knuston was enclosed in 1769[7].

1 NRO Map 605.
2 Duchy of Lancaster court rolls NRO X708–9.
3 Court roll 10 Hen VI in NRO X708.
4 PRO DL 44 1260.
5 Act NRO YZ 6150, Award (1774) Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D. p. 327 and ML 381.
6 NRO court roll 10 Hen VI in X708.
7 Award YZ 8037; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. B p. 300.

Irthlingborough

M 1971 F 1739

There were two parishes at Irthlingborough, St Peter's and All Saints. The church of All Saints, lying on the east side of the vill, belonged to Peterborough abbey and was demolished during the 16th century. There may once have been two townships since there were six fields.

A field book of 1739, made by William Brasier (see Broughton for details of the format[1]) describes 6 fields, Broadholm, Holbush, Upwillow, Fettledine, Knightland, and West Field. The 1682 glebe of St Peter's was distributed unevenly in the 6 fields, there being 5 percent ley and grass[2]; Broad Ham 3 acres, Fitteldine 1, Holbush 3, Knightland 2, Upwillow 3, and West Field ley 0.5, in all 13 acres.

Yardlands. Peterborough abbey charters record several grants of lands[3]. A yardland held by Simon son of Henry Bokkesworth during 1214–22, became split between many tenants by *c.* 1300; the furlongs are fully described, amounting to 25 acres[4].

The St Peter's 1682 glebe shows that a yardland was 26 acres, calculated from a half yardland, which compares well with the 1214 amount. Eight people were neighbours in the glebe yardland and three of them held 64 percent of the positions, suggesting a slightly disintegrating regular order. All Saints also had half yardland that went with a cottage 'opposite the old churchyard of the devasted church' (1780).

In the 18th century the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough had 14 yardlands of which a tithe of 1 in 30 shocks belonged to the rector of All Saints. This was a third of a tithe, probably of the demesne. The meadows were divided into hides, *Shittle hide* being mentioned in 1682. Among the 13th-century furlong names is *aldeborugh* which is the fortified Iron Age and Roman site on a promontory near Crow Hill, and may have given its name to Irthlingborough. Details of manorial adminstration are to be found in account rolls for 1307–8 and 1309–10[5].

Enclosed in 1808[6].

1 NRO ML 126.
2 NRO Irthlingborough glebe terriers.
3 Brooke and Postan *Carte Nativorum* NRS 20 (1960); 380–92, 520, 547, 555, 557.
4 *Id.* 547, 392; the furlongs lie in the whole area.
5 NRO F(M) Charter 233 and F(M) 2389; see E. J. King, *Peterborough Abbey* pp. 180–1.
6 Act NRO ZA 904; Award (1813) Enclosure Enrolment Vol. M p. 264.

Islip

M 1989

In 1647 Islip had 5 fields[1], a terrier describing in Over Field 9 acres, Henslow Field 7.75 acres, Towne Field 14.25 acres, Hie Field 5 acres, and Chappell Field 5 acres. The glebe of 1631–1795 describes only 3 fields, unequally distributed; in 1771 Town Field 8 acres, Clapgate Field 9 and Allege (Huxlow) Field 24 acres. There were 10 named neighbours in 1631 sharing 37 positions, 3 of them held only 38 percent, showing an irregular arrangement[2].

The 1124 survey returned 1 hide belonging to Westminster abbey and this was stated to be 5 virgates in 1284[3]. Yardlands were mentioned in 1349, 1440 and in 1596 when they were 36 acres in extent[4].

Court rolls of the 15th century yield a few furlong names, and an account roll of 1462–4 records payment to John Peyntis of Denford, 'fremason', for making a new chancel in Islip churchyard for £14 13 4d, and there was pasture in hand at Fyngford-weye, lying in the falwefeld (fallow) field[5]. In 1472 the orders of the village were to be maintained with half the fines paid to the church[6].

Enclosed in 1800[7].

1 NRO SS 3795.
2 NRO Islip glebe terriers.
3 VCH iii p. 216.
4 NRO ML 141 ff.48, 60, 71.
5 NRO SS 2475.
6 NRO SS 3588.
7 Award (1801); NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. K p. 251.

Kettering

P 1727 F 1727

Some detail of the fields of Kettering can be found in the published histories[1].

Three fields were in operation in the demesne in 1341, 200 acres of the 300-acre demesne being sown[2]. There were three equal sized fields in 1727, the acreages given below are taken from a tabular terrier and a fieldbook[3]. These terriers are identical apart form the format and explanatory comments; they are numbered, probably referring to a map of 1728[4]. For each furlong there are columns giving the names of subdivisions (called hides), the number on the map, the number of each parcel within the hides, the number of lands in each parcel (called 'yardparts'), the owner's name, and the area in acres roods and poles.

	Acres	*Roods*	*Poles*
Nether Field	688	1	33
Middle	645	3	29
Upper	667	2	0
Brown Hill	83	3	34
Cransley butts	82	3	15
Wad Croft	10	1	3
Hall Closes	414	3	24

The furlongs were divided into four hides called Leasing, Roughton, Roe and Browns hides. The last three had 'ten yardland parts' (ie 10 lands), except for butt hides and irregular parts. The Leasing hide generally had 13 lands because 3 lands (yardlands) of the glebe 'is fixt to it', but the other 10 lands in this hide 'are equal' (regular).

There were 47.25 yardlands in all; the 43 described, 0.5 yardland of John Warner added to Leasing, and the remaining 3.75 yardlands 'promiscuously scattered in the hides' (tabular terrier, signed by John Brasier). All those people with land in the hides had right of common, but holders of *acremanland* did not. This last type of land is only described in the tabular terrier.

The meadow of Kingsholme was divided into the four hides, there being 40 divisions or doles in all (fieldbook p. 11). Each meadow was divided by marker stones into half hides, there being 5 doles between each stone. The meadow hide names were different from those of the fields: Barn, Sparrows, Fisher, and Hackleton alias Barton Holme. The names of the hides seem to be those of Kettering people; Brown, Roughton and Sparrow are names recorded in 1777 militia lists[5].

There had been a fixed order within the hides, still surviving fairly intact in 1727, as shown with the owners of the 10 lands of Roughton hide in four furlongs (page numbers refer to the field book).

	Dock Home Lay (p. 10) begin south	*Crownham Plain (p. 10) begin south*	*Langberrys children (p. 8)*	*Red Grass (p. 8) begin north [here reversed]*
1	Satt Mills	Satt Mills	John Green	J. Green & S. Mills
2	John Billing	John Billing	John Billing	John Billing
3	Henry Nevison	John Belcher	Henry Nevison	Thomas Page
4	John Meadows	John Meadows	John Meadows	John Meadows
5	George Warner	Abr. Wilden, G. Warner	Peter Haselwood	Peter Haselwood
6	Lady Danvers	Thomas Rowlat	Thomas Rowlat	Lady Danvers
7	Lady Danvers	Thomas Rowlat	Thomas Rowlat	Lady Danvers
8	Duke of Montagu	Duke of Montagu	Duke of Montagu	Duke of Montagu
9	Duke of Montagu	Duke of Montagu	Duke of Montagu	Duke of Montagu
10	Samuel Roughton	Samuel Roughton	Samuel Roughton	Samuel Roughton

There is much repetition of names in the same position. Five of the positions have the same name in all 4 furlongs. The order may be more regular than it appears. If two people share a yardland then two names will occur in a given position, probably alternately in each furlong.

A schematic map has been published by R. A. Martin showing the location of the scattered lands in a yardland belonging to John Green[6]. At the time of the enclosure, in 1804–5, there were 48 yardlands and there was an enclosed demesne of 407 acres (called the Hall Closes;[7]). The demesne was already enclosed in 1587[8].

Demesne furlongs are named in an account roll of 1309–10. Among the crops sown were drage, 22 acres; oats 117 acres, and peas 16 acres. Farm staff were 1 servant, 1 hayward, 1 carter, 1 dairymaid, 1 cowherd, 3 shepherds, and other part-time boys. A man looked after 32 animals 'in the marsh', probably Borough Fen. There was rent for 40 yardlands and work-service was due for 5,928 days from 38 yardlands and 416 works from 4 half-yardlands. Full details of how it was used are given and 2,760 unused works were paid for by the villeins[9]. Similar details have been publised by Wise for 1292[10], and Bull quotes some information from the earliest cartulary of *c.* 1130[11].

The demesne was called 'Hallefelde' pasture and arable in 1543[12] and had a warren. The Hall Field was said to be pasture in 1585 and is shown enclosed on the map of 1587[13].

For an analysis of Kettering yardlands from 956–1803, see Chapter 6. In 1804, 1 yardland had 4 horses, 4 cows, 32 sheep; 1 cottage common 1 cow and 1 heifer. The yardland was 45 acres gross (from enclosure total of open-field land). The plotted yardland of John Green was 36 acres in 69 parcels.

Enclosed in 1804[14].

1 F. W. Bull *A Sketch of the history of Kettering* (1891, *Supplement* 1908); C. Wise *The Compotus of Kettering Manor AD 1292* (1899). See also King, *Peterborough Abbey*.
2 *Kettering* p. 10, from BL Add. Man. 39,758.
3 NRO Buccleuch terriers.
4 NRO Map 1387, original in Westfield Museum Kettering, sketched outline in Bull *Supplement* p. 7.
5 V. A. Hatley, *Northampton Militia 1777* NRS 25 pp. 106–10.
6 *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 5 (1977) pp. 414, 421.
7 *Id.*, whole article pp. 413–24.
8 See below; map in NRO FH 272, redrawn in Bull *Supplement* frontispiece.
9 NRO F(M) 233.
10 *Compotus* and E. J. King, *Peterborough Abbey*.
11 *Kettering* p. 5, from Society of Antiquaries MS 60.
12 *Kettering* p. 12.
13 *Kettering* p. 13; NRO FH 272.
14 Act NRO ZA 917.

Kilsby

M 1989

The parish was once a chapelry of Barby[1] and further connection of the two is indicated by a detached part of Barby, called Barby Nortoft, lying within Kilsby township. In 1777 Kilsby had common rights on the common field called Barby Nortoft, belonging to Barby parish. A road across the fields of Kilsby allowed Barby to have direct access to Nortoft[2].

In 1389 the vicarage had a glebe of 27.5 acres split between 3 fields; 3.5 in the East

Field, and 12 acres each in the West and North Fields[3]. The equality in the last two fields strongly suggests that there had been two fields (compare Boddington) and that the third was taken out of them or was assart.

In 1705 and until enclosure in 1777, there were three fields; Crick Way Field, Knole Field and Haufurlong Field. These were probably unequal in size, the glebe of 1711 being distributed in 8, 21 and 21 parcels respectively (lands and leys), similar to 1389; in all probability this is the identical glebe[4]. Its distribution shows that the field structure did not change in four centuries.

In the late glebe terriers, neighbours are predominantly members of the Cowley family, which may indicate a former regular order, if this represents a holding split between Cowley heirs.

As with Crick the demesne was called Hall yardlands (8.25) and was in possession of several freeholders by the 18th century[5]. In 1777, there were at 36.25 yardlands, 28 of them called customary yardlands[6]. Domesday assessed Kilsby at 2 hides[7], the same as 1124[8] so the hide equates to 18 yardlands.

Kilsby was enclosed in 1777[9].

1 Baker i 401.
2 NRO D 3241.
3 NRO Th 661.
4 NRO Kilsby glebe terriers.
5 NRO D3690.
6 NRO D3241 and enclosure papers, f.n.9.
7 Thorn and Thorn 12–3.
8 VCH i 371, there called 'Gildesboru'.
9 Act in NRO X5402; Award (1778) Enclosure Enrolment Vol. E. p. 277.

King's Cliffe

M 1972

King's Cliffe lies in Rockingham Forest surrounded by the ancient woodland of Westhay, Morehay and Sulehay, most of it once extra parochial. The parish covers 3,642 acres, but the vill with its fields and meadows extended to only about 1,250 acres. There was also a park, disparked 1592–8. Part of Apethorpe was intermixed with King's Cliffe.

There was a three course tilth in the fields in *c.* 1750 when the parish consisted of:

Field	*Arable*	*Closes*
Calveyhay Field	98	44 acres
Morehay Field	189	61
Westhay Field	242	23
Thorpe Field	39	
Park Field	152	
Button Field		64
Other closes		46
Totals	*720*	*238 acres*

The information came from a field book now lost. The rector made the arable total 760 acres of which 500 were ploughed as wheat and peas fields (Tithe book of Wilfred Pyemont, rector 1726–59). A standard three-field tilth was thus in operation.

The number of fields was complex, the first five of the above being marked on the enclosure map. All six fields occur in the glebe of 1627, with Button Field later being included as part of Calvehay Field. It is probable that Thorpe, Calvehay and Park Fields were run together; they lie contiguous and are listed together in the glebe terriers[1].

The neighbours of the 1627 glebe are specified in 49 cases and show there was not much order, 11 out of 22 people were mentioned once only; 7 people held 57 percent of positions.

Common forest rights. There were rights of stint in the forest. Rockingham Forest was divided into three administrative regions called *bailiwicks*, being those of Rockingham, Brigstock, and Cliffe. Within Cliffe Bailiwick were seven forest vills; King's Cliffe, Apethorpe, Duddington, Fotheringhay, Nassington, Wood Newton and Yarwell. Lying nearby and having common rights within the woodland of the Bailiwick were Benefield, Bulwick, Deenethorpe, Glapthorn, and Southwick[2]. The administration details are described by Pettit, the local court dealing with offences and orders being called the *swanimote*.

An example of the business of the court is given in 1505[3]. William Fermor of Woodnewton cut green trees within the forest; Robert Lowther, rector of Blatherwyke cut down an elm filling 6 carts; the parker of Cliffe, the foresters of Morehay Lawn, Westhay, and the woodwards of *elreswood, estowod*, Collyweston Wood, Laxton Wood, and Fyneshade reported that all was well.

Orders at the King's Cliffe Swanimote *c.* 1592, 'for the preservation of game and for better quitances of commoners' were (paraphrased)[4]:

1 Before Holyrood a survey should be made in Moorehey, Westehey and Sewley (Sulehay) by verders and regarders to see what mast is to be taken that year for the Queen over and beside that for the commoners.
2 As they do find the mast so the rate for pannage will be determined.
3 No swyne are to be placed in the time of mast in the covert of forest but such as is kept for their own lard, to be killed that year.
4 No one should put swyne in the forest without commons.
5 No cottager is to put swyne contrary to order.
6 No unringed hoggs are to enter.
7 Two pounds (are to be made) in Moorehaey, 1 in Westehey 1 in Sewly.
8 The forest should not be driven more than once in 15 days.
9 No horse or other beast is to enter unless marked with the town brand.
10 No one is to impound a marked beast.
11 If a commoner take another man's horse or animal he shall be fined 20s.
12 No cattle are to be foddered.
13 No steers above 4 years should go in the vert.
14 Cattle are to be kept in a herd.
15 Every township shall make their ferres between their fields, and the covert commonly called the forrest hedges according to the assize of the forests the same shall preserve and maintain lawfully, fine 6/8d.
16 No grass shall be cut in any coppice.
17 No acorns in the forest should to be gathered.
18 No mastives, mongrels or great doggs should go in the forest unlawfully.
19 No wood should to be taken in the coverts for mending covert hedges without assignment of the woodward or keeper.

A list of 'faults punishable' in the forests in *c.* 1650 included overcharging the commons by hoggs, geese, goats, sheep, and horses[5].

Enclosed in 1809[6].

1 NRO King's Cliffe glebe terriers.
2 Pettit *Royal Forests*, pp. 11–13, 18–33.
3 NRO Bru. E.xxiii.2.
4 NRO Bru E.xxiii.6.
5 NRO Bru. E.xxiii.4.
6 Act NRO CAM 90; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. M p. 372; Map 2860 (1813).

Kislingbury

M 1974 H F 1612

Kislingbury has a field book of 1612 which has been used to identify the furlongs, fields and demesne on a field-survey plan[1]. A small part of the south of the parish seems once to have been a separate township called Hardwick, absorbed into Kislingbury by the 14th century[2].

There were 2 fields in the 13th century, a terrier of 2 acres, describing one acre each in the East and West Fields[3]. These had changed to 3 fields by 1340, when East Field had 3.75 acres in 11 parcels, South Field 4 in 11, and West Field 1.5 in 5 parcels[4].

An inquisition of 1360 confirms 3 fields (below), as does a detailed demesne terrier made in the 15th-century[5]. The field book of 1612 describes 3 fields and each furlong has numbered lands stating the name of the owner and tenant and acreage. There are also terriers of many of the individual farms made from the field book. Using the field book statistics and enclosed field-names in conjuction with the field-survey plan, most of the furlongs have been identified. No regular order is discernible in the field book. The glebe shows the same fields, South, East and West, continued until enclosure[6].

Demesne and yardlands. The demesne of the large manor is described on several occasions; in 1327[7] it consisted of 400 acres of arable and 25 acres meadow; in 1360[8] there were 3 carucates, two parts sown and the other third in common and waste, with 20 acres meadow. By 1439[9] there were 28 yardlands in demesne with tenants holding 32 houses and 32 yardlands. Only a single manor survived in 1610[10], when there were $57\frac{5}{12}$ yardlands let out.

Two separate manors are listed in Domesday for Kislingbury, two-thirds of the tithes of both being acquired by St Andrew's Priory, Northampton in 1178. The lands are detailed in 14th-century terriers[11] which show that both demesnes were of the dispersed type lying mainly throughout the fields, with one block next to the main manor house.

The lands of both manors lay adjacent, in blocks of 6 to 8 lands, suggesting that once, before 1066, there had been a single manor. A plan has been published[12]. The precise position of each block of demesne in a given furlong is not always known, but this makes no difference to the overall pattern. There had been much re-arrangement of lands between the 14th century and 1612, but some of the early blocks of demesne can be identified because the grass ends still belonged to the lord in 1612, even if the rest of the land was let to a tenant.

The estate of Hardwick in the south of the parish has been identified from a furlong of

that name, and from the furlong names described in a 13th-century terrier which all lie in the south and not in the other parts of the fields[13].

Enclosed in 1779 when there were stated to be 80 yardlands[14].

1 Hall in *Medieval Approaches*, 1984, pp. 50–1; 62.
2 Hall 1985, in Hooke *Medieval Villages*.
3 BL Cott Tib. E V f.30b.
4 BL Add. Ch. 22,078.
5 BL Cott. Vesp E xvii f.300.
6 NRO Kislingbury glebe terriers.
7 PRO C 135 12 m4; *Cal. I.P.M.* VII (1909) no. 12.
8 NRO M(TM) 670.
9 NRO M(TM) 671.
10 NRO M(TM) 679.
11 BL Cott. Vesp. E xvii ff.283 and 298.
12 Hall in *Medieval Approaches*, 1984, p. 62.
13 NRO YZ 3637.
14 Act NRO BSL 18; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. G p. 301; Map 2853.

Lamport

M 1988 F 1583

Lamport parish consists of the townships of Lamport and Hanging Houghton, each with its own independent field system. The manor of Lamport included most of Lamport township with substantial holdings in Hanging Houghton and Scaldwell from at least 1501.

Charters give furlong but not field names[1]. The earliest dated (1298) names many furlongs lying throughout the township with one neighbour predominating, showing there was a regular order of tenants[2].

In 1503 there were 3 fields called West Field, North Field and East Field which occupied all the township[3]. A terrier describes 62, 59 and 42 lands respectively, and in the West Field 3 of the 8 neighbours held 79 percent of the positions, probably indicating a regular order (the lord held 55 of the 114 places).

Partial enclosure took place in 1570–1576, removing all the land west of the Market Harborough road (see below). The remaining ground was divided into three fields that are fully described in a field book of 1583[4]. It was probably made to see how the land laid after numerous exchanges, and so that the lord, John Isham, could see how best to pursue his policy of buying out freeholders[5]. The same field names were used in 1601[6].

The fieldbook lists every furlong in each of the three new fields, giving the owners' name, the number of lands in each parcel and the area to the nearest half rood. Lands, leys, and meadows are surveyed but not the cow pasture or any old enclosures. At the end, a terrier of 1.5 yardlands has measurements to the mearest pole, giving for each furlong the total area, and the areas of arable, ley and meadow:

	Arable	*Ley*	*Meadow*
North Field	13	3	7 acres
South Field	11	4	4
East Field	10	3	4
	34	10	15

The total of land and leys is 44 acres, and the percent ley (excluding meadow) 22, from which the area of one yardland is 29 acres. The yardland before partial enclosure was presumably larger.

In many furlongs the lands do not lie in singles but in several groups of up to 7 lands and occasionally more, as would be expected when consolidation of holdings had occurred. Some blocks are probably demesne, since they belonged to John Isham, the lord. There are large numbers of open-field orders in the complete series of 16th and 17th century court rolls. Those for the years 1567 and 1569 have already been noted in Chapter 2.

Enclosure. A court order of 1567 (Chapter 2, Lamport orders 1567, no. 10) requiring all freeholders and tenants to make terriers was presumably given with enclosure in mind. A hedge was set between the townships of Houghton and Lamport. An agreement was made with the freeholders in 1570[7] and exchanges of land were made at various subsequent times in 1570 and 1571[8]. There was reduction of John Isham's animal stint for the 7 yardlands of demesne in return for the loss of common rights in the enclosures. The coney garth was abandoned and rabbits could be killed (so reversing the court order of 1569). Full details of the exchanges land by land were made[9]; such as Robert York's 1576 exchange of all land west of Hobeck Brook[10]. A new cow pasture was made where one cow or great beast could be kept by each owner[11]. The remainder of the parish was enclosed in 1794[12].

Hanging Houghton

Furlong names are recorded in charters[13]. Oldfeld occurs in 1311[14] and a terrier of *c.* 1500 mentions Egdale Field, Furside the Broke and, incidently, Wold Field[15]. The first clear statement is for 1575, when there were[16]:

Field	*IL33*	*IL3*
Garbrode Field	16 parcels	20 parcels
Egdale Field	18	18
Clint Hill Field	21	14

Another undated but similar terrier refers to the same 3 fields, stating that Garbrode Field was also called West Field[17].

Houghton had a few early orders; in 1519 no tenant was to tie horses in the meadows unless haycocks were carried. General lists of orders were made as reference schemes in 1567, 1569 and 1571, as for Lamport. In 1587 there were 34.5 yardlands, with a sheep common rate of 50[18].

The lord, John Isham, ran a London wool business during 1558–72[19], and after he retired from it, he was still dealing in wool locally, more as a farmer than a merchant. In 1582, 26 people from Houghton were paid for fleeces, providing 8 todds (80 fleeces), each todd worth 22s[20]. Another account of fleeces lists 160 todds, with 14 due for tithe and 12 bought in. Isham's own pasture had 1,150 sheep on it[21]. This shows that fleeces from sheep in the open fields of unenclosed townships were bought by men like Isham and passed into the merchant trade. Many other farming transactions were noted; earlier, in 1571, he sold lambs to Roger Andrews, one of the lords of Harlestone[22].

In 1655, all but 288 of the 1,277 acres of the township were enclosed. A close at the west retained the great-field name of Garbreids[23]. Enclosure was completed in 1794 with Lamport.

1 NRO IL 420 (*c.* 1200); 639 (1398).
2 NRO IL 414.
3 NRO IL 34 and 811.
4 NRO IL 812.
5 Finch, NRS 29 *Five Families* pp. 15–17.
6 NRO IL 331.
7 NRO IL 697.
8 NRO IL 4084 pp. 113, 117.
9 NRO IL 4084, pp. 105–128.
10 NRO IL 760.
11 NRO IL 765A, m2.
12 Act NRO IL 809; Award (1795) Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. I p. 503.
13 NRO Buccleuch in X8656; L41, L45, L56 (1294).
14 *Id.* L75.
15 NRO IL 5.
16 NRO IL 33.
17 NRO IL 3.
18 NRO IL 1491 m.8d.
19 G. D. Ramsay, *John Isham*, 1962 NRS 21.
20 NRO IL 1491, m3d.
21 *Id.* m.2.
22 Ramsay, p. 129.
23 NRO Maps 557, 568.

Lilbourne

M 1986

Lilbourne parish once included Clay Coton as a chapelry. Both townships were assessed together in 1124[1], but probably were separated soon after.

A charter of *c.* 1283 lists furlong names for 8 acres of land but gives no information about the fields[2]. Three fields occurred in *c.* 1520, with one yardland equally distributed between them; Broke Felde 24 lands, Crekepath Felde 26 lands, Castel Felde 25 lands[3]. The lord and John Osborne occupied 25 out of 34 named positions in Brook Field, showing there was probably a regular tenurial order. The yardland was about 36 acres.

Lilbourne was enclosed by private agreement, ultimately recorded as a Chancery Decree when it was disputed in 1680. The original agreement took place in 1671[4].

1 VCH i p. 379.
2 NRO photostat 1320; BL Add Ch 22,082.
3 BL Cott. Galba E iii ff.152d-153d.
4 NRO glebe terrier 1702.

Litchborough

M 1988/92

In 1604 several terriers refer to 3 fields called West or Hicross Field, Rodmore Field and Windmill or South Field. One yardland was distributed in the ratio 15:16:17. The yardland varied from 22–24 acres and ley was 29–37 percent. The demesne consisted of 6 yardlands dispersed in small blocks[1].

A detailed terrier of Rodmore Field was made in 1647, giving every land in acres, roods, poles and tenths of a pole. Most lands lay in singles except for parcels of 5 or 6 lands often belonging to the lord, doubtless a dispersed demesne. There is probably a regular tenurial sequence, since many groups of names occur in the same order[2].

Rodmore field was enclosed in 1648, when the remaining two fields seem to have been run on a two-year tilth[3].

An agreement for enclosure of the other fields was made in 1674[4], but there were disputes and delays, mainly caused by the rector. A field book of the two fields was made in 1692 and a 1697 copy lists the enclosures intended to be made in 1675[5]. Final enclosure was not achieved until 1711[6].

1 NRO Grant (Litchborough) in X5264.
2 *Id.* X5279.
3 *Id.* X6261.
4 *Id.* X5279.
5 *Id.* X5263.
6 Baker i p. 412.

Loddington

M 1983

A terrier of the demesne, called the hall land in *c.* 1590, described 3 fields. In Oldebrooke Field were 9 pieces totalling 104 lands, Lundale Field 20 pieces in 188 lands, and Nesse Field 126 lands, in all 418 lands, about 139 acres[1].

The same 3 fields were recorded in a 1614 terrier of 1.5 yardlands[2]. In two of the fields 10 people occupied 50 positions, two holding 68 percent, showing a fairly regular order. Nesse Field had been reduced by land taken into an enclosure. Oldebrooke Field was sown with 4 quarters and 2 strikes of seed and yielded 6 loads of hay; Nesse Field was sown with 4 quarters and produced 6 loads of hay; Lundale Field was sown with 6 quarters and 2 strikes, but yielded only 4 loads of hay.

In 1656 the 3 fields were called the Field next to Cransley (at least 229 acres in extent), Old Brook Field (at least 374 acres) and Long Dale Field[3].

Court rolls of 1385–1391 refer on numerous occasions to trespass in the crops of the demesne pieces, as would be expected with a dispersed estate[4]. Trespass during 1392 was made by sheep in barley at banlondes and the nesse, in peas under Malueslewode; by foals in barley at Cransley brook and under Cransleywode, and by pigs in barley at havedlond etc[5]. Frequent reference to such cases shows that the demesne was in hand from 1377–1459[6].

In 1656 an enclosure agreement[7] stated the yardland total to be 28.25, which equates with Domesday 1.333 hides at *c.* 21 yardlands to the hide. The awards of 1656 gave *c.* 36.5 acres for a yardland.

Enclosure. An agreement for enclosure was made in 1656, disputed later in the same year[8], approved in 1657 by Chancery decree and confirmed by an Act of Parliament *c.* 1660[9]. There were *c.* 925 acres newly enclosed and 171 acres of ancient enclosure, including a warren of 75 acres; total 1096 acres, which agrees with the parish total of 1206 acres (Whellan), leaving about 100 acres for the vill and roads.

1 NRO YO 320.
2 NRO YO 44.
3 NRO YO 833.
4 NRO YO 363, 374, 375, 386 in X537.
5 NRO 375.
6 NRO YO 356, 366.
7 NRO YO 883.
8 NRO L & H 338.
9 NRO Loddington glebe terrier 1723.

Lowick

M 1989 F 18th

Lowick contains the vill of Lowick with Drayton House and Park lying half a mile to the west. The settlement consists of a north-south street and houses on the west of Harpers Brook, which last is probably the vill of Drayton, there being two townships in the parish split by the brook. Drayton House is unlikely to stand on the site of a deserted village, the location being too high up the catchment system to provide water. It is probably an example of a manorial site removed to an isolated park, as occurred at Brixworth and Rushden.

The early evidence of fields is complicated, probably showing that there was more than one township. A terrier of 9 acres in 1328 has land unevenly divided between 3 fields, Lound Field 22 lands, West Field 7 lands, and East Field 5 lands[1]. However lands in a terrier of 1379 are confined to 2 fields, with 17 parcels of 1–5 roods in the East Field, totalling 30.75 acres, and in the West Field were 12 parcels making 22 acres. There were only a few neighbours, Thomas Cotyngham most frequently, suggesting a regular order. The rector had land in 20 furlongs in the Inlondfeld which was stated to be demesne[2]. Many furlong names are recorded in charters of 1328 and 1360[3].

The glebe and a field book for the whole parish made between 1719–69[4] record 6 fields.

Field	*Arable*	*Grass*	*Commons & ways*	*Total*	*Glebe 1632*	*Glebe 1771*	
Lound Field	235	71	9	315	10 items	25 lands	9 items
Wood Field	34	4	2	40	5	6	4
Huxloe Field	153	14	8	175	4	9	3
Church Field	149	45	8	210	10	11	6
Mill Field	86	34	4	125	5	5	4
Clapgate Field	115	33	7	156	6	13	5
	770	201	39	1013 acres			

Most of the open-field land was in the hands of the Germain family, only 192 acres being freehold. Five freeholders had land (2.5–8.5 acres) in 3 fields only, suggesting that there was a double three-field system. Since 2 of the fields are much smaller than the others there may once have been a double two-field system. Arable is predominant in the open land, being 74 percent of the total, excluding commons.

The field book continues with details of the commons 168 acres, woods 171 acres, and enclosures. The last included 240 acres around Drayton House and 361 acres of Drayton Old Park, concluding with surveys of the town closes and closes near Bullick wood.

A few orders are recorded in court rolls of 1379, 1383, 1404 and 1492[5]. A series of 38 numbered orders was made in 1687[6].

Woods and parks

In 1355 the woods with old and new sales are referred to[7], and there was a woodward, Thomas Watts, in 1492 and 1495.

In 1552 there was a dispute between the inhabitants of Lowick and landowners of Aldwincle about rights in the commons and woods that lie between the parishes[8]. The substance of this has been given in Chapter 7.

The first Drayton Park made in 1328 was a small ramparted enclosure lying north of Drayton House, subsequently enlarged at least twice[9]. It became called the *Old Park* to distinguish it from the new park made around the House.

The *New Park* encroached on the open fields and is probably not very old. It was in existence by 1703, proved by a wood account distinguishing it from the *Old* Park[10]. There was only one park in 1478 (not described as *old*) when John Petelyn of Sudborough, keeper of the Park, presented John Andrew for trespassing, cutting branches and taking oaks and other wood without licence[11].

Enclosed in 1771[12].

1 NRO SS 2498.
2 *Idem.*
3 NRO SS 2508.
4 NRO ML 115, being SS 4346.
5 NRO SS 2539, SS 2538, SS 2537.
6 NRO SS 2528.
7 NRO SS 2506.
8 SS 2527, 2529.
9 Illustrated by J. M. Steane *NPP* 5 (1975) pp. 221–3.
10 NRO SS 2555.
11 NRO SS 2548d.
12 Act NRO BSL 19; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. B p. 341.

Luddington

M 1990

Part of Luddington was called Thorpe, referred to in charters and a 1555 survey. In 1555 the land distribution was manorial land (demesne?) 160 acres, former Peterborough abbey 225 acres, Huntingdon priory 243 acres, freeholders 65 acres, and Montagu tenants 70 acres, being in all 763 acres plus 31 closes[1].

A survey of *c.* 1550 lists all the furlongs and the number of lands in each, giving the area to the nearest half pole. The fields were:

Field	*Furlongs*	*Arable*	*Ley*
Myll Felde	16	407 acres	1 acre
Little Felde and Grove Felde	13	290	14
Long Broke Felde	19	348	25

From which the open-field land was 1,045 acres, less than 4 percent being ley. The low amount of ley is similar to Hemington; it seems to have been monastic practise to maintain a high proportion of arable on the claylands, which elsewhere were being partially converted to ley and larger pastures[2].

The glebe of *c.* 1632 had 22 acres in 3 fields called Langbrooke, 7 acres, Millslampe 7 acres, and Grove 8 acres with 2 acres in Thurning Little Field. By 1720 the fields were Longbrook, Black Field and Grove[3]. A terrier of 102.5 acres made in *c.* 1730 details the furlongs and the areas of each parcel, many of which are small blocks of several lands with areas varying from 35 poles to 2.5 acres. The whole had commons for 11 cows and a yearling, and 104 sheep[4].

A 1716 plan of the furlongs and parcels exists; it has no written information[5]. Enclosed in 1807[6].

1 NRO Buccleuch 25–72, in X989.
2 *Id.* 25–55 in X8677.
3 NRO Luddington glebe terriers.
4 NRO Buccleuch terriers.
5 NRO Map 1389.
6 NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. N p. 433; Map 3003 (1808).

Lyveden

M 1982

Lyveden is not a parish, but is shared between the parishes of Aldwincle, Benefield and Pilton and possibly Brigstock, (as well as Oundle if Churchfield belongs to it), and is best described in its own right. The parish divisions are ancient for in 1316 the rector of Aldwincle claimed part of Lyveden to be titheable[1]. It lies in a lonely valley in Rockingham Forest, still surrounded by woodland, and seems to be a township (possibly including Churchfield). Apart from Lyveden New and Old Builds, there are the deserted vills of (Lower) Lyveden and Churchfield, and the recently identified Upper Lyveden (SP 9883 8711, 15 acres).

A charter written at Potters Lyveden in 1327[2] refers to a messuage with 3 lands in the croft adjacent and parcels in named furlongs. Luzecotes (Luscote) is referred to as assart.

Part of the area was enclosed within a park by the Treshams in 1540, some of the rampart still survives. Oundle field book of 1565 refers to Churchfield closes[3]. Luscote was enclosed before 1583[4].

1 PRO C 47 16 17/1.
2 NRO Bru J.vi.29.
3 J. M. Steane *NPP* 5 (1975) p. 227; NRO ML 116.
4 M. E. Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families 1540–1640*, Northamptonshire Record Society 29 (1956) pp. 69, 74.

Maidford

M 1988

From 1560 until enclosure in 1779 there was a three-field system, with South, West and North Fields[1]. In 1560 a yardland, reckoned at 24 acres, was distributed as 8 acres in each field and had a stint of 40 sheep and 6 beast or horses. A yardland in 1663[2] totalled 25.75 acres and was distributed as below:

	Arable	*Ley*	*Total*
North Field	6.5	1.5	8 acres
South Field	4.5	3.5	8
West Field	6.5	2.25	8.75
	17.5	*7.25*	*25.75*

There was 28 percent ley, and 13 neighbours were mentioned 50 times in all, three occupying 60 percent of the positions, implying a regular order. The glebe 35 acres was distributed unevenly in the proportion of 88:62:81. There was 14 percent of the area ley in 1684.

Demesne. During 1514–64 the demesne consisted of a messuage, cottage, 200 acres of arable, 40 acres meadow, 10 acres pasture and 20 acres of wood[3]. By 1585 it seems to have been enclosed, and two other closes, Duncrofts and Effeley End, were made after an arbitrated dispute[4]. It is probable that the demesne had been compact.

Yardlands and hides. In 1086 Maidford was assessed at 2.2 hides with 5 ploughlands, of which 1 was in demesne. There was a wood 1 by 4 furlongs (40 acres[5]). In 1124 the vill was assessed at 2 hides and 2 small virgates[6], implying there were 10 yardlands to the hide.

A yardland was 20 or 22 acres in 1597, similar to the values given above. The 200 acres demesne was probably 10 yardlands.

Orders. Many open-field orders and offences are mentioned in Maidford court rolls; there are also lists of fines from persons who broke them. Some have been quoted in Chapter 2 from the period 1568–1696. Offences for 1657 give a little more detail than usual, with reference to turkeys and to hoggs rooting up the field[7].

Woodland. Wood mentioned in 1086 was probably that still lying in the northern part of the parish where there are old enclosures and a spinney called Armeley. The enclosures have narrow ridges of probable 19th-century date, and were not part of the open fields. They are most likely assarts, possibly those mentioned as the lord's property in 1772, when they totalled 50 acres and were said to be contiguous to the wood[8]. The wood of Armeley was mentioned in a charter of 1365[9]. Furlong names suggest the presence of more assarted woodland at *lawnies close* and *old land.*

Enclosure. Enclosures were first mentioned in 1585[10]. There had been 'divers contrarries and striffes' about the use of common pasture for beast and sheep in Maidford fields, and arbitrators were appointed. It was agreed that William Trist, the lord, could have in severalty all his ground, woods and coppices already enclosed (the demesne), and he could also enclose Duncrofte and Efeley End. He should have passage for cattle through Watergalls Slade, but leave a drift way between Efeley Coppice and Efeley End of 30 feet. In return he should have no commons on the open fields except for 2 lands called town leys, and he could still have brakes and thorns on the Heath and Grenehill.

The remainder of the parish was enclosed in 1778 by Parliamentary Act[11].

1 Deeds in NRO Grant (Litchborough) in Box X5280.
2 NRO X5280.
3 NRO X5265.
4 NRO Fermor-Hesketh Baker 4, formerly Phillips MS 17,572.
5 Thorn and Thorn 23–8.
6 VCH i p. 372.
7 NRO EB 240; 236 m.48.
8 NRO D625.
9 NRO K Charter 100.
10 NRO X5265, deed 27 Eliz.I.
11 NRO YZ 6317; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. G p. 496; there were 28 yardlands.

Maidwell

M 1975

A plan of the fields made by ground survey has been published[1].

Three fields are implied by account rolls of 1318–19, the first having Suth Feld and West Feld *this year*, and the other North Feld and Suth Feld, written at the end of the membrane[2]. There is no explanation, but they are doubtless the bailiff's working notes.

Three fields are mentioned in 1427[3] with land distributed unequally between them in a small terrier; North Field (3 roods), West Field (8.5) and South Field (5 roods). The land belonged to a house lying next to that of Robert Bush and he was a neighbour 4 times out of the 8 where neighbours are given, suggesting a regular order in both the vill and fields.

The glebe of 1686 does not give the fields, although Dale Field and Neather Field are mentioned incidentally. There was a cow pasture and 32 percent ley. Ley was mentioned in the demesne pasture in 1318[4]. Neighbours in 1686 occupied 33 named positions, six persons having 79 percent of the places, indicating disintegration of a regular order. A terrier of 1316 gives 13 furlong names with numerous neighbours and no fields specified[5].

Orders. Several early orders occur in court rolls. In 1378 there was default of work service and trespass in barley. Fines were variously shared between the lord, the hayward and the church in 1430–32. In 1435 five people collected the wages of the swineherd and cowherd[6].

Demesne. The demesne was in hand in 1318–19, for which two half yearly accounts survive[7]. Payments for cutting and making hay, reaping, carting with food provided, and stipends for a carter and drover, suggest some use of hired labour. Animals kept were 2 cart horses, 1 foal, 1 young horse, 5 oxen, 2 cows, 2 calves, 3 pigs, and 3 geese.

A low level of work service, listed and not valued, was probably still demanded. This would seem to be confirmed from the 1378 court roll recording default of labour service.

12 works from 6 customary tenants for carriage in autumn with food
8 works from 8 cottar tenants for carriage in autumn with food
Work without food
24 works from 6 villeins for carrying corn
5 works from 5 villeins for cutting corn

Both the half-yearly accounts list the quantities of grain received and quantities reserved for seed. It is not immediately obvious which totals belong to which in terms of calculating the yield. The total of crops was wheat 15 quarters, barley 9.6, rye 8, peas and beans 2.75, and oats 27 quarters. At Maidwell rye was grown more extensively than in many places, reflecting the qualities of the light ironstone soil in the parish that suited it.

The demesne was still in hand in *c.* 1354[8]. Pasture was let out, and a grain account was made. There was expenditure on 4 pitch forks, and for women who turned peas in the grange and looked after piglets. Wages were paid for 3 ploughmen from Michaelmas to Easter, and for 1 shepherd and 1 cowherd.

Maidwell was enclosed between 1686 and 1711 according to the glebe, probably in 1691[9].

1 D. Hall, CBA Group 9 *Newsletter*, 6 (1976) pp. 29–31, attributed to the late Arthur Goldsworthy who helped with the survey.
2 NRO FH 397–8.
3 BL Add. Ch. 22,269.

4 NRO FH 397.
5 NRO FH 3021.
6 1378 NRO FH 418; 1432 FH 395; 1430 FH 394; 1435 FH 396.
7 April-Michaelmas 1318, Michaelmas-April 1318–19; NRO FH 397–8.
8 NRO FH 350.
9 NRO Maidwell glebe terriers and FH 2799.

Marham

1976

An undated map of *c.* 1580 shows there had been 4 fields. Marholm Nether Field was in the course of enclosure. Bellam Field, Rames Ditch alias Hall Field, and Mill Field were still open[1]. If the Hall Field was an intact demesne then a 3-field system probably operated. A map of Milton dated 1582 names Goodluck Field and North Field in Marham[2]. In 1594 much of the Hall Field was enclosed by making exchanges with the tenants[3].

Enclosure was complete before 1625[4] when a detailed survey was made of all the closes. In all 1,147 acres are described, lying in 26 closes, as well as the 214 acres of Goodlucks in Milton. These closes can be identified on a map of 1772[5].

1 NRO Map 1241.
2 NRO Map 1202.
3 M. E. Finch *Five Northamptonshire Families* p. 116 from F(M) Box 565, terrier no. 15.
4 NRO Map 1239.
5 NRO Map 1072.

Morton Pinkney

M 1973

The furlongs and fields of Morton have been identified from the locational names given in a survey of enclosed farms of 1796 (in the inclosure award) and from the 1848 tithe map[1], relating them to furlong names and abuttals collected from terriers referred to below.

The fields of Morton were divided into two from the date of the earliest information in the 13th century until the end of the 16th century. Two fields existed in *c.* 1200, when 2 acres were distributed as 4 half-acre lands, 2 in each of the East Field and West Field[2]. A 13th-century grant of pieces of dispersed demesne mentions the same two fields and gives furlong names and parcels called 'rugges'. There were 8 acres in the East Field and 12 acres in the West Field[3]. Other small grants made in the 13th century show an equal distribution of lands between the fields[4].

An undated terrier of the 15th century describes 12 acres of 'Prestland'[5]. In the West Field were 14 lands in 14 different furlongs totalling 6 acres, and in the East Field there were 13 lands in 13 furlongs also 6 acres. An exactly uniform division and dispersion is therefore evident. There were 8 different neighbours for these 27 lands of which five people held 82 percent of the positions. There probably was originally a fixed order of tenants in the furlongs, but by the 15th century there had been exchange or breakdown of whole yardlands to arrive at the arrangement revealed by the terrier.

The same 2 fields existed in 1566[6], but by 1601 they had been re-arranged into three fields called East, West, and South Fields[7]. This arrangement continued until 1622[8] and in 1624 reverted two a two-field system by default, when the West Field was enclosed by agreement[9]. Two fields, the South and West then continued to be used in 1630 and

1638, but by 1753 had been divided into three fields called Grant Slade Field, Long Field, and Rye Hill Field[10].

The demesne was 400 acres, dispersed in blocks of whole and half furlongs, each enclosed with a hedge until 1602, when an enclosure at the south west of the parish was created by an agreed exchange[11]. There were 42 yardlands in the township in 1761[12].

Final enclosure took place in 1761[13].

1 NRO Map T215.
2 BL Add. Ch. 22320.
3 BL Harl. Ch. 84 I 25.
4 BL Egerton 3033 f.18.
5 BL Egerton 3033, f.21d.
6 PRO SC 12 21/6.
7 NRO SSF(B) Bdle 31.
8 *Id.*
9 NRO ZA 6051.
10 NRO SSF(B) Bundle 83.
11 PRO C78 116 (6).
12 NRO ZA 6051.
13 Act NRO G1259; Award (1761) ZA 6051.

Moulton

Moulton had 3 fields in 1430, called North, South and West Fields[1]. From 1684 until enclosure the 3 fields were called North, Hurn and Park Fields. In 1684 lands and leys (mostly half acres) were in the ratio of 39: 23: 26, with 34 percent leys. The North Field had 35 positions shared between 3 people of whom 2 had 97 percent, indicating a regular order. The glebe 2 yardlands had 88 lands, about 44 acres, suggesting a 22-acre yardland[2].

There were 84 yardlands in 1772 (enclosure). Enclosed in 1772[3].

1 Gray p. 483 from BL Cott. Vesp E. xvii ff.304–9.
2 NRO Moulton glebe terriers.
3 Act NRO O.2738; Award 1773, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. B p. 480; Map 2678.

Naseby

M 1976

The southern end of the vill is called Nutcote, but there is no evidence of a separate field system, and the name is not recorded until 1630[1]. A plan of the open fields has been published[2] with furlong names. Greenhall has transcribed a map of 1630 and also shows the great fields as marked on a map of 1822[3].

During the fieldwork survey, made in 1976, green ends, rick places (at SP 692 776), and green furrows were observed. A windmill mound at SP 6862 7716 is likely to belong to the mill referred to in the late 13th century[4].

There were three fields in the late 13th century, and until enclosure, their names were:

	c. *1290*		*1630*	*1822*
East Field	18 lands	8 acres	Shepshoks	Old Mill Field
South Field	15	7	—	Chapel Field
West Field	15	7.75	Turmore Field	Spinney Field

In a charter of *c.* 1290 the distribution of lands between the fields was fairly uniform, a yardland being dispersed in 48 parcels, mostly as half-acres, in 48 different furlongs[5]. Pleonastic names at that date (longelangelond, shepaxhox) suggest the names were already old. The demesne consisted of large parts of furlongs, some given to Sulby Abbey during the 13th century[6]. The 1630 map marks Hall land next to the manor house, suggesting that much of the demesne was consolidated near the vill.

Mastin refers to crops and to a pasture agreement for setting down grass at the parish extremities in 1733[7]. Court orders survive for 1803–29[8], which are unusually detailed for so late a date. Among them were (1803) that no mare or horse was to be flitted whithin 100 yards of growing crops. A yardland stint in 1806 was 28 sheep in summer and 24 in winter. Enclosed in 1820[9].

1 NRO Map 4916.
2 D. Hall, R. Harding, and P. Martin, 'Naseby parish survey' CBA Group 9 *Newsletter*, 10 (1980) 48–57.
3 R. L. Greenhall *Naseby a parish history* (1974), pp. 23, 25 from NRO Maps 2166, 4916.
4 BL Add. Ch. 22,324–5.
5 BL Add. Ch. 22,331.
6 BL Add. Ch. 22,325 and 22,330.
7 J. Mastin *The History and Antiquities of Naseby* (1792) p. 16.
8 NRO YZ 7403–4.
9 Award 1822 Enclosure Enrolment Vol. N p. 475; Map 4916 (1822).

Nassington

Nassington, extending to 2,406 acres, lies in the Nene valley and adjacent to Rockingham Forest. The open fields and related closes were 1593 acres in 1609, the remainder being woodland. Apethorpe and Wood Newton had meadow intermixed with the meadows of Nassington, but these were used only for hay crops, commoning afterwards being reserved for Nassington. Other intercommoning rights with neigbouring villages are described below.

There were 3 fields in 1551. Two farms let to Nassington tenants were distributed as follows[1]:

South Field	40 lands	15.5 acres	30 lands	10.5 acres
West Field	49	17.625	24	7
North Field	30	10.25	30	13.875
	120 lands	43 acres	84 lands	31 acres

A survey of 1609 showed there were still three fields[2], South Field, 327 acres, West Field 403, North Field 390, Meadows 191, Cow pasture 43, Short alias college close 165, with Nassington vill, houses and closes 118 acres.

A holding of 1772[3] was distributed among the same 3 fields; North Field 18 acres, South Field 14 acres, West Field 25 acres with meadow 20 acres.

The survey made in 1551 included a detailed account of the village, followed by the fields; each furlong has detailed abuttals, followed by the size of each parcel with its abuttals. Sometimes tenants' lands touched, but usually the king was the neighbour. The survey also noted the the complex and extensive commoning rights:

Nassington had common for cattle and sheep in Rockingham Forest.
Cattle were not driven daily but left in the forest, distinguished from other cattle by 'a common marke', being a 'crowne'.

Cattle had full walk in the forest without let or hindrance. In the open fields the rate of stinting was 1 cow for each 4 acres in the field, and 1 sheep per acre, not exempting any cattle in the forest.

Each cottager was allowed 3 beast and 10 sheep. There were 52 cottagers, so there were 156 beast and 440 [sic] sheep in the whole lordship.

[The husbandmen] had 320 beast besides 80 oxen for ploughing and 800 sheep commons, although half of both these commons were abated to the cottagers.

There was intercommoning between Newton and Nassington in Nassington South Field, and in Newton East Field. Nassington and Fotheringhay used to intercommon in their adjoining fields, but 16 years previously Fotheringhay men enclosed off their field.

Nassington and Yarwell intercommoned throughout all their fields.

Near the bridge at Newton, on the north of Fotheringhay Great Park, were 3 acres of pasture used by Fotheringhay, in return Fotheringhay repaired the causeway.

There was an enclosed ox pasture for Nassington tenants who paid the lord [rent].

There was no wood in the manor, but in Rockingham Forest 3 woods called Farmes, Short Wood, and Nassington Spyers were used by the tenants of Sir Walter Mildmay for herbage and pannage for cattle and swine without payment of rent. They also had similar commons in Sulehay Wood in Yarwell, and in other woods where the tenants of Cliffe and Stanion had rights.

Nassington was enclosed in 1777 with Apethorpe, Wood Newton and Yarwell[4].

1 NRO W(A) 4.xvi.5.
2 NRO W(A) 4.xviii.5.
3 NRO W(A).7.vii.
4 Act W(A) 4.xi.3; Map 2879–80; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. F p. 1.

Newbottle

M 1993

Newbottle parish contains the townships of Newbottle and some of Charlton and some of Astrop and the deserted vills of Little and Great Purston, which it shares with King's Sutton. A glebe terrier for 1666 notes that 16 yardlands of Astrop and 14.5 of Charlton were in Newbottle[1]. Newbottle township was enclosed by 1621, some 300 acres as early as 1488[2]. No open-field information has been discovered.

Astrop

A terrier of 1633[3] has no fields named. There were 13.5 acres (33 parcels) of arable and 5 acres (10 parcels) of ley, being 18.25 acres total plus 4 poles of meadow. There was therefore 27 percent ley. King's Sutton had 61 yardlands of Astrop, making 77 in all. Enclosed in 1772[4].

Charlton

The glebe names 2 fields in 1627, the East Field (3 lands) and North Field or Newbottle side (3 lands, 1 ley). A third entry of 3 lands is described in 1682 as being on the Heath Side Fields. There was probably a 3 course system. Only 6 neighbours occurred in 1627 with 3 people having 71 percent of 17 positions, probably suggesting a regular order. In 1666 hemp was grown. The fields at enclosure in 1772 were called Overside, Heath and West Fields.

Charlton was enclosed in 1772[5].

1 NRO Newbottle glebe terriers.
2 NRO Map 5099; Allison et al. p. 43.
3 NRO SAS 34; YZ 1046 has 4 fields in 1712.
4 NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D p. 59 (1773).
5 Award (1773) NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D p. 1.

Newnham

M 1982 P 1764 (furlongs)

Newnham was formerly a chapelry of Badby. Furlong boundaries and names are marked on the draft enclosure map of 1764[1].

There were two fields in 1618 before they were changed to 4 fields for a short time, finally settling to 3, as printed fully in Chapter 4. The work service listed for Newnham in *c.* 1380 has been printed in Chapter 2. The demesne was a block shared with Badby and enclosed in 1592, as described in Chapter 5.

Orders. In 1618 thirteen freeholders and tenants made orders 'as before'. Many of the orders are linked to agreements re-ordering the number of fields, printed in Chapter 4[2]. Other undated 17th-century orders occur[3]. An increase in the cow pasture was made in 1699 and 1706[4].

Tenurial cycles. A yardland in 1198 was described as that lying next to the neighbouring yardland[5]. No furlongs were given, implying there was a regular order.

A list of the doles in three of the meadows made in 1552 gives the following names[6]:

Est Medowe

1	John Herne	21	John Sutton
2	Thomas Smyth	22	Atkyns ground to Nicholas Somerfylde
3	Henry Wryghte	23	Richard Chamberleyne
4	Henry Thornton	24	Elizabeth Frynde
5	Henry Thornton	25	Richard Cooke
6	Nicholas Somerfyld	26	Henry Freman
7	Henry Thornton	27	Mary Frynde
8	Heirs of Richard Bayle	28	William Plume
9	Gregory Cox	29	Michel Cokks
10	William Bery	30	Agnes Spens
11	Agnes Cooke widow	31	Nicholas Blaby
12	Richard Church	32	Thomas Leson
13	John Croft	33	Dyers ground to Nicholas Somerfylde
14	John Spense	34	Heirs of Richard Bayle
15	Nicholas Ground	35	Henry Hynde
16	John Hancock	36	John Bayle
17	Dyers ground to Henry Thornton	37	- Bodyngton
18	Towys ground	38	Heirs of Cokks
19	Henry Nutt	39	Richard Cooke
20	Edmund Frynde	40	John Herne

An identical set of names occurs again for Estmore, Copedmore and Leymore, except that position 39 is Bodyngton and 25 and 26 are reversed. This cycle of tenurial names represents 40 yardlands and was the same in the furlongs. A rental of 1542 for Newnham[7] has 24 of the same family names holding yardlands as in 1552, and 13 of the same people holding a yardland each, further confirming that a position in the cycles represents a yardland. Regular tenurial cycles in furlongs occur in the leys of the cow pasture, described in 1699 and 1706[8].

A terrier with the 1552 meadow lists describes 96 lands in various furlongs. Nicholas Blaby and Nicholas Somerfyld are neighbours in 19 cases, and Somerfyld is a neighbour with Blaby or someone else 43 times. Often in the entries with no Somerfyld, Blaby occurs. This shows that the tenurial order recorded in the meadows occurred in the lands also, but, as with Ashby St Ledgers, it is more devolved in the lands. Examination of the meadow list shows that the terrier describes a yardland lying in position 32, belonging to Thomas Leson.

Newnham and Badby each had 48 yardlands, of which 40 were copyhold, and 20 more yardlands of demesne were shared between them[9].

Newnham was enclosed in 1764 by Parliamentary Act; some detailed papers survive[10].

1 NRO Map 3140.
2 NRO Th 155; Th 154.
3 NRO Th 160–1
4 NRO Th 168.
5 *Pipe Roll Society* 24 (1900) p. 147.
6 NRO Th 563.
7 NRO Th 1632.
8 NRO Th 168.
9 NRO Th 406.
10 NRO Th 704–7; Act K470; Award (1764) Enclosure Enrolment Vol. B p. 156.

Newton Bromswold

M 1967

Newton field system was complicated by sharing part of Buscott, an ancient township in Higham Ferrers (qv). Five acres of glebe land lying in a block of 31 lands was said to be 'in Buscott in the parish of Higham Ferrers'[1]. At enclosure in 1800 Newton proprietors held 102 acres of Buscott.

A plan of Newton earthworks made in 1967 has been published[2]. Photographs of some of the earthworks and the last remaining ridge and furrow in 1986 have also been illustrated[3]. The fields and furlongs have been identified by analysis of a quality book[4], and using the enclosed field-names given by several estate maps and schedules 1800–1856 (see Chapter 3 and Figure 6[5]).

The glebe shows there were four fields from 1633 until 1800, called, Park 6 acres, Little 4, Middle 8, Great 9.75 acres with 5 acres in Buscott. As suggested by the acreages, Park and Little Fields were grouped together (in the 1800 enclosure descriptions), forming a three-course tilth. Many of the glebe parcels were of one acre, possibly suggesting that it was a grant of demesne, in which case the demesne was dispersed.

Eight people occupied the neighbouring positions in 1633, 5 of them taking up 90 percent of the total. In the case of a small vill this is not necessarily proof that there was a regular order, as the people mentioned probably represent most of the farmers.

In 1800 the land use was[6]:

Grass in fields	146 acres
Arable in fields	438 acres
Common land in fields	92
Old inclosure	127 acres (including 3 glebe closes in the fields, 25 acres)
Total	803 acres
Buscott	102 acres

Enclosed in 1800[7].

1 NRO glebe terrier 1726.
2 Deserted Medieval Village Research Group 1973.
3 M. Morris *Domesday revisited; a traveller's guide* 1987 (Severn Publishers).
4 NRO X3474; see Chapter 3.
5 NRO; 1800 S(R) 159; 1800 YZ 4144; 1832 YZ 7173; 1856 YZ 4150; 1856 YZ 4163.
6 NRO X3474.
7 Act NRO CAM 61; Award (1803) Enclosure Enrolment Vol. K p. 327.

Newton Willows

M 1971

Formerly there were two vills, Great Newton and Little Newton, each with a church, both being chapels of Geddington. The first vill survives as a shrunken settlement without its church, Little Newton is deserted but the church survives, the tower and spire only being medieval. A plan of the fields has been published[1].

Charters of 1366 and 1385 refer to the fields of Great Newton[2], implying that there were separate field systems for each vill. Another charter of 1379 refers simply to 'the fields of Newton'[3]. Great and Little Newton manors are mentioned in 1424 and a messuage and land in Great Newton in 1514[4]. The 1385 charter describes 3 acres in detail, and refers to Wood Field. Six parcels have 5 different neighbours, only one of them mentioned twice[5].

In 1380, 60 cows and calves from Newton were trespassing in the forest where they had no common right. Orders and offences are given in court rolls of 1590–1[6]; meadows were to be stoned, and horses and pullets trespassed in the fields. The Newtons were enclosed by the Treshams in *c.* 1605[7]. Title deeds of 1629 refer to closes[8].

1 D. N. Hall, 'Newton Willows, Northants' CBA *Newsletter* 4 (1974) pp. 27–9.
2 NRO Buccleuch 10–19/2 in X349.
3 *Id.* 10–19/7.
4 *Id.* 10–19/9; /14.
5 *Id.* 10–19/5 in X349.
6 NRO Buccleuch, Geddington court roll 3 Ric.II in X351.
7 E. F. Gay, 'The Midland Revolt and the Inquisitions of Depopulation' *Trans. Royal. Hist. Soc.*, NS 18 (1904) pp. 195–244.
8 NRO Buccleuch in X349.

Northampton

P 1632

Northampton had three fields in 1373, called East, North and South Fields, in which a holding was distributed as 6, 4.5 and 7.5 acres[1]. A terrier of a 'carucate' made in the 14th century, described the same 3 fields, East, 32 acres, Middle, 17.25 acres, and North Field, 31.25 acres[2].

A map of the land formerly belonging to St. Andrew's Priory, made in 1632, shows the exact layout of the arable furlongs, pastures and meadows with a heath along the Kettering Road[3]. Lands are listed in the North Field 104 acres, Middle Field 94 and South Field 71 acres. Some of the commoning rights have been printed[4].

An 18th-century engraving of Northampton from the south west shows some lands with standing shocks of corn. The lands have the aratral curve marked and there seem

to be narrow greensward balks between them[5]. Northampton common fields were enclosed in 1778[6].

1 NRO Northampton Borough Records no. C 42.
2 BL Cott. Vesp. E xvii f.299b.
3 NRO Map 4671.
4 VCH iii p. 23.
5 Cover illustration of *NPP* 5 no. 4 (1976).
6 Act NRO CAM 83; Award 1778, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. E p. 519; Map 691 (1779).

Norton

M 1988

The parish contains two townships, Thrupp and Norton. Thrupp is completely deserted and may have been at Thrupp Grounds Farm, although no earthworks are visible. The debris lying under Borough Hill, described by Baker[1], is the site of a Roman building.

Norton had two fields in the 13th century, a terrier describing 6 lands (3.5 acres) in the West Field and 6 lands (2.75 acres) in the East Field[2]. These had been changed to 3 fields before 1583 when they were called Stanford Hill Side, Hopitt Side and Blakewell Side[3]. The last field was enclosed by agreement and exchange soon after. The remaining area was divided into 3 fields called Stanford Hill Side, Middle Feld, and Hopit Side[4].

There were 2 manors each with demesnes of 4 yardlands in 1583 and a yardland was 32 acres[5]. Field orders for 1597 noted that each yardland should have 4 horses and 40 sheep; no hay cocks were to be left longer than 4 days after those of others were carried. Orders for 1649 cover the usual range of items[6].

One of the three fields, Blakewell Side, was enclosed in 1583–96; many details of exchanges survive giving very precise measurements of each land[7]. The enclosure seems to have taken some time, as lands were still being exchanged in 1596[8]. The remainder of Norton was enclosed by Parliamentary Act in 1755[9].

Thrupp

Two fields, East and West, are described in several terriers of Daventry Priory land in *c.* 1300[10]. Half a yardland is twice stated to be 9.5 acres, hence one yardland is 19 acres. In the East Field were 21 roods (9 parcels), and the West Field 21 roods (13 parcels), showing an equal distribution. There were few neighbours, the Braunfield family lying nearly always on one side and the Herberd family on the other; a regular order is likely.

Thrupp was still open in 1450 when lands and pasture in the vill and fields were granted[11]. It is said to have been enclosed in 1489 by Daventry Priory[12]. Thorpe Hedge is mentioned several times in the Daventry field book of 1571, and in 1581 Sir Thomas Tresham kept sheep on the pasture and meadows of Thrupp[13].

1 Baker i p. 425.
2 NRO Th 497.
3 NRO Th 520.
4 NRO Th 470.
5 NRO Th 520d.
6 NRO Th 467; Th 1873.
7 NRO Th 520; 469–74, 513–4, 518–9.
8 NRO Th 514.
9 NRO Award, noting 25.75 yardlands.
10 BL Cott. Claud. D xii f. 93.

11 NRO LT 18.
12 Allison et al. *Deserted Villages* p. 47.
13 NRO D 2491; I(L) 1917.

Oakley Little

M 1980 P 1727 F *c.* 1730

The village lies on the Harpers Brook and had several coppices of medieval woodland at the north.

There were three fields in 1450, implied by the names Middelfeld and Westfeld in which half a yardland was dispersed[1]. The glebe of 1632, 1684 and 1730 shows that only the south was cultivated[2]. The fields were, west to east, Upper or Farther Field, Middle Field, Nether or Mill Field. In 1632 land in Tow Hill (Little Hill) furlong was next to the Hall land suggesting some dispersed demesne. Near the vill was 'Hall Piece'.

Oakley has two fieldbooks of *c.* 1730[3]. A tabular version gives furlongs and fields, each furlong having numbered parcels, the number of lands in each, the holder's name, and the area. A plan of 1727 probably relates to the survey[4]. There were three fields, all lying south of Harpers Brook:

Field	*Total Area*			*Leys*			
Upper	120	3	21	0	3	2	0.6 percent
Middle	130	0	13	39	3	15	30.6
Nether	158	0	11	21	0	36	13.4
Cow pasture	73	0	21				
Town	32	2	28				

The amount of ley varies among the fields, averaging 15 percent. There had been consolidation of lands with many groups of 3–7.

A surveyed plan of the open fields has been published[5], discussing the amount of assart and contraction of ploughland by the 16th century. Fourteenth-century charters give furlong names north of the vill, *thornhawe* (1368), *stokkyng* (1373), *schakeldenesle* (1382) and *sheir hill*, showing that wood once reached almost to the settlement (from the locations of the names). The north was allowed to revert completely to ley by 1539.[6].

A series of field orders for 1554 covers the normal range of items, specifiying the number of sheep that could be kept by each tenant and refers to the tenants making balks to mark off the demesne and the parsonage lands[7]. Later orders survive. In 1776, 220 acres of the 'common field' were ploughed, used as follows[8]:

73 acres of beans yielding 2 quarters per acre valued	£146
37 acres of wheat yielding 2 quarters at £1.75 per acre	£130
37 acres of barley yielding 2 quarters at £1 per acre	£146
73 acres fallow	

In 1697 the tithe wood in Broken Dale and Sallow coppice was £20 per acre[9].

In 1611 the vicar of Geddington claimed tithe of soft wood, maple, hornbeam, ash, crab, thorne, and willows in Wafer Sarte anciently part of Geddington[10]. Enclosed in 1807[11].

1 NRO Buccleuch charter 29 Hen 6 in Box X377.
2 NRO Little Oakley glebe terriers.
3 NRO Buccleuch 16–1–1 in X379, and Buccleuch terriers, which also survey the vill.
4 NRO Map 1386.
5 D. Hall 1984, *Medieval Approaches*, p. 57; text p. 49.
6 Map 4321, NRO Buccleuch, 16–18 in Box X377.
7 NRO Buccleuch 16–98, Box X379.
8 *Id.* Box X377, 16–9.
9 *Id.* Box X377, 16–5.
10 *Id.* Box X377, 16–1.
11 NRO Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. N p. 433; Map 2844.

Old

M 1985

Three fields are described in 18th-century terriers of quarter yardlands; Wood, Nether and Acre Fields, distributed in the ratio 13:18:11 and 11:20:13 roods. A yardland of 42–44 acres is indicated[1].

The glebe of 1744 describes South, Wood and Acre fields with lands and leys in the ratio 52: 33: 35 and having 18 percent ley. Wood Field had 16 named neighbours holding 34 positions of which 4 people held 68 percent. There was probably a regular order[2].

Enclosed in 1767[3].

1 NRO Overstone Box 740 now in X9922; see NRO JHR 146 for 1689.
2 NRO Old glebe terriers.
3 NRO Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. B p. 258.

Oundle

M 1981 F 1565, 1686

Oundle is a regional centre and included the townships of Oundle, Ashton, Elmington, the vill of Churchfield, and the Peterborough abbey grange and park at Biggin[1].

An extent of the demesne made in 1392–4 shows there were three fields; 66 acres in Inhamfeld; 95 acres in Howefeld; 84 acres in Holmefeld[2]. The three fields were called Hill Field, Howhill Field and St Sithe's Field in a field book of 1565 and in its 1686 version[3]. The enclosure map of 1810 (with Ashton) shows Hill Field, Howhill Field and Scythe Field as well as Biggin Park, Hill Wood Closes and Parsons Wood.

The 1686 transcript of the field book adds the current tenants' names. Tenure, land-use (ley or arable) and the area are given for each land, with furlong abuttals.

Descriptions of the demesne in 1392 and later show that it was mainly dispersed in blocks of furlongs, and the field book shows that there were a few furlongs of demesne next to Burystead manor. The 1565 field-structure of Oundle and the number of yardlands and their relationship to early assessments is given below:

Tenure	*Yardlands*	*Acres*	
Villein	20.5	584	(hence 1 yardland is 28.5 acres)
Demesne	[4]	114.5	
Outland	[4]	116	stated to be demesne in a grant of *c.*1550
Freehold	[7.5]	208	
glebe	[1]	32	
guild	[1]	32	
Total	38		

Most of the yardland figures have been calculated using the stated size of the villein yardlands. The use of *outland* here refers to half of the demesne that has been let out, not to a type of field system. In the meadows the demesne still had 8 yardlands worth and the outland only 1 (so one had been acquired from elsewhere). The total of yardlands can be equated with the Domesday 6 hides as exactly 5 yardlands to the hide plus 8 yardlands of unassessed demesne (which was possibly unvirgated). A decimal system was used to calculate the hide/yardland ratio.

Domesday records that there were 9 ploughlands held by 23 'villans' and 10 smallholders[4], which compares well with the 20.5 yardlands of 1565 (if one villan held 1 yardland), 2 perhaps being lost by grants for glebe and the guild, both having a yardland each. The freehold is not mentioned in 1086. In *c.* 1130 Oundle was assessed as 4 hides and 21 yardlands (1 belonging to the mill[5]). This also is similar to the 20.5 yardlands mentioned in 1565 and confirms that 5 yardlands were taken to the hide, only villein land being described on this occasion.

Enclosed in 1807[6].

Ashton has been printed separately (above).

Churchfield was first recorded in a Saxon Charter of *c.* 964[7]. It was a separate township and already enclosed by 1565[8]. Its later history is linked to Lyveden (qv).

Elmington belonged to Crowland abbey, Lincs. Returns of grain are recorded in account rolls for the 13th and 14th centuries (see Wellingborough below). It was enclosed by the abbots of Crowland during the early part of the 16th century[9].

1 See E. J. King, *Peterborough Abbey*.
2 BL Cott. Nero C vii f. 154b.
3 NRO ML 116, ML117.
4 Thorn and Thorn 6–10a.
5 Society of Antiquaries of London, MS 60 f.86d.
6 Act NRO ZB 548/14; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. M p. 99; Map 2858 (1810).
7 Gover et al., *PNN* p. 212.
8 ML 116 refers to the closes of Sir Thomas Tresham.
9 I. S. Leadham *The Domesday of Enclosures* i (1896) p. 401.

Passenham

Passenham contains the townships of Passenham, Deanshanger and the hamlets of Little London, Holywell and Puxley, as well as two forest lodges, Shrob and Hanger, the last three places being of medieval origin.

A map of 1608[1] shows a complicated arrangement at Passenham with small fields to the north, Kings Hill 75 acres, and Parsonage Field 44 acres; Little Stow Field, 232 acres, is at the north east, and west of the village is Breach Field, 58 acres. The South

Field of 409 acres may have belonged Passenham or Deanshanger. Passenham was enclosed before 1649[2].

Deanshanger

An extent of the demesne in 1336 had a third waste[3]. The 1608 map shows the whole parish, with 3 fields lying around Deanshanger; South Field 409 acres, North Field 262, and 'Deanshanger' Field 108 acres lying on the west. The South Field lies near to Passenham; to the north is the extensive wood called Shrob Lawn.

There were three fields in 1718[4]; North Field having 3 acres (in 4 parcels), West Field 2 acres (3 parcels), and South Field 2 acres (4 parcels). This has been printed[5], and the neighbours can be seen to be very regular. Enclosed in 1772[6].

1 NRO Map 4210 (copy), dated by O. F. Brown and G. R. Roberts, *Passenham the History of a Forest Village* (Phillimore 1973) p. 229.
2 Baker ii, pp. 187, 190, 101.
3 Gray p. 484 from PRO E 135 48 m.7.
4 NRO SG 166.
5 *Passenham* p. 98.
6 Award NRO 1773, Enrolment Vol. B p. 518; Maps 3635–6.

Pattishall

M 1990

Pattishall contains the vills of Pattishall, Astcote, Eastcote and Dalscote. It is not clear how many townships existed.

A two-field system operated in *c.* 1250, 80 acres having 40 sown and 40 waste. Most of the land consisted of whole furlongs of demesne, and since it was 4 yardlands, the yardland was 20 acres[1]. The 40 acres of fallow lay in the fields of *atheskot* (Astcote) and the fields of Pattishall; the sown acres were in the fields of Astcote and and the fields of Edewenescote (Eastcote). This seems complex and may be a re-organized system taking in the fields of three hamlets, or maybe there was a single field system using the names of the vills as locational descriptions. The fields of 'Escott and Dalscot' lay next to 'Gayton enclosures' in 1614[2].

An extent of demesne taken in 1336 shows there were still 2 tilths[3]. A terrier of Eastcote made in 1653 names 4 fields[4]; in High South Field 9 roods (in 6 parcels), in Little South Field 11 roods (7), North Field 7 roods (4), and in Marsh Field 15 roods (8 parcels).

The glebe of 1748 is complicated, lying in two adjacent parts that were once separate monastic properties; the Nether Vicarage formerly Godstow priory land and the Upper Vicarage formerly land of Dunstable priory. Three fields plus the 'south' are described and have land distributed unequally; for Nether Vicarage in the ratios Grove: Ham: Road: South: 44: 53: 23: 14[5]. Enclosed in 1771[6].

1 BL Harl. Ch. 57 F 24.
2 NRO YZ 2738.
3 *Cal. Inq. Post Mort. Edward 3* from C 135 47 m.5.
4 NRO S(G) 203.
5 NRO Pattishall glebe terriers.
6 Bill NRO D1308; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. B p. 424.

Paulerspury

M 1973 P *c.* 1819 (furlongs)

The parish contains the townships of Paulerspury and Heathencote. Paulerspury vill is complicated, with Plumpton End added to it at the east and Pury End at the west. Heathencote also has two parts. An article has been published with an inadequate plan[1]. The furlong boundaries and names are written on a draft enclosure map of *c.* 1819[2].

Paulerspury had three fields in 1541, Parke Field, Totehill and Mydde Field[3], and similar field names occur until enclosure in 1819 (Fig. 7). In 1631 Depslade was an alternative name for Toothill Field, when it had 18 percent ley[4]. Additional field-names are mentioned in a survey of 1728, but many of them are locational descriptions of parts of the three major fields or adjacent enclosed grounds[5]. All furlongs are named in this survey and it relates to a schematic map[6]. Each land or parcel has its width and length measured in links.

The minor names of 1728 were Breach Field and Stockings Field south of the vill, and Hall Field adjacent to the north. All of them are located on the 1819 map plus, on the west, Great and Little Westry Fields. These fields are not described in the glebe; they may have been demesne.

A half yardland was 10 acres in 1540.

The open-field area described in 1541 accounts for 414 acres (excluding the demesne and other unquantified land). A plot of identified furlongs cultivated during the 18th century shows that the open fields occupied only about half the total area, all to the north east of the vill. The Park and old enclosure accounts for most of the remainder; it is possible that some of the western part of Paulerspury, if it was not demesne as suggested above, was another township (for Pury End?), but no evidence has so far been discovered.

The Park. A park was made in 1410 by enlarging 2 older parks and taking in open-field land[7]. In 1541 it extended to 200 acres and there were 80 acres of wood in 4 coppices, two of them 50 years old. There were 113 acres of pasture and 176 deer in 3 closes. Another smaller park was made in 1328 at Plumpton End.

Heathencote

Heathencote was a separate township, and had three fields in 1728, then only named as the Fallow Field, Peas Field and Wheat Field[8]. In 1819 they were called Towcester Field, Middle Field and Paulerspury Field. They lay west of the vill; to the east was Berry Hill Field, mainly leys or enclosed grounds. It was probably a block demesne.

Both townships were enclosed in 1819[9].

1 D. N. Hall, 'Paulerspury survey 1973', *Milton Keynes Journal* 3 (1974) pp. 67–71, plan p. 133.
2 NRO Map 2976.
3 PRO E 315 419 f.3–8.
4 NRO Paulerspury glebe terriers.
5 NRO G1631.
6 NRO G439.
7 *Cal. Chart. Rolls 1314–1417* p. 422; J. M. Steane 'Medieval Parks' *NPP* 5 (1975) p. 218, 229–30.
8 NRO G1631.
9 Act NRO G4027; Map 2976; Award ML 1405.

Peakirk

M 1977

A terrier of 37 lands made in 1716 by John Booth has detailed abuttals, and measurements of widths and lengths[1]. The acreage of 22.75 shows that many of the lands were more than 2 roods in size, typical of the Welland Valley. Land distribution in 4 fields was, Coat Field 4 acres, Brook Field 16, Between Town Field 12, and Werrington Field 5 acres.

The first and last fields may have been run together. There are complications with Brook Field having the lesser names of Broadgate Field and Etton Field. It was stated 'this farm has common in ye North Fen and Peterborough Great Fen with no limited number'. There were 14 neighbours, 4 people occupying 66 percent of the positions. There may have once been a regular order.

Enclosed in 1809 with Helpston[2].

1 NRO Buccleuch terriers.
2 Map 1819 and Award 1820 in NRO ML 860.

Pilton

M 1982

Pilton includes part of the Lyveden Valley. It had 3 fields in 1594, a holding of 2.5 acres having 1 acre in Hasland Field, 0.5 acre in Whyte Field, and 1 acre in Church Field[1]. A deed of 1614 refers to the fields of Pilton[2], and the glebe of Wadenhoe refers to 'Pilton Field' in 1628[3].

Tithes of part of Lyveden lying in Pilton were paid on Easter Monday at the church porch of Pilton[4]. The tithe of Bearshank wood was due on all wood under 21 years growth (1726).

The glebe of 1634 describes pieces of exchanged meadow abutting the close of John Thurlby. Several closes are mentioned by 1643, more than would be expected for demesne. Enclosure therefore took place between 1628 and 1634.

1 NRO X4990, deed 36 Eliz I.
2 *Id.* deed J. Thurlby 10 Oct. 1614.
3 NRO Wadenhoe glebe terriers.
4 NRO Pilton glebe terriers, 1705.

Polebrook

M 1990 P *c.* 1733 F *c.* 1730

The parish contains three townships, Polebrook, Armston and Kingsthorpe. Kingsthorpe has the site of a deserted vill, formerly belonging to Thorney abbey, Cambs.[1], and Armston is very shrunken.

Polebrook had three fields in 1554 and 1575, from reference to the 'wheat and peas fields' (below). In 1585 they are named, Richard Henson having land distributed equally in them; Horsewell Field 17.75 acres, Middle Field 18.625, and Bulmer Stub Field 17.375 acres. Three fields also operated in *c.* 1733, Nether, Latenway and Old Fields. A terrier had 17, 6, and 14 acres respectively in each, a very unequal arrangement, with few neighbours[2].

Orders. Large numbers of field orders survive for the 16th century in the Montagu records[3]. Of interest is that for 1568 demanding that each tenant make a terrier. Edward Montagu, whose family originated from Hanging Houghton, would have been aware of similar orders made at Lamport, where he still had land. Among the regulations for Polebrook during 1549–92 were animal stints of not more than 10 cows and 40 sheep for 20 acres; the fields of wheat and fields of peas laid separate (1557, 1575). No one should break any hedge or carry away the wood (1582).

A few furlongs are named in late 13th-century charters[4], including le Lynch abutting the stone bridge called Brocfordebrigge. A list of what are probably demesne fallow furlongs was made in 1365[5], showing that it was dispersed in large blocks.

Enclosed in 1790[6].

Kingsthorpe

M 1990 F 1509

There were three fields in *c.* 1450[7] and in 1509, when they were called the East Field, the Second Field, and the South Field.

Kingsthorpe has copies of various 14th-century terriers made in *c.* 1450. A field book of 1509 survives in two versions, a draft[8] has furlongs listed in a slightly different order, giving more detail than the fair copy[9]. Furlong names of all dates refer to the Grove, a piece of medieval woodland still surving. Names of *c.* 1450 include *breche* and *wold*[10], suggestive of assarting. A terrier claiming to be 'Armston' has mostly Kingsthorpe land described in 1570[11]. There is some confusion between the furlongs of Kingsthorpe and Armston; they were both small with common topographical features, placed between Barnwell and Polebrook, and many of the documents originate from the muniments of St John's hospital, Armston, which had land in both townships. Kingsthorpe is unambiguously described in the terriers referred to above. Armston is described in a charter[12] and in terriers of the land of Blogwyn described in several versions[13] stated to be in the fields of Armston.

Yardlands at Kingsthorpe and Armston are referred to before 1290[14]. Court rolls also refer to yardlands in both vills in *c.* 1380[15].

Enclosure. Kingsthorpe was open in 1509 and 1576, but in 1603, it was 'longe synce enclosed by Sir Edward Montagu deceased and now in the occupation of Elizabeth Montagu, widow'[16]. The source is undated but refers to Edward Montagu, 'now Knight of the Bath', so identifying him as Edward Montagu III, knighted at the Coronation of James I in 1603. The second Edward Montagu, husband of Elizabeth, died in 1601[17]. An enclosure date of *c.* 1580 seems likely, to explain the 'long since' of 1603 and also take into account that the witnesses were still able to remember where the king's lands were and to make a terrier. Kingsthorpe field is mentioned in 1576 implying it was then still open[18]. Terriers made for Armston in 1569 and Polebrook 1570 may relate to exchanges intended to be made by Edward Montagu. The enclosures are shown on a map of 1733[19].

Armston

M 1990

There were three fields in *c.* 1275[20] when 18 roods were distributed in West Field 5

roods, East Field 5 roods, and South Field 8 roods. Neighbours are given for 14 positions, 3 persons were neighbours in 64 percent of the total, indicating that a regular tenurial order was likely.

Furlong names include *wald*[21], and 24 furlongs are named in a 20-acre grant made before 1258[22]. Similar names are given in detailed terriers of the 13th century copied in the 14th and 15th centuries[23], but field numbers are not stated. Three fields were still in use in 1557 and 1575 according to regulations about the wheat and peas fields (below).

Orders. Court rolls record many offences and field regulations as at Polebrook[24]. The setting of trees (1561) is similar to Lamport, as is the making of a terrier in 1570. A hedge existed around the township in 1586, although it was otherwise unenclosed. Orders made in 1557, 1561, 1565, 1569, 1580 and 1586 also apply to Polebrook.

Among the orders were that no one taking in sheep from 'foreign towns' at the time of great snow, should keep them when the ground (at Armston) was scoured with snow, and they were to be put out of Armston fields when the snow went (1549). The fields of wheat and fields of peas were to lie separate (1557 and 1575). Everyone with 20 acres of land should plant 2 sets of ash and 4 of willow in the town and fields where suitable and on the ground of the lord if there was none suitable, and thorn the same from rubbing or biting of any cattle (1561). All the tenants of Armston should make a true terrier before the next court (1570). All tenants in Armston should keep true and good their parts of the ring hedge between Armston and Barnwell, and Armston and Polebrook fields, and not let them fall into decay for more than one month (1586). Geese should be kept in yards and not in the neats' pasture or fields (1600).

Enclosure. There was a hedge around the township in 1586[25], that had been set since 1573 when there were merestones on the Polebrook side[26]. The hedge was probably to prevent animal trespass from the neighbouring townships and also provide fuel. The fields were open in 1607 when there was still a hayward[27]. Barnwell St Andrews glebe terriers refer to Armston *Meer* in 1632, suggesting it was open; 'closes' or 'pasture' would be expected if it had been enclosed. Bridges states that Armston was enclosed in 1683[28].

1 Mellows *Pytchley* p. 131; the vill is described by A. E. Brown *NPP* 5 (1975) pp. 183–88.
2 NRO Map 1392.
3 NRO Buccleuch 24–52, 53, 54, in X888.
4 NRO Buccleuch photostats B1.372, 375.
5 *Id.*B1.472.
6 Bill NRO WH 357; Award Enclosure Enrolment Vol. I p. 357; Map 2108 (1791).
7 NRO Buccleuch 24–35, roll A, in box X888.
8 *Id.* 24–35, roll B.
9 *Id.* in bundle 24–40.
10 NRO Buccleuch photostats B1.454.
11 NRO Buccleuch 24–35, 24–92 in X888.
12 NRO Buccleuch charter photostats B1.374.
13 NRO Buccluech 24–35, a large roll in X888.
14 NRO Buccleuch charter photostats B1.431, B1.436, B1.437.
15 NRO Buccleuch 24–41, X888.
16 NRO Buccleuch in X888, 24–40.
17 *Id.* 24–53 no. 30; Bridges ii p. 350.
18 From Hemington court orders, Chapter 2.
19 NRO Map 1392.
20 NRO Buccleuch charter photostats B1.374.
21 *Id. c.*1240, B1.429.
22 *Id.* B1.430.

23 Buccleuch large roll in X888.
24 see fn 3.
25 Buccleuch 24–53 no. 51 in X888.
26 *Id.* 24–53 no. 30.
27 *Id.* 24–53 no. 78.
28 Bridges ii p. 417.

Preston Capes

M 1987

Preston Capes consists of two settlements and two townships in one parish. The larger village with the church now generally known as Preston Capes, was formerly Great Preston or Preston on the Hill. To the east is the small shrunken village of Little Preston, formerly known as Wood Preston.

Preston had two fields, called the North Field and South Field from 1199, during the 13th century, in 1377[1] and until *c.* 1580[2]. The 1199 record is for 95 acres of demesne split between the North Field 44 acres and South Field 51 acres[3]. A 13th-century terrier had 6 acres as 0.5-acre lands, 6 in each field[4]. In 1377, 11.25 acres were split between the fields, 22 roods in the South, and 24 roods in the north. A terrier of 1.75 yardlands in 1477 had two people holding 77 percent of the 69 neighbouring positions; there was 20 percent of leys[5].

In 1669 there were 34.75 yardlands and a cow pasture[6]. Reference to Preston Middle Field may indicate that a three-field system had been made. In 1621 property that was probably demesne was 6 yardlands[7]. Half a yardland was 18 acres in 1467[8].

Some field orders have been printed in Chapter 2. In 1437 geese could go in the corn only if they were tied up, defaulters to pay 4d to the lord and 4d to the church[9]. Thomas Kecht ploughed up the balks on the lord's ground in 1444. Orders for 1547[10] stinted each yardland at 6 beast, 5 cabulls, 1 breeder and 50 sheep. No one should trespass in the lord's wood by stealing wood or conies or barking his trees. Not more than 1 goose or gander was allowed per yardland, but 2 geese could be kept until Christmas. Other orders are of the usual type; the admonition to repair the pinfold shows that this seignurial responsibilty had been passed to the tenants as a condition of tenure.

An undated and unprovenanced list of orders occurs in the Knightley Collection. From the witnesses it is clear that it refers to Preston and the caligraphy indicates a date of about 1650. The usual range of orders is recorded[11].

Preston was enclosed in the mid-17th century. An agreement of 1659 between Sir Richard Knightley of Fawsley and other major owners lead to enclosure in 1661. At the 'official' enclosure in 1669 there were already closes in the tenure of people to whom they subsequently did not belong[12]. It has been suggested that enclosure at this time was encouraged because of increased demand for meat[13].

Wood. Preston Wood is referred to as a 'grove called the Yurleswode' in a grant of the vill, fields and wood in 1365[14]. Between 1442 and 1454 the bailiff, John Colles, and others, sold much timber without licence; animals got into the wood and caused damage. It was enclosed with a ditch and a post and rail fence[15] and was the property of the lord. Underwood was sold and large timber was used to repair the manor house and other houses in the village. Manorial meadow was supplemented by 3.5 acres in Abthorpe and 3 acres in Grimscote.

Little Preston

A demesne, mentioned in 1226, was called *inland* and included a garden, pasture for sheep 'beyond a park', and pannage for pigs within the park. In 1327 there was a chief messuage with herbage and fruit, 120 acres in demesne, 4 acres of enclosed pasture, and various pieces of dispersed demesne pasture, a wood, and a fishery, with 10.5 yardlands[16].

No furlong details survive. In 1432, 40 oaks were to be left in the outer mounds of the wood, until the adjacent sale called Assheby Hewen was cut, to repair the manor and houses[17]. Licence was given in 1525 to remove 18 trees and odds of oak, ash, maple and asp growing in the borders or meres of Little Preston and in the bounds of the Preston woods. Trees within 11 yards of the borders of the wood 'next to the enclosures of Peter Collis' shows that there were several enclosures.

1 NRO K Ch 106.
2 NRO K155.
3 *Pipe Roll Soc.* 24 (1900) p. 151.
4 BL Egerton 3033 f.92.
5 NRO K155.
6 NRO K56–7.
7 NRO K48–53; K59, K67.
8 NRO K343.
9 NRO Knightley court rolls A.iv.18, and A.iv.10.
10 *Id.*A.iv.9.
11 NRO K154.
12 NRO K56–7; the final proceedings were enrolled in Chancery in 1674, stating that enclosure had occurred 13 years previously, PRO C 78 1928 (12).
13 E.M. Leonard, *Enrolled Decrees of Chancery* 1928, referring to Preston.
14 NRO K Ch. 97.
15 NRO Knightley court rolls A.iv 4, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16.
16 PRO C 135 1 (5) m.4.
17 NRO K232.

Radstone

M 1973

There were two separate vills in the parish, Upper Radstone, which is shrunken, and Nether Radstone, entirely deserted, as well as a wood called Short Grove. There were two townships; the boundary between them is marked on an undated map of *c.* 1600[1] and is confirmed by field-system studies. The two-settlement arrangement cannot be related to the recorded manorial descent and most likely has a Saxon origin. Not much detailed information has been found for Lower Radstone.

What is probably Upper Radstone had two fields in *c.* 1225, South Field and North Field[2], and the same two names were given for the glebe yardland in 1705–8[3]. Twenty one ridges (or lands) laid in each field; hence 1 yardland was 21 acres.

Magdalen College, Oxford, had a yardland in Upper Radstone described in a terrier of 1694 copied in 1740[4]. From the 1694 names and abuttals and the enclosed field names marked on a map of 1812[5], the furlongs of Upper Radstone can be identified.

Demesne and yardlands. In 1279 most of the manor was in hand with sales of corn ricks, animals, butter, and milk. There was a staff of a reeve, mower, and cowherd, each paid

3s. There were repairs of old ploughs, a new one bought, wages of the smith for hinges, clasps and horseshoes made and 6 horses shod. Much of the corn and peas was stored in 150 ricks[6].

In 1637 Radstone had 25 yardlands, all belonging to the lord except for 1 of glebe and 1 yardland the property of Magdalen College[7]. The area of open field including meadow, balks and hades was 775 acres, from which each yardland was 31 acres. The demesne was a further 521 acres (of which 94 acres were woodland). The greater part consisted of High Field 144 acres, Chappell Field 33, Matthews Field 96, and meadows 73 acres.

The last two fields add up to 129 acres and probably were farmed with the High Field 144 acres as a two-field system. Four tenants farmed a few small closes and 19 yardlands. The whole comprised 1,316 acres. In hand were two coppices, 50 acres of which were recommended for grubbing up[8].

The 2 hide assessment of 1086[9] suggests there were 12 yardlands to the hide.

Radstone seems to have been enclosed by private agreement in 1740, when new closes are described[10]. The glebe was open field until 1736 but in 1752 the two groups of lands were said to lie in two closes.

1 NRO photostat 1026, deeds of Merton College, Oxford.
2 Gray p. 479 from Magdalen College charter B 148.
3 NRO Radstone glebe terriers.
4 NRO photostat 1031.
5 NRO photostat 1029.
6 BL Harl. roll K29.
7 NRO photostat 1030.
8 NRO photostat 1032.
9 Thorn and Thorn 22–5.
10 NRO photostat 1031.

Raunds

M 1969 H P 1798 (furlongs) F 1739

The large parish of Raunds contains two townships and two deserted vills called West Cotton and Mallows Cotton. There were 2 principal manors at Raunds, but they laid in close proximity and do not relate one to one township and one to the other. Analysis of the field systems shows that part of the Cotton township had been annexed to Raunds by 1433. Some furlong boundaries and names are mapped on the enclosure award plan, without indication of land orientation. A field book made by John Brasier in 1739 is one of the series made for establishing the precise extent of the Gloucester Fee for the Duke of Montagu[1]. A plan has been reconstructed using enclosed field names and the Brasier survey[2], shown on Figure 9.

A two-field arrangement was in operation (in the demesne, which was dispersed) in 1327[3]. The field book shows there was a double three-field system in 1739, one system being associated with each of the two main parts of Raunds, called the North End Fields and Thorpe End Fields from 1580 onwards[4]. The arrangement can be shown to have been in existence in 1349, when a terrier describes furlongs in the Thorpe End Fields only[5]. A holding of 1484 had its lands dispersed in the North Fields. Although the demesne goes through both systems, individual yardlands do not. There were three fields in Thorpe End Fields by 1686 and in the North by 1722[6].

The sizes and amounts of ley in the North Fields in 1739 were:

Field	*No. of lands and leys*	*No of leys*	*Percent leys*
North Hill Field	1872	44	2.35
Nichols Willows Field	1535	34	2.21
Black Field	1685	76	4.51
Totals	5092	154	3.02 average

Common orders were mentioned in 1400[7] but are not listed until 1533 onwards. There were 8 great beasts allowed to 40 acres of arable in 1533 (increased to 10 by 1735) and 40 sheep to 40 acres in 1565. The yardland was stated to be 40 acres in 1318[8], and, like Rushden, all yardlands except villein land had been broken up and dispersed by 1400.

The demesne of Burystead manor has been described in Chapter 5, that of the Gloucester Fee is discussed below. Both are plotted on Figure 9.

Analysis of the details of individual land ownership in the 1739 field book has little to offer in proving the existence of a regular tenurial order. A more regular arrangement is suggested from the 1349 terrier which gives the names of the neighbours on 28 occasions. There are 16 different people 6 of them holding 57 percent of the positions. This is far from random, and probably indicates there had been a regular order. The breakdown of a regular tenurial cycle may be explained by the unusual amount of land transaction and piecemeal breakdown of fixed-size medieval yardlands that was allowed on the Lancaster estates from the 14th century onwards.

The tenurial detail has allowed identification an area of former woodland, probably disforested before 1086 (marked on Figure 9), as well as part of the former township of the Cottons which had been absorbed into Raunds before 1433. The Cottons were part of a large estate owned by the earls of Gloucester in the 12th century (later called the Gloucester Fee); the Duchy of Lancaster had no open-field land in the Cottons. A plot of the Gloucester lands reveals the old township boundary, confirmed in part by the furlong called Cotton Mere next to Stanwick, and from the furlong pattern of Raunds and Ringstead on the north, discussed in Chapter 8. Evidence from aerial photography indicates that the north-western part of the field system was laid out in long strips before being split into the more familiar furlongs (6 furlongs are in alignment in the North Field)[9].

Gloucester Fee. The Northamptonshire part of the lands of the medieval earls of Gloucester passed to the crown in 1521 after Edward Duke of Buckingham was beheaded[10]. The estate lay mainly in the Huxlow Hundred, but included about half of Ringstead and Raunds. The overlordhsip of the property was granted to Thomas, earl of Exeter in 1609 and sold to Edward, first lord Montagu of Boughton in 1629[11]. Until the late 18th century, manorial courts were maintained to raise small sums of money due when property was alienated by sale or descent.

The Gloucester Fee lands in Raunds are partly identified in the 1739 field book as the lands belonging to Elizabeth Drage, which have a **G** marked at the appropriate entries. There were many more farms that belonged, which were identified in *c.* 1730 by searching court rolls from about 1600 for evidence of property transactions and lists of

the Gloucester Fee holders. None of the 1730 lists is quite complete, but since the original court rolls survive, Gloucester Fee holdings can be identifed[12].

The Gloucester Fee acreage of Gage's manor given in a 1661 deed of purchase was 120 acres in the open fields. Furnells, the main Gloucester Fee manor, is more difficult to quantify because it is not possible to distinguish former villein holdings from demesne land let as farms. An extent of Furnells manor in 1600 states that 40 acres belonged to it; this is the best estimate[13]. The following 1739 properties were identified as Gloucester Fee from court rolls.

Elizabeth Drage	144 acres	Thomas Muskitt	2
Thomas Askham	20	Richard Rawlins	4
Lady Wentworth	30		
John Aspinal	48	Sir John Langham	
Dr. Will. Dillingham	28	Furnells' manor	40
Samuel Richardson	60	Gages' manor	120

The Gloucester Fee land has been plotted on Figure 9. The demesne can be seen to lie in a block around the manor site on the north west.

Raunds was enclosed in 1797[14].

1 NRO ML 124.
2 A list of the furlong names, sizes and early name-forms is given in *Raunds, Picturing the Past* by D. Hall, R. Harding, and C. Putt (1988) pp. 312–5.
3 PRO C 135 6 m.27; *Raunds* pp. 61–8.
4 NRO Duchy of Lancaster court roll 22 Eliz I in X707.
5 NRO court roll 23 Edw 3 in X705.
6 NRO QCR 49, 52; FH 553, FH 556.
7 NRO court roll 2 Hen IV in X705; *Raunds* pp. 64–5.
8 *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* ii 1307–1349 (1916) p. 92.
9 Hall 1982, *Medieval Fields* p. 50.
10 Bridges ii 57–61.
11 NRO Buccleuch, 22–5 and 22–6, in X887.
12 NRO Buccleuch, 23–18 and 23–10, in X887.
13 NRO, additions to the Langham Collection 1987; Raunds, deed to Henry Peyton 28 Feb. 1652 and extent 13 Nov. 1600.
14 NRO Map 3124 (1798), which marks some furlong boundaries; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. K p. 359.

Ravensthorpe

M 1977

Ravensthorpe parish contained the hamlet and township of Teeton, and received the tithes of land that belonged to Coton, dispersed in the township of Guilsborough and Coton.

Ravensthorpe had 3 fields in 1577 and 1724[1]:

Field	*Area in roods*	
	1577	*1724*
Surlee	17	21
Shardlaye	18	19
Windmill	12	13
Heath		5

The Mill field is small; it contained a large cow pasture at the time of enclosure (1795–6), and once had been the same size as the others.

There were 20.5 yardlands in 1603[2] and 20.25 yardlands were accounted for in a statement of property of *c.* 1788[3]. A complaint by Teeton was made about its land tax when compared with Ravensthorpe in 1643, as described in Chapter 6[4].

A terrier of 1315 described 5.75 acres in 23 parcels, each named with one neighbour, of whom there were only 3, indicating a regular order[5]. The 1577 terrier had 26 named neighbours, 2 people holding 88 percent of the positions. In 1724, in another terrier[6], two of the neighbours were paired and show that a very regular order still persisted, 3 neighbours holding 85 percent of the places. A topographic boundary was called the Toach hide parting, and indicates that there was a subdivision of a tenurial cycle into smaller divisions called hides.

Ravensthorpe was enclosed in 1795 when there were 20.5 yardlands[7]. The award gives the names of the furlongs in each new allotment; using terriers and enclosed field-names, most furlongs have been identified on a field survey plan,

Teeton

A survey of 1591 made by Ralph Treswell found that three freeholders had land in 3 fields[8]:

	1	*2*	*3*
Low Field	21.5 acres	25.75	34.25
Underhill field	28.75	31.5	31.5
Mill Field			28.3

The first two properties have a note referring to their land 'in these two fields', which might be taken to mean there were two fields, the third being demesne. However the third field, Mill Field, has references to the other two tenants as neighbours, so they did have land there. Either the survey is incomplete or there had been extensive exchanges prior to the intended enclosure. A terrier of 1310 granted 3 roods in 4 parcels, all with the same neighbours on each side, indicating a regular order[9].

There were 25 or 25.75 yardlands in 1603[10]. In 1638 the demesne was said to have been 9 yardlands when enclosed 46 years before (1592), and kept 2 ploughs upon it[11].

Teeton was open in 1591 when it was surveyed, and in the same year there was an agreement for the fields 'to be divided up' between the lord Robert Breton and the 3 freeholders[12].

1 NRO S(G)257; X6581 Bundle 19.
2 NRO LT 85.
3 NRO S(G) 273.
4 NRO LT 416.
5 NRO LT 64.
6 NRO YZ 2989.
7 Act NRO D2462; Map 2877 (1795); Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. K p. 145; S(G) 273.
8 NRO LT 80.
9 NRO LT 59.
10 NRO LT 85, LT 466.
11 NRO LT 163.
12 NRO LT 83.

Ringstead

M 1969 P *c.* 1838 (furlongs only)

The parish includes the deserted settlement of Mill Cotton, some of deserted Mallows Cotton and part of the Cottons' township.

There were three fields from the late 16th century until the 19th century. They were slightly unequal; a terrier of 1651[1] describes land split between the Field next to Denford, Middle Field, and the Field next to Raunds as 6.455, 9.13 and 7.33 acres (9, 20, and 15 lands), and in 1685 there were similarly 5.25, 10.125 and 7.5 acres (10, 14, and 14 lands). By 1742 until 1838 there was a fourth field, the Round Field, mainly taken out of Middle Field. It seems to have been only a locational name as it was run with Middle field for cultivation[2].

An outline furlong map of *c.* 1838, with names but no lands or great fields marked, can be exactly related to the fieldwork surveyed map[3]. A few of the furlongs around the parish boundary are named in a 1591 survey[4].

No yardlands are mentioned at Ringstead in the post-medieval period; they were probably dispersed early, as at Raunds and Hargrave. No manorial lands can be identified and it is unlikely that any manor houses were maintained by the two estates that owned Ringstead.

As with Raunds the relationship of Mill Cotton to the fields is of interest. However no evidence survives to mark it out by the tenurial relationships; neither Ringstead nor Shelton churches had any glebe, the distribution of which would have revealed the township boundary. The physical layout of furlongs against the present-day Raunds parish boundary mirrors the discontinuity found on the Raunds side[5].

Uncertainty remains about the boundary with Mill Cotton. The date of absorption is probably the same as that for Raunds, before 1591 from the township-boundary survey and probably before 1433. By 1634 all the Cotton furlongs within Ringstead parish had been incorporated into 'The field next Raunds'[6]. Contraction of arable occurred, with peripheral furlongs near the river meadows towards Woodford left as leys and common.

Ringstead was enclosed in 1839[7].

1 NRO Latham Charity 307 and 209 (1588, 1617); SS 3501 (1634), SS 3503 (1651); CS 133 (1685), 135 (1697), 344/7 (1742).
2 NRO CS 81.
3 NRO CS 131.
4 PRO DL 42 117 ff.193–4.
5 See plan in Hall, *Medieval Fields* p. 29.
6 NRO SS 140a.
7 Act NRO C(S) 100; Map 3001 (1841); Award ML 1550.

Rothersthorpe

M 1977

A field-survey plan has been published[1].

Three fields operated in 1344; a 9-acre grant lists 3 acres (4 parcels) in an unnamed field; 3 acres (3 parcels) in South Field; and 3 acres (3 parcels) in West Field[2]. There were still three fields in 1803 when three consolidated farms were leased. They were then

called Bridge Field, Garberd Field and Spout Field. Nearly all the township belonged to one person and any detail of tenurial order is lost[3].

The number of yardlands was 64 in 1810[4]. In the Domesday return of 1086 there were 3.5 hides, equating at *c.* 18 yardlands per hide. The 1694 demesne was 13 yardlands[5] which agrees exactly with Domesday demesne[6] assessed as 2 of the 7 ploughlands (64 yardlands times 2/7 times 2.5/3.5 (since only the largest of the three estates of 2.5, 0.5 and 0.5 hides had any demesne; see Chapter 5)).

The yardland size can be calculated at 19 acres in 1654[7] but this must be slightly too large from the total acreage of *c.* 1213 and 64 yardlands; the size was probably about 17 acres. Stinting in 1778 was 1.5 cows, 1 horse and 16 sheep in summer and 18 in winter[8]; reduced in 1801 to 1.25 cows and 14 sheep all the year round[9].

A wood is mentioned in 1086; in 1295 it is specified as being in Salcey Forest and further located in 1567 as Thorpe Wood lying in 2 coppices in the parish of Roade[10]. The wood is now pulled up but is still called 'Thorpe Wood Farm'. In 1086 it was 5.5 by 1.5 furlongs, or 82.5 acres[11]. Rothersthorpe had a close of meadow in Wootton called Arksholme[12].

Enclosed in 1809[13].

1 D. Hall and P. Martin 'Rothersthorpe Field Survey' in CBA Group 9 *Newsletter* 12 (1982) pp. 52–6.
2 R.M.Serjeantson, *A History of St Giles Northampton* (1911) p. 321.
3 NRO Box 1914.
4 Enclosure Award Enrolment Vol.N pp. 278–96.
5 NRO Box 1914.
6 Thorn and Thorn 48–9.
7 NRO Th 899.
8 NRO S(G) 499.
9 NRO Box 1914.
10 NRO Clayton 162.
11 As f.n.6
12 NRO ZA927.
13 NRO Map 2872; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. N p. 269 (1810).

Rushden

M 1980 H

Most of Higham Ferrers Park, created before 1114, lay within Rushden parish until the 19th century (it is now included in Newton). The moated park lodge, 2 miles out of the vill, was the administrative manorial site until the 17th century. A detailed history of Rushden gives modern field names, furlong names and their locations marked on a field-survey plan (*Rushden, a Duchy of Lancaster Village,* D. Hall and R. Harding, 1985, pp. 71–96). It was shown that all the parish was opened up for agriculture by the early 12th century except for the deer park and adjacent Bencroft, lying at the south.

There were two fields in 1324[1] and in 1327 (in the demesne[2]); this had changed to a three-field arrangement by 1571, but no details survive of the transformation. North Feld occurs in 1405, and South Feld and Park Feld in 1464, the last two names probably referring to the same area[3]. In the 17th century the names were Long or Deane Field, Black Fen Field or High Field, and Brook Field. By the 18th century a fourth field-name appears, part of Black Fen Field being called Upper Field and cropped with Brook Field, lying away from it[4]. In 1777 the three cropping areas were:

Long Field		30.625 acres
Brook Field	18.825	23.075
Upper Field	4.25	
Black Fen Field		24.375

The yardland was 40 acres in 1318[5] but, except for villein land, yardlands had been broken down into irregular holdings by 1400. The holdings and work-service were described in detail in *c.* 1350 before being lost to view[6]. In all there were:

Soke of Higham	35	yardlands
Soke of Finedon	10.5	(formerly belonging to a crown manor)
Villein (bondhold)	12.5	

The tithe of the first two tenures was impropriated to Lenton Priory, Nottingham, before 1114, but the villein-land tithe remained with Rushden church and the lands are described in glebe terriers. The lands lay in blocks throughout the field system, which sugests that there was once a regular order of lands within the fields. The blocks vary in size from 2–40 adjacent lands, but most commonly there were 12–15 lands lying together, corresponding to the number of villein yardlands. A regular order is implied in a 1556 description of a three-quarter yardland of bondhold belonging to Richard Boyfield, which laid between the lands of Thomas Launcebon on the south and John Burton on the north. No furlong names were given[7].

Field regulations are referred to in court rolls of 1409, 1479 and 1482 (Chapter 2), and detailed lists survive from 1575 onwards; that for 1576 has been published[8]. In 1634 and 1712 two farms grew equal amounts of corn and peas on their open-field land[9]. The animal stinting in 1591 was 4 sheep for every acre in the fallow field (4 sheep for 3 acres in all), and for every 60 acres in the other fields were allowed 10 rother beast and 6 horses[10]. This is equivalent to 120 sheep, 10 beast and 6 horses for 90 acres of arable land in the three fields. A cow pasture existed by 1472.

Details of the Park and its management have been printed[11]. The demesne lay next to it on the north side, called the Park Old or Park Leys in 1551[12]. Enclosed in 1778[13].

1 PRO E 106 7/21, m.8a, m.7b, describing a yardland.
2 PRO C 135 6 m.24, & m.27.
3 NRO Duchy of Lancaster court rolls in X701–2.
4 NRO Rushden glebe terriers.
5 *Cal. Inq. Misc.* 1916, no. 371.
6 *Rushden* p. 58 from PRO DL 43 8/9.
7 Duchy of Lancaster court roll 3 & 4 Phillip and Mary in NRO X704.
8 *Rushden* p. 91.
9 *Id.* p. 94.
10 *Id.* p. 137 from PRO DL 43 117 f.153.
11 *Rushden* pp. 97–109; see also Kerr, *Higham Ferrers*, pp. 150–173 and M. W. Beresford, *History on the Ground*, pp. 216–9.
12 PRO DL 1 68 m.11.
13 Act NRO CAM 86; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. F p. 238.

Rushton

Rushton was divided into 2 parishes, and also contains the township of Barford, which is deserted.

Rushton had 2 fields in the 14th century, one acre in one field and one acre in the other[1]. It was enclosed piecemeal by Sir Thomas Tresham from 1581 to 1604[2].

Barford

Three fields operated in 1386, a terrier of 1.5 acres describes 0.5 acres in each of the West, South and East Fields. A 1461 rental of the demesne lists parcels in the furlongs of the West Field 16.75 acres, East Field 19.75 acres, and South Field called Overfeld 23.25 acres[3]. These laid in fairly small parcels in many furlongs indicating a dispersed demesne, and therefore a three-field system for the whole township.

There were 10 copyhold yardlands and two cottages in 1461. Barford was assessed at 1 hide in 1086[4] and so there were 10 yardlands to the hide, the demesne not being allowed for.

Barford was enclosed before *c.* 1720. Bridges[5] refers to 5 yardlands in *c.* 1638, implying that it was still open then.

1 Gray p. 479 from BL Cott. Tib. E V f.84.
2 M. E. Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families 1540–1640*, Northamptonshire Record Society 29 (1956) pp. 74, 87–88.
3 NRO Buccleuch 10–30 and court roll 2 Dec. 9 Ric. II, in X359.
4 Thorn and Thorn 1–21.
5 Bridges ii p. 72–3.

Scaldwell

M 1988

Three fields are implied in 1571 from the cropping arrangement noted for that year (below). In 1609 they were called[1]:

	Arable	*Ley*	*Total*	
Wood Field	4 roods	1	5	
Howse Field	4	2	6	
Brook Field	8.5	1.5	10	Total 21 roods

The above land is for 0.25 yardland, whence a yardland was 21 acres; the distribution is irregular and there were 23 percent leys.

Many open-field orders occur in Lamport court rolls; some of those made for Lamport and Hanging Houghton applied to Scaldwell. As with Lamport there were field orders made in 1567 and 1569 which were referred to later[2]. The stint in 1567 was 4 drawing beast, 4 bullocks or cows, and 40 lambs per yardland. No sheep were to be on their own but placed in one of the four flocks, as long used (1569). Fulbeck, brigges leys, plank leys, east leys, and bells piece were to be used as beast pasture when the fields where they lie were wheat or corn 10 days after midsummer, and when peas the 13th day after midsummer (1571). A rick place was noted in 1577; those who enclosed common ground for rick places or fencing of wood should not keep them separate longer than their grain or wood was kept on the ground.

Enclosed in 1775[3].

1 NRO IL 3249.
2 NRO IL 128 mm.33, 34 (1567); IL 123 m.43 (1569); IL 123 m.20 (1571), cf IL 128 m.29.
3 Act NRO IL 2173; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D p. 487.

Silverstone

Silverstone was a chapelry of Greens Norton. There were two fields in the 13th century; a small terrier of 1231 had 3 acres in one field and in the *other field* were 6 selions[1]. Two fields were described in *c.* 1225, with an acre split between the field next to the village and the East Field[2].

Fields described in later terriers are complex; probably there had been assarting. An incomplete terrier of 1588 (1633 copy) mentions some fields but does not name the furlongs in them[3]. A map of 1608[4] shows Woodcrafts Field 55 acres, to the north of the village 'Silson Common' (field?) 306 acres, and on the west is Buttrills Field 24 acres, with a small Buston Field next to woodland. In 1676[5] 4 fields, Nether Field, Black Pit Field, Within the hedges, and Beyond Brook, are listed with an uneven distribution in large pieces; furlong names are given in 1681[6]. At enclosure in 1824 there were 5 fields, Backside, Ridge Knoll, Hall Hills, Blackspit and Swinney.

Land was described as yardlands in 1424[7], and a few orders are recorded in court rolls 1424–1565[8]. Some of the orders reflect the location of Silverstone in Whittlebury Forest. William Tillesworth had wood in the highway (1426). Thomas Hykeman, woodward, presented Stephen Caster for cutting the lord's wood and taking a cartload of underwood (1436). There were pasturing rights in both Silverstone and Whittlebury in 1565.

Enclosed in 1824[9].

1 G. R. Elvey NRS 22 *Luffield Priory Charters*, i no. 96.
2 *Id.* i.113.
3 NRO LB 50.
4 NRO Map 4210, copy.
5 NRO S(G) 584.
6 NRO S(G) 585.
7 NRO XYZ 1390.
8 NRO XYZ 1390–1.
9 Act NRO G4000/1; Map 2926 (1826); Award, ML 2162.

Stamford Baron or St Martin's Without

M 1976 P 1773 F *c.* 1410

St Martin's Without parish has 3 townships, St Martin's, Wothorpe and Burghley, the last being a separate vill before Burghley House was built on its site.

The field system of St Martins is described in a field book of 1409–1413[1]. Part of the title and date are torn away, but it was made during the reign of Henry IV (1399–1413) and during the abbacy of John of Peterborough, whose term of office began in 1409. A date within 1409–13 is therefore indicated, hereafter referred to as '1410'. The survey was made because all the lands were in the overlordship of the abbot to whom a rent of 1.5d per acre was due annually. It is the earliest field book so far discovered for a Northamptonshire township.

The first two furlongs of the field book are printed below as an example:

Stamforde Description of the lands there ... in the liberty of the lord abbot of burgh ... Henry IV ... John abbot.

East Field of Staumforde beyond the Bridge

Tenant	*Acres*	*Roods*	*Former tenant*	*Notes*
Gild of St Martin	2	2	Hen Somner	Next to the vill
Prioress of St Michael	3	0		
Katharine Lesingham		1	John Kryville	
Richard —		1		
Will Galdby		1		
William —		2	Thomas Steven	
Prioress of St Michael	1	0		
William Lymerbren	6	0		(Now) the heirs of W. Lymerbren
Margaret Tame	1	0		
Gild of St Martin	1	0		Being a headland to Henry Somner's land
Prioress of St Michael	1	0		A headland between the said headland of the Gild and the way from Staunforde to Pillisgate
Now taking in by the water on the east towards Borough abbutting on the Welande				
Master of St Thomas		1		Next the way
Gild of St Mary	1	2	Henry Somner	
Prioress	4	0		
Anne bond	5	2		
Prioress	4	0		
Master of St Thomas	1	0		
Agnes Milton		2		
S Thomas		2		
William Locksmith	13	0	Henry Titiswell	[*identified in Burghley demesne of 1356 as 13 acres belonging to Henry Titiswell*]
Prioress	1	0	Called leysaker	

The field book shows the characteristics noted for most of the Nassaburgh Hundred, the large size of the individual parcels and the descriptive nature of the furlong names. Ownership or tenancy of such large parcels did not often occur in the remainder of the county, and then only at a late date. Most of the parcels are between 1 and 3 acres; among them are larger blocks of 12 to 20 acres, some of which are the demesne of Burghley manor, and the remainder were probably the demesne of St Martin's, which was therefore of the dispersed type. No regular disposition of holdings is discernible.

The field book describes the East Field beyond the bridge and refers to the Middle Field grouping them together as 335 acres. The High Field was separately described, being more than 400 acres. It is not clear whether there were three equal fields, nor whether there had been an earlier two-field arrangement, since the two major groups are not of equal area, nor is the first twice the second in area.

There were three fields in 1681[2], with 5.75 acres dispersed in High, Middle and Low Fields (2.25, 2.25, 1.25 acres). The same three fields are marked on a map of 1773 and had the following ownership in *c.* 1790[3]:

Name	*Low Field*	*Middle Field*	*High Field*
Lord Exeter	153	118	134
Freeholders	33	18	20
(*three of whom had:*)			
Ierland	3	4	6
Truman	16	9	1
Cumins	1	2	1

The freeholders' distribution was irregular, and there were 13 owners in Low, 7 in Middle and 10 in High Field. Exeter's land was not exactly uniformly distributed either. He seems to have had sole ownership of some furlongs within the Park. The irregularity was probably caused by previous exchanges when the Park was enlarged.

A Cow pasture in Wothorpe leys was agreed among the freeholders in *c.* 1598[4]. They and the tenants could enclose their own grounds in the common fields; there were 'ancient' rights of common in the Heath between High Field and Rugfoard, which were exchanged for rights in Wothorpe Leys[5].

An agreement was made with the freeholders in 1664 so that land could be exchanged to enlarge Burghley Park and enclose it with a stone wall[6]. Common of pasture was granted in 1665 at Wothorpe High Field, 20 acres, on the east side of London Road[7]. Several individual exchanges were made, all so that land could be taken into the Park. William Saxton gave 10 acres of the High Field of St Martin in 1666, at Oldhay Nook, butting on a balk sometimes used as a highway, in exchange for 12.5 acres in Pilsgate Nether Field, and elsewhere in the other two St Martin's Fields[8]. In the same year Robert Conmore sold 10 acres of the High Field to John, earl of Exeter[9].

Enclosed in 1795[10].

Burghley

There seem to have been two parts to the vill of Burghley, one of them called Little Burghley in 1337[11]. Burghley was still a functioning settlement in 1405 when the Barnack West Field lay next to *Burleytounysende*[12].

A charter of 1337 granted, from Henry de Tyddeswell to John de Maroun, chaplain, both of Stamford, a house in *Little Burle* near Stamford and 172 acres of arable and 10.5 acres of meadow in Burghley, Stamford and Pilsgate, of which 125.5 acres lay in Burghley[13]. This property seems to be the manor house and demesne of Burghley, and its descent to the Cecils can be traced through a series of deeds[14].

A detailed terrier describes mainly large parcels, being a demesne of the dispersed type. The furlong names show there had been a wood (lound) at Burghley, hence the *leigh* name, and the *wong* and *gate* (road) elements show the Norse influence common in the north of the county.

In St Martin's were 30 acres in three parcels, all identified in St Martin's 1410 field book. There were also 21.5 acres lying in 5 parcels in *Pillesyate*, which probably indicates that it had a separate field system. Meadow of 6.5 acres lay in Burghley meadow. The blocks of land granted appear to be a dispersed demesne lying in three townships.

The *fields* of Burghley are mentioned in several records[15] but there is no information as to their number, extent, or cultivation arrangements. The demesne terrier, above, probably describes all the furlong names, and St Martin's field book refers several times to Burghley fields where it abutted them.

Burghley was still open field in 1548 when there was glebe of St Martins 'in the felde of Bukleye under aldhawe'[16]. By 1557 there were enclosures at Burghley, but still open-field land at Pilsgate and St Martins (that part of the demesne not in Burghley township[17]). An enclosure date of *c.* 1550 is consistent with the first building works of Burghley House enlarging the medieval manor house in 1556[18].

1 Burghley House, Exeter Muniments (Ex) 53/35.
2 Ex 37/11–4.
3 NRO Map 4121; Ex 31/38.

4 Ex 31/44.
5 Ex 31/47.
6 Ex 31/46.
7 Ex 31/49.
8 Ex 22/23.
9 Ex 22/22/1.
10 NRO Map 4135 (1799).
11 Ex 22/1.
12 Ex 76/35.
13 Ex 22/1.
14 Ex 22/2, from Exchequer memoranda; 22/3; 24/4.
15 Ex 53/35, *c.* 1410.
16 Ex 53/38.
17 Ex 31/42.
18 VCH ii p.524.

Stanford on Avon

M 1990

The parish contains Stanford and the deserted vill of Downtown.

There is no early information on the fields but a terrier of a 34-acre yardland in *c.* 1350 gives a large number of furlong names[1]. They appear to occupy the whole parish with mention of Down Hill. Furlongs with unusually long lands were mapped during the field survey are presumably to be equated with *donelong* and *estlang* of 1350; there were *wolds*, possibly lying on a hill to the south where there are a few irregular furlong boundaries. Cold Ashby road is identifiable as the *portway* (to Northampton) from its being near Elkington Brook Furlong. Hemplow (*heimeslowe*), in the south-east corner of the parish, occurs, suggesting that Down was not a separate township.

The use of the term *inlands* along with *hall field* as a location in the terrier suggests there was a block demesne.

Demesne and yardlands.

In 1086 Stanford was assessed at 1 hide 3.5 virgates, and in 1124 as 2 hides[2]. Down was probably always included in the assessments; it was in existence by the 12th century[3], and is referred to in the 13th century[4]. In 1229 Stanford and *Dune* consisted of 36 houses, 1 mill and 36 yardlands[5]; the abbot of Selby was not to pasture in the Inlands[6]. There were 18 yardlands to the hide on the 1124 reckoning.

The parish was open in 1686 according to glebe terriers which refer to 2 acres of pasture in the Hamme and 4 cow commons in the open field, as well as a 3-acre close called Calves Close in the open field on the south side of Downe. In 1744 a small piece of pasture was enclosed from the waste next to the vicarage by consent of Sir Thomas Cave. This may have been an exchange for the 2-acre piece upon an enclosure[7].

1 J. T. Fowler *The Coucher Book of Selby*, 2 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, Record Series 10 (1891) and 13 (1893) p.271.
2 VCH i 379.
3 Gover et al. *PNN* p. 74 ex *Coucher Book*.
4 *Coucher Book* vol. 13, No. MCLVII.
5 *Id.* vol. 13, p. 338.
6 *Id.* p. 262–3.
7 NRO Stanford glebe terriers; 'new enclosures' occur in 1740 (Braye Catalogue 813).

Stanion

M 1979 P *c.* 1735 F *c.* 1730

Stanion fields are mentioned occasionally in Brigstock court rolls[1]; South Field 1320 and East Field 1357. In 1387 there were 4 roods in the West and 3.5 roods in the East, which may indicate a two-field arrangement. Yardlands were mentioned throughout the 14th century, and in 1440 and 1596 contained 36 acres[2].

A map of Stanion made in 1635 shows three main fields; Upper Field, North Field which ran to the south of the vill, and Nether Field. Also marked are West Field and Conygrey Field (both demesne pastures) and other demesne closes to the north. A three-field system for the open-field land is indicated[3]. On the south of the brook were other closes, probably assart taken from Geddington Chase. Three 'several' (separate) common fields are referred to in 1672[4].

A field book of *c.* 1730 has three fields, Nether, East and West[5]. The tabular explanation has in column 1 the number of parcels in each furlong (on the plan), 2 the number of lands, 3 the tenure, 4 the name of the holder, and in column 5 the area. The tenures are Gloucester Fee G, demesne D, freeholders of the manor of Nether Hall F, and copyholders of the same manor C, held of Brigstock manor. There is little demesne tenure and other tenures are fairly mixed throughout the furlongs. The chief holder was the earl of Cardigan, who held all types of tenure, and had large blocks in many furlongs. Other major holders were Rowlat and the Duke of Montagu with few other people, so a tenurial order is not discoverable.

Enclosed in 1795[6].

1 NRO ML 141, ff.16–20.
2 *Id.* f.59, f.64.
3 NRO Map 2991, f.21.
4 NRO ML 141 f.40.
5 NRO Buccleuch terriers.
6 Act BSL 65; Map 2856 (1805).

Stanwick

M 1968 P 1822

Peterborough abbey estate

Part of Stanwick was said to be in Bedfordshire as late as 1346[1]; it is not now obvious where this land this would be.

In 1086 Peterborough land was assessed as 1.25 hides in the Higham Hundred[2] and 2.5 hides in the Stodden Hundred of Bedfordshire. The 1124 survey gives the abbey 1 hide and 1.5 virgates[3]. A survey made by the abbey, in about 1130, states there were 3 hides; 2 hides were in Bedfordshire and 1 was in Northamptonshire. The land consisted of 9 virgates and 14 half virgates and there were 2 freehold yardlands. In the manor farmyard were two ploughs with 16 oxen, 1 bull, 15 pigs, 100 ewes, and the vill had 9 ploughs[4].

This monastic survey describes 18 yardlands in all, equating to the 3 hides at 6 to the hide. During the 12th century 4 yardlands became freehold, some belonging to John Ashton[5]. An extent of the land held by William Ashton in *c.* 1280 describes 2.5 yardlands[6].

In *c.* 1280 some yardlands contained 36 acres and some 40 acres[7]. A 36-acre yardland remained in 1768 (below). The two sizes are intriguing, possibly representing the amalgamation of two estates, or differences between demesne and villein yardlands.

A 1401 rental describes freehold in possession of John Assheton, 5 yardlands and another 2 half yardlands[8]. The villein land has each tenant named. If the first entry for John Assheton is to be equated with the 1280 inquisition (the rent is nearly the same) it should read 5 *half* yardlands, which makes a total of 18 yardlands as before, 3.5 free and 14.5 villein.

Work service and the actual work performed on the manor at Stanwick (and other Peterborough demesne manors) can be determined from several account rolls. In 1307–8[9] it was recorded that there were in spring 1848 works due from 14 yardlands from Michaelmas for 43 weeks' work (132 days per yardland; 3 days per week per yardland) and 176 works from 2 cottars for sowing (88 per cottar, *c.* 2 per week), with 132 works from 3 cottars for sowing (44 each, *c.* 1 per week), being 2,156 works in all. More work (800.5 days) was due in the autumn.

The roll continues with great detail of how each work was used under 38 items, giving a good view of daily life, and the round of manuring, sowing, harrowing, weeding, reaping, harvesting and carrying, as well as helping with sheep dipping and shearing. All kinds of odd jobs were done such as roofing, mending walls etc. The reeve was excused his work-service. All other work unused had to be paid for at 0.5d per work.

The amount of work, 3,012 days, seems enormous, as on many monastic manors. The total potential work listed was for 3 days per week for 51 weeks. However there were remissions of 12 works during two weeks at Christmas, and a week at Easter and Whitsun. A further 11.5 days were remitted for lesser festivals, so in effect there were nearly 8 weeks 'holiday'. The amount of work lost through illness and death was also allowed for, which averaged 5 days per yardland. The total work accounted was 2,484.5 days, considerably short of the total. The account for 1309–10[10] is more complete in that the works unused make up the total. Possibly in this 1308 account there was an error in the calculation of unused works; but the payment received agrees with the number stated to be unused (26s 2.5d for 529 at 0.5d each).

Not all the farming was done through work service; salaried staff were used for shepherding and ploughing, there being 1 carter, 4 ploughmen, 1 shepherd, 1 dairymaid, and 1 hayward who were full time. Other short-term workers were hired as needed; a reaping reeve at harvest and carters etc. Threshing was paid for by hired labour.

There were 133 acres of corn harvested using work-service. Peas were grown but labour for harvesting them was hired. The seed and work-service tallies record that the crops were:

wheat	56 acres sown
barley	24 acres requiring 12 quarters for seed
drage	66.5 acres requiring 33.25 quarters for seed
	10 acres of St John's requiring 7 quarters for seed
peas	15 acres of St John's requiring 5.5 quarters for seed

Other corn was bought in, such as rye from Irthlingborough. No two consecutive accounts survive so no yields can be calculated, but it would be difficult because the grain records do not clearly state what was the yield from the grange. As so often with

large estates there was much corn and other produce transferring between manors, not necessarily on its way to the monastery.

Fields. There were two fields in *c.* 1280[11]. Geoffrey of Stanwick, chamberlain, granted 4 acres, 2 acres in the Field towards Raunds, and in *the other* field 2 acres and 1 rood.

There was a probably a three-field system in the mid 17th century when the Upper Field was enclosed to form enclosures still called Stanwick Pastures. The area taken in was about one third of the total and the names of the other fields were probably Middle and Nether Field. The enclosure occurred in about 1656 being made by the lord of the manor with the consent of the rector (who was his kinsman) and the freeholders[12].

The remaining open-field land was divided into the three parts called the Field next to Raunds, the Field next to Chelveston (alias Middle Field) and the Field next Higham (alias Nether Field, Sand Field or Mill Field[13]). There was the typical post-medieval contraction of arable with 2 furlongs next to the Pastures being common pasture and 2 more at the south-east being left as leys.

No furlong names of the Upper Field are known, but it was probably formed out of early woodland. A furlong lying next to it was called *old* probably for *wold* and a 1591 description of the township boundary mentions *nether stok* in between the Upper Field and Chelveston[14].

An open-field map of 1822[15] numbers lands in the furlongs, but no field book survives to explain the ownership. There are many terriers for the 17th century and later, which list the furlong names shown on the map.

Yardlands survived until enclosure, probably because of the influence of Peterborough Abbey which owned about half of it. Half a yardland was 18 acres in 1768[16].

The land use in *c.* 1809 was arable 898 acres (open field), ley 97, village enclosures 91, the Pastures 492 grass and 119 arable (in the closes), meadow 179, and another 139 acres of arable, 2,196 acres in all[17].

The fields were enclosed in 1834[18].

1 *Feudal Aids* i (1899) p. 25.
2 Thorn and Thorn 6–16; *id.* EB3.
3 VCH i 377, implying that there were 6 yardlands to a hide.
4 Society of Antiquaries of London, MS 60 f.21; ff.6–25 printed by Stapleton *Camden Soc* 47 (1849) pp. 157–83 (Appendix).
5 Mellows *Pytchley* 1927, 41–5.
6 Society of Antiquaries MS 60 f.232.
7 *Id.* MS 60 f.233.
8 BL MS Cott. Nero C vii, ff.119d-120.
9 NRO F(M) charter 233.
10 F(M) charter 2389.
11 Brooke and Postan NRS *Carte Nativorum* no. 559; an undated charter that refers to people recorded in rentals of 1280 (Society of Antiquaries MS 60 ff.232–3).
12 NRO Stanwick glebe terriers 1684.
13 NRO glebe 1684; Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol. 437 (1791); terriers in X9945 (Overstone Collection).
14 PRO DL 42 117 f.194d.
15 NRO Map 4314.
16 NRO X9945.
17 NRO ZA 937.
18 Act NRO ZA 440; Map 3020 (1838).

Staverton

Two fields are indicated in the late 12th century when 8 acres lay in one part of the fields and 6 in the other[1]. A grant of the early 13th century lists in North Field 5.5 cres (9 parcels) and South Field 4.5 acres (9 parcels[2]). A charter of similar date describes in full the lands of one yardland less 4 acres which indicate that the yardland was 27 acres[3]. South field had 49.5 roods in 35 parcels and North Field had 42 roods in 32 parcels. One of the furlongs was called *rielond*.

There were the same two fields in *c.* 1240[4] and as late as 1488 according to the evidence of a small grant of 3 acres unevenly distributed[5].

By 1733 there were three fields[6]. A glebe of 1.75 yardlands contained 33.5 acres in Roudon Side, 38.5 acres in Coombes Side and 23 acres in Hill Side. The area is difficult to add up; from the figures a yardland is nominally 54 acres, but if the area of a 'land' is taken as 1 rood and not the usual half acre it becomes 27 acres, similar to the medieval estimates. Staverton was enclosed by Parliamentary Act in 1774[7].

1 M. J. Franklin *Daventry Cartulary* NRS 35:433.
2 *Id.* no. 436.
3 *Id.* 453–4.
4 *Id.* 470.
5 NRO Knightley Ch 240.
6 NRO Staverton glebe terriers.
7 NRO D3349, D1605 Bill and Act; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D p. 385 (1775); Quality book 1774, D8025.

Stowe IX Churches

M 1986

Stowe parish contains the two vills of Church Stowe and Little (or Upper) Stowe, which glebe terriers of 1686 show to be two townships.

An extent of demesne in 1327 refers to 120 acres arable and 120 acres fallow, indicating a two tilth arrangement (printed in Chapter 1), and this is confirmed in another extent of 1360 which states there were two fields; neither extent explains that there were two townships[1].

At Church (Great) Stowe, a half yardland had only a few neighbours, mostly one Adam, the Carpenter family, and widow Bliss, indicating there was a regular order. In 1684 a yardland was stinted at 50 sheep, 6 kine and 2.5 horses. Two fields are suggested by a tithe reference to *both fields* in 1684.

Little Stowe

No field names are given in a terrier of 1684[2], but in Little Stowe there was flexibility in the field numbers, suggesting that a change from 2 to 3-fields was contemplated. The rating for sheep was 100 for 2 yardlands if there were two fields, and 80 if there were three fields, provided the other landholders did the same. At that time each yardland was allowed 50 sheep, 5 kine at midsummer, 2 horses and a piece for furze on the heath for each yardland.

Little Stowe glebe 2 yardlands had few neighbours, most furlongs having two separate lands with Richard Capell and George Fretter, or Edward Maior and John Bliss as neighbours. A fixed regular order is likely and a list of meadow holders states that the Upper Meadow was set out at half an acre for every yardland sown in the field. The

list implies that there were 19.5 yardlands, many held as halves. The rectorial neighbours in the list were Richard Capell and John Bliss, and Edward Maior and John Bliss for two separate lands; three of these names occur as neighbours in the 1684 the glebe terrier.

Elsewhere it is stated that there are 23.67 yardlands (probably for Little Stowe; the extra may be undispersed demesne).

The Stowes were enclosed between 1684 and 1758[3]. Baker[4] says it was by private agreement *c.* 1710.

1 NRO MTM 670.
2 NRO Stowe glebe terriers.
3 *Id.*
4 Baker i p. 439.

Strixton

M 1961 P 1583

A plan of 1583[1] shows full details of the furlongs grouped in 3 fields called West Field, Middle Field and (probably) Green Field. The map has been published, along with comparative field-survey plans[2]. A large-scale survey of furlongs next to the village was made before ploughing in 1966[3].

Unusually, every land is drawn on the 1583 map, even though there were only 4 owners. Cow pasture lying at the west had been arable; field survey and aerial photographs show that all the cow pasture was ridge and furrow.

Strixton was probably enclosed completely in 1619, when a licence was granted to enclose and convert to pasture 260 acres of arable[4].

1 NRO Map 2993, 1595 copy.
2 D. N. Hall 'Modern surveys of medieval field systems' *Beds. Arch. J.* 7 (1972) pp. 53–66; pl.3–4.
3 D. N. Hall and N. Nickerson, 'The earthworks of Strixton' *J. Northampton Museums and Art Gallery* 6 (1969) pp. 22–34.
4 VCH iv p. 56.

Sulby

M 1980

The parish contains the deserted vill of Sulby with Sulby abbey on a separate site, both surviving as impressive earthworks. Outside the northern approach to the abbey are vill-type earthworks identified as Little Sulby.

The parish was enclosed and laid to pasture before 1538[1], when 1308 acres are described including the village site called 'Olde Sulby', 40 acres (the parish total is 1565 acres[2]).

Larged sized pastures, not called closes, were Bocherfilde 300 acres, Cote Grenefilde 280, and Hanford filde 400 acres. These were presumably the remains of a three-field system, not long previously abandoned to grass. As with Pipewell abbey property at Elkington, the enclosures represent a depredation by the abbey of the village community; no vill survived only 'Olde Sulby' close.

1 PRO SC6 Hen 8 2784 mm.33–8.
2 Whellan 1876, p. 851.

Sulgrave

M 1977

Two fields occurred in *c.* 1200, 6 acres lying in each field[1].

There were two fields listed in the glebe during 1634–1739[2]. In 1758 three areas are named but these are probably only geographic divisions, there still being two tilths. In 1634 there were 53 parcels in the South Field (33 arable, 20 grass) and 48 in the North Field (26 arable 22 grass), indicating 42 percent grass; these figures include meadow pieces which are not distinguished. This is one of the few parishes that have a two-field system lasting into the 18th century.

Enclosed in 1760[3].

1 Gray p. 479 from BL Cott. Vesp. E XVII f.163b.
2 NRO Sulgrave glebe terriers.
3 Act NRO XYZ 330; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. A p. 307.

Thenford

M 1991

The glebe half yardland from 1628 to 1761 has furlongs but not fields described[1]. If the 24 lands were all half acres then a yardland would be 24 acres; there was 33 percent ley in 1684. There were 7 different named neighbours in 1684, 3 people accounting for 70 percent of the positions, strongly suggesting a regular tenurial order.

Enclosed in 1766[2].

1 NRO Thenford glebe terriers.
2 Award NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. B p. 286 (1767).

Thornby

M 1976 H

The parish contains the site of a small vill called *Chilcotes*, mentioned in 1086 and long deserted. The relationship between the early assessments and the number of yardlands has been given in Chapter 6. A surveyed plan of the fields has been published[1].

There was a two-field system in *c.* 1210[2]. In 1613 one yardland lay in 3 fields called Wyndemyll Field 8.75 acres, Graiethorn Field 9.5 acres, and Watermylle Field 8 acres[3]. There is no information to tell when or by whom the change was made; not a single terrier survives for the 400 years between those mentioned. In 1613 there was a regular order of tenants in the furlongs, 6 people sharing 71 neighbour places, 2 holding 77 percent. The yardland was 28 acres and could be agisted with 2 horses, 5 beasts, 3 bullocks and 40 sheep in 1613.

A few open-field orders survive. In 1608 it was ordered that no one should cut down firs, break hedges, or carry bushes from any part of the town and fields[4]. There was a stray hogerell in 1612. Wood was taken in 1613 from a hedge at Crowledge mere. There was also a wood near the vill in 1210.

The demesne seems to have laid in groups of lands in various furlongs. A grant was made in 1210 of 10.5 acres in Twenty Acres near the cross[5], and a virgate of Margaret daughter of Nicholas de Thurnebi includes a furlong next to the spring of St Andrew[6].

Many furlong names are given in early charters, among them in 1210 *peselond*, and in *c.* 1280[7] *chelviskebrode* and *halleyate*.

Thornby was enclosed in 1623[8]. The glebe was 1.5 yardlands which was replaced by closes of 47 acres.

1 D. N. Hall, CBA *Newsletter* 11 (1981) 36–40.
2 BL Add. Ch. 22,470.
3 NRO NPL 301.
4 NRO Knightley court rolls A.i.16; A.i.12.
5 BL Add. Ch. 22,470.
6 BL Add. Ch. 22,473.
7 BL Add. Ch. 22,471.
8 NRO Thornby glebe terriers and deed 318P/51.

Thorpe Mandeville

Chacombe priory had land in two fields in the 14th century, the North Field and the South Field[1]. The 'open fields of Thorpe Mandeville' existed in 1588 but by 1600 deeds refer to enclosures 'digged and enclosed' by Richard Westover of Thorpe[2]. Later 17th-century deeds describe many closes[3], yet Bridges says it was open in *c.* 1720. Perhaps there was a partial enclosure, because there were over 60 acres of closes in the glebe 1682–1723 which increased to 178 acres in 1742[4].

1 PRO E 315 378 f.29.
2 NRO X8477.
3 *Id.* deed 18 Nov. 1647.
4 NRO Thorpe Mandeville glebe terriers.

Titchmarsh

M 1976

A plan of the open fields has been published[1]. There were two tilths in 1362, 80 acres of demesne having half that could be sown[2]. Three fields operated by 1603, called South Field (later Field Towards Keyston), East Field (Grove) and West Field[3]. The distribution of arable between them is listed below with other terriers. The same fields occurred until enclosure. Leys amounted to 23 percent in 1603, being 16 and 10 percent for two glebe holdings of 1734.

	1603	*Glebe 1684*	
South Field	18.5	10.75	2.67 acres
East	18	10.5	1.25
West	14.25	10.75	2.92
Leys	14.46		

No yardlands are referred to in deeds from 1577 onwards; they seem to have been dispersed. Analysis of the West Field 1603 terrier shows that 28 named neighbours held 46 places, six people with 43 percent. The glebe terriers are similarly varied with neighbours, showing a very dispersed holding[4].

Demesne. The demesne of 1362 was 80 acres. Part of a furlong was taken into a manorial park in 1304, and this has been described in Chapter 3. Enclosed in 1778[5].

1 Helen Belgion, *Titchmarsh Past and Present* 1979 pp. 10–11; 2nd edn. 1990 pp. 14–15.
2 *Cal. Inqu. Post. Mort* xi (1935) no. 67.
3 NRO YZ 1382; see X5004 for 1594.
4 NRO Titchmarsh glebe terriers, which describe several properties.
5 Act NRO G 2629; Map 2852 (1779).

Towcester

Towcester contains the hamlets of Caldecote and Wood Burcote, the first forming a separate township. To the west is Handley Park, recorded in 1236.

A field book of 1606[1] describes 8 unequal fields, of which Spittle Field has some furlongs that belonged enirely to the lord, likely to be demesne. The fields were:

Name	*Size (pages)*	*Location*
Spittle Field	16	next to Northampton and Calcot ways
Calcot West Field	8.5	next Coventry way and Calcot closes
Calcot East Field	9	E into Tiffield Field, W to Northampton way
North Mill Field, Towcester	6	by Norton Brook, next to Towcester town closes
Hanley Field	10	N and S into Brackley way, W into Handley
Moore Field	6.5	W of London way; next to Burcot close corner, E of Dockwell Mill Field
Windmill alias Benley	9	E to London way; W to Buckingham way
Dockwell Mill Field	7.5	next to Hanley brook

A terrier *c.* 1700[2] describes 3 major fields:

Field	*Arable*	*Ley*	*Total*
Moore Field	46 roods	3 roods	49
Windmill Field	46		46
Docklemill Field	24	17	41
Normill Field	6	2	8

The last field may top up Docklemill Field to 49 roods, making a fairly equal distribution. The terrier proves that the fields surveyed in the field book were complex, with more than one system operating. The first 3 fields of 1700 are all at the south and west and seem to be the fields of Towcester and Burcote together, leaving a separate system at the north for Caldecote, as suggested by the appelation *Caldecote* East and West Fields in the field book.

Enclosed in 1762[3]. Handley Park contains some ridge and furrow that dates from the 17th century; it was disparked in 1631 and Bridges states that it had been arable before *c.* 1720[4].

1 NRO Fermor-Hesketh A 1.
2 NRO X5266; see also YZ 5430 for 3 fields *c.* 1675.
3 Act NRO G3659; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. A p. 499 (1763); quality book YZ 979.
4 Bridges i p. 279.

Twywell

Three fields occur in 1618; half a yardland had in Redbrinke Field 4.33 acres (in 14 parcels), Broad Dole 3.75 acres (9 parcels), Mill Field 5.125 acres (9 parcels) plus 15

parcels of leys (4.75 acres)[1]. A terrier of the same date, probably the other half of the same yardland, had 4.25: 4: 3.75 acres and 3.75 leys (24 percent ley). From which a yardland is 36 or 31.5 acres.

Three fields continued until enclosure, Redbrink being called Stoney Field by 1684, Mill Field changing to Holme Field and then to Slipton Side by 1749, and Broad Old was called Cranford Slade Field by 1744[2]. The glebe of 1730 was distributed as 5:5:5.25 acres; there was 5 percent ley in 1749.

Enclosed in 1765[3].

1 NRO SAS 209.
2 NRO Twywell glebe terriers.
3 Act NRO BSL 29.

Wadenhoe

M 1973

A 1336 extent of the demesne had a third waste, implying a three-course tilth[1]. Four fields were named from 1628 until enclosure; the glebe was distributed among them unequally as below[2]:

1628	*1705*		*1777*		
Moare Field	Mere Field	18 items	Mar Field	22 lands	6 acres
Nether Field	Meadow Field	1	Meadow Field	3	1
Midle Field	Middle Field	12	Middle Field	17	7
Hasland Field	Hazland Field	5	Hasland Field	11	35

There was likely to be a three-course tilth, since the meadow field was very small and was probably run with one of the others.

The 53 lands of 1705 were estimated at 19.375 acres and surveyed at 17.49 acres. Thirty neighbouring positions were held by 7 people of whom 3 occupied 77 percent, implying a regular order.

Partial enclosure of 160 acres of land occurred in 1630, arranged by exchange of lands[3], probably the block of 'closes' marked at the north west next to the woods on the enclosure map. Enclosed in 1793[4].

1 Gray p. 485 from PRO C135 43 m10.
2 NRO Wadenhoe glebe terriers.
3 *State Papers Domestic.* Chas I vol. clxxvi no 11; DK 43rd rep, *Cal. of Privy seals 1632*, no. 505.
4 Act NRO BSL 10; Map and Award, MSP 1; Map 2847 (1793).

Walgrave

M 1984

Walgrave has part of a field book of *c.* 1500[1]. The demesne was of the dispersed type, each entry being marked in the field-book margin, showing that the book was probably made to identify it.

There were 3 fields in the 17th and 18th centuries, South, Middle and North Field with land distributed as below at various dates:

	North Field	*Middle Field*	*South Field*	*Total acres*	*Yardland number*	*Date*
1	8 roods	10	13	7.75	= 1.375	1611[2]
2	49 roods	20	51	30		1611[2]
3	43 acres	50.75	36.25	32.5	3	1657[3]
4	118 roods	110	135	90.75	1.58	1751[4]

A quality book of 1776[5] has the Field next Hannington (wheat; 2.6 pages), Middle Field (beans; 2.7 pages), North Field (fallow, 2 pages).

The terriers are difficult to add up because of variable entries of roods and lands; the yardland size apparently varies 27–57 acres. The stated 50 yardlands equated to the parish area of 2,253 acres (1876) gives a maximum size of 45 acres. At least 300 acres need subtracting for old enclosure and meadows giving 39 acres per yardland. This is large and was probably caused by assarted woodland being incorporated into the arable.

The quality book refers to a rick place and states that each yardland had 5 beast commons (horses and cows being interchangeable) and 24 sheep commons; 37.5 cottage commons each had 1 cow, a breeder, and 3 sheep. Enclosed in 1776[6].

1 1984 NRO uncatalogued Walgrave records.
2 NRO XYZ 1389.
3 NRO Walgrave glebe terriers.
4 NRO Overstone Box 740 now in X9920.
5 NRO D 2817.
6 Award, NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. E p. 235; claims D8026.

Warden, Chipping

The parish contains Stonton, a shrunken township lying 3 miles distant, next to Boddington and Prior's Hardwick, Warwickshire, which last has some parochial rights[1].

Warden demesne was dispersed between two fields in 1334[2].

Enclosed between 1726 and 1736[3].

Stonton

M 1982

There were two fields during the 13th to 15th centuries. In the early 13th century they were referred to as 'one field' and 'the other field'[4], later being named the field towards Wormleighton or the field towards Hardwick[5]. Two fields remained in 1396 and 1443, land being dispersed equally between them[6]. The demesne was dispersed in groups of 3 acres in many furlongs[7], and a yardland was 12 acres in 1443[8].

Stonton was open in 1443, but was probably enclosed soon after, since 340 'growing' ashes, oaks and elms were taken from a close in 1461[9]. In 1489 'pasture' extended from the fields of Hardwick, to those of Wormleighton and to the Daventry-Stratford road, showing that the whole township was enclosed[10].

1 Bridges i pp. 116–7.
2 Gray p. 480 from PRO E 135 40 (6).
3 NRO Glebe terriers.
4 NRO Spencer 1122, 1124.
5 *Id.* 1135–7.

6 *Id.* 1206, 1235.
7 *Id.* 1122, 1124.
8 *Id.* 1235.
9 *Id.* 1237.
10 *Id.* 1250.

Warkton

M 1978 P 1730 F *c.* 1730

A general map of 1715 shows 3 fields, Wood, Moor and Meadow Fields[1]. A detailed open-field map of 1730 shows the same 3 fields. It has a colour-coded key, described in the Buccleuch terriers[2], listing close names and Mead Field 429 acres, Middle Field 444 acres, and Wood Field 456 acres.

Enclosed in 1807 with Little Oakley[3].

1 NRO Map 2834.
2 NRO Map 1383; Buccleuch terriers.
3 NRO Map 2848 (1808); Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. N p. 433.

Warkworth

The parish structure is described by the enclosure the Act of 1764[1]. There were three 'tithings' or townships; Warkworth Tithing, Middleton Tithing consisting of most of Overthorpe, and Banbury Tithing containing Nethercote, Grimsbury and Huscote. More details have been given in Chapter 8.

The townships were all in Northamptonshire as proved by the boundary stone on Banbury Bridge[2] and that Grimsbury is mentioned in the Northamptonshire Domesday and in the 1124 Survey[3]. Warkworth itself, in 1086, was probably included in the description for Banbury, being one of its unnamed members in the holding of the bishop of Lincoln.

Middleton Tithing contained 19 yardlands in 1761, plus 1 yardland of glebe[4], making 20 yardlands in all, relating to one of the 1086 Middleton two-hide estates in 1086[5]. The Middleton Tithing glebe yardland is listed by furlong in 1761 without giving any fields, there were 24 acres of which 17 percent was ley.

What was probably more or less the Banbury Tithing was appropriated by Oxfordshire in 1889[6], and is now largely a built-up suburb of Banbury, being recently (1989) further destroyed by the M40 motorway. No site is known for Huscote; the other vills survive with Warkworth being shrunken.

Enclosed in 1764 when there were 55.5 yardlands[7].

1 Baker 1 p. 738; NRO SSF Bundle 3.
2 Bridges i 220.
3 VCH i p. 368.
4 NRO Middleton glebe terrers.
5 Thorn and Thorn 18–37 or 23–19.
6 Kelly's *Directory* 1894, p. 285.
7 Act NRO SSF Bundle 3.

Warmington

M 1984

Warmington contains the deserted hamlet and township of Papley, which was enclosed in 1499[1].

Warmington had four fields run as a three-course tilth in *c.* 1393 when a rental of a dispersed demesne described Theernefeld and Bollewellefeld together, Blakethornfeld, and Depedalefeld[2]. One ley was listed, an early reference.

There were 3 fields, Hern, Middle, and Debdale Field in 1744[3]. A survey of Powys lands was made in 1764[4], arranged by individual farms listed by furlong, stating the orientation and sometimes abuttals. Each parcel in the furlong has its neighbours given. A summary (p. 154) shows there were three fields:

	Arable	*Leys*	*Total*
Middle Field	249	0	249
Bolwell Field	305	56	361
Debdale Field	293	36	329
Meadow			110
			1,049

The fields were not equal; all the individual farms have a lower acreage for Middle Field except one which has much more. There was 9 percent ley.

The neighbours in the terriers are very limited in number. Tenant John Whitwell had no other Powys neighbours next to him, and so his ground probably represents an unchanged ancient holding. Most parcels are 1–2 lands, but one tenant (p. 36) has parcels of 7–25 lands which are probably the demesne; Thomas Powys was lord of the manor and so would be expected to hold the demesne.

Demesne. The demesne rental of 1393 shows that it was dispersed. It included a 28-acre furlong called *berihill.* In 1764 there was a furlong called *burystead*, likely to be part of the demesne. Burystead is a common name for a monastic manor; Oundle had its Peterborough Burystead and most of the Ely manors had the same name in the Cambridgeshire Fenland. Furlong names show some Norse influence, such as *gate, dale* etc, Park furlong of 1764 refers to the manorial park, extending in 1393 to 7 acres and surrounded by a ditch. Papley hedge is mentioned in 1764.

Land was measured as yardlands in *c.* 1400[5]. Enclosed in 1774[6].

1 Allison et al. p. 44.
2 BL MS Cott. Nero C vii ff.151–53.
3 NRO Cotterstock glebe terriers.
4 NRO POW 1.
5 BL Cott. Nero C vii f.85.
6 Act and Award NRO ML 799 (1775); Map 2864.

Watford

M 1978 H

Watford contains the three townships of Watford, Silsworth and Murcott. Long Buckby had the tithe of 11 yardlands of Murcott, which property, after enclosure in 1772, became consolidated as closes in Murcott adjacent to Long Buckby. A plan of Watford townships and some account of their history has been published[1].

Charters of *c.* 1250 to 1627 show that Watford had a two-field system[2]. By 1632 there were 4 fields, and after enclosure of about half the township, in 1644[3], 4 new fields were created, which lasted until 1771 when enclosure was completed[4]. Field orders occur for 1632 when each yardland had 40 sheep and 8 horses and large beasts.

The demesne, fully described with tenants' names in 1276, lay in a block and was enclosed in 1595[5], see Chapter 5. The whole parish in 1276 totalled 96 5/8 yardlands (presumably for 96[6]) which can be identified as 48 for Watford and 24 each for Silsworth and Murcott, equating at 24 yardlands to the hide for the 1124 assessment of 4 hides[7], as explained in Chapter 7. The 2 hides given for Watford Domesday assessment in 1086 is probably the value for Watford *township*, missing out Murcott and Silsworth. One yardland was 16 acres in 1361[8].

Half of Watford was enclosed by Parliamentary Act with Murcott in 1771[9].

Murcott

Murcott had 3 fields in 1686 that included areas called Upper and Lower Ryehill[10]. In 1771 the arable was stated to be cropped for 3 years and fallow on the 4th year; the rye hills were cropped one year and fallow the next[11]. This is a slightly modified version of the Newnham type, being in effect independent two- and four-field systems. There were 24 yardlands in 1705[12]. The demesne was 11 yardlands, identifiable in 1276, 1648 and 1771[13].

Silsworth

A charter of 1315 describes furlongs distributed in 3 fields called the West, North and South Fields[14]. One of the furlongs was called *inland* suggesting that at least part of the demesne, described in 1276 as 14 yardlands[15], was of the block form. Silsworth was still open field in 1429 when a messuage and yardland were described[16]; it seems 'empty' in 1487 in a grant of meadow, pasture, leys and crofts[17] and in 1495 there were 490 acres of pasture and 300 acres of arable[18]. The whole township was pasture in 1590[19].

1 D. Hall, 'Field systems and township structure', in C. Dyer, M. Aston and D. Austin (eds.) *Rural Settlement in Medieval England* (Blackwell) 1989, pp. 196–205.
2 NRO OK 151 (*c.* 1250); 140 (1320); 204 (*c.* 1400); 32 (1627).
3 Discussed in Hall *Rural Settlement*; NRO OK 174 (1635) describes 4 fields. Field orders OK 186.
4 NRO Map 834.
5 NRO OK 354.
6 *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Edward I, 1272–9, p. 329.
7 VCH i p. 387; discussed in *Rural Settlement* pp. 200–1.
8 *Cal. Inqu. Post Mort.* XI (1935) no. 173, p. 161.
9 Act NRO D 69B; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D p. 21 (1772); Map 3158 shows the township boundary with Murcott; on the east the parish boundary with Long Bucky was newly created.
10 NRO L56.
11 Map 384.
12 NRO Watford glebe terriers.
13 See f.n.6; NHK 248; Map 834.
14 NRO OK 274.
15 As f.n .6.
16 NRO ASL 54.
17 NRO OK 77.
18 Bridges ii p. 588.
19 NRO XYZ 70, 74.

Weedon Bec

M 1982 Q 1776

Weedon contains the vills of Upper and Lower Weedon that were separate townships until 1583.

There were four fields in the 14th century[1], which as explained in Chapter 4, belonged to the two independent, two-field townships. A quarter yardland of 1322 was in Nether Weedon[2], and in the 16th century there are several references to yardlands either in Upper or Nether Weedon[3]. The townships were amalgamated into one in 1583[4,5]. In 1776 the three fields were called the Field towards Dodford, the Field towards Everdon and the Field towards Stowe, which in that year were beans, wheat, and fallow respectively[6]. This form of arrangement can be traced back as far as 1627[7].

Demesne. Weedon lords held the mill of Stowe and Fenholme (meadow) in Stowe, which were held of the lord of Stowe for an annual rent of 12s. The meadow was granted in 1180[8] and the sum appears in account rolls of 1299 and 1305[9], and in the Stowe extent of 1327 (Chapter 1). In 1522 the same rent was paid by Eton College to the lord of Stowe[10]. Stowe meadow ran down to the Nene on the east of Weedon and next to Weedon demesne (the lands have now been transferred to Weedon parish).

Much of the demesne lay in a block, as determined from several surveys from 1522 onwards. Some land was next to the manor and church (the inlands and ashard), and other grounds (mostly open-field land in whole furlongs) included court pasture, 100 acres and Alains wood, a pasture on the hills next to Weedon Wood, in all 326 acres[11].

Weedon Wood. Weedon wood probably had been larger according to the neighbouring furlong names; King John confirmed 48 acres of old assart and 2 acres of new assart in 1203[12]. The wood was disforested soon after enclosure being converted to arable and pasture by 1784[13].

Enclosure was considered in 1623[14], but no action occurred until 1776[15]. A quality book values and lists all the furlongs[16].

1 Eton College Records (ECR) 27–167 m.8; 167 m.9 describes a half yardland of 6 acres; 181 m.6.
2 ECR 27–167 m.2.
3 ECR 27–208 (1522); ECR 232 m.4 (1578).
4 ECR 27–249 m.1, referring to the fields of Over and Nether Weedon.
5 ECR 27–250, new field orders.
6 NRO Box 852.
7 NRO Weedon Bec glebe terriers.
8 ECR 27–22.
9 ECR 27–146.
10 ECR 27–126.
11 ECR 27–127; 27–129.
12 ECR 27 3–4.
13 ECR 27–59.
14 NRO Th 660.
15 NRO Act ZA 3093; Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. E p. 407; when there were 69 yardlands.
16 NRO Box 852.

Weedon Lois

M 1973 P 1593

Weedon Lois, alias Weston and Weedon, has three vills, Weedon, Weston and Millthorpe alias Middlethorpe lying between them. Only one field system can be identified in the 16th century, but there may have been two townships previously.

Weston had a two tilth arrangement in 1344 when a yardland of 32 acres was half sown each year[1]. Two fields operated at Weedon in 1586–7, a terrier describing 82 parcels in the North Field and 85 in the South Field[2]. Orders for 1597, 1605 and 1608 are printed by Ault[3]. The 1597 series refers to 3 fields, North, West and South. A yardland had a stint of 35 sheep for South and West Fields, and 40 in North Field after Lammas. There would appear to have been a change from two to three fields.

The glebe shows that matters were complicated with 'pieces', East, North and South Fields described in 1720 and additional ground in Weedon Cattanger Field. It is not clear whether some of this land is demesne, whether the fields were the result of combination of more than one system, or whether partial enclosure was causing multiple field names.

A plan and terrier made in 1593 was made by All Souls College, Oxford[4]. Part of this (7 furlongs, Millthorpe piece, marley furlong etc, which seem to be mostly demesne) has been re-drawn and used by Tawney to show consolidation of parcels of lands prior to enclosure[5]. Part of the map has been published[6]. The map shows that substantial parts of the parish periphery had been enclosed and belonged to two owners; fields are not named.

Enclosed in 1771[7].

1 Gray p. 480 from PRO C135 68 m.44.
2 Gray p. 480 from All Souls College, Oxford, terriers 37, 38, 40.
3 Ault 1965, pp. 93–5.
4 All Souls College, Oxford, Hovenden Portfolio 1.
5 R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem* (1912).
6 Beresford, M. W., in *The Field* 1949.
7 Award, NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. C p. 278.

Weekley

M 1979 F *c.* 1730 P 1719

Weekley contains the separate township of Boughton.

Weekley North Feld is recorded in 1347. A terrier of 1580 details 3 fields; North 3.5 pages, Wood Field 3 pages and South Field 3 pages, with reference to meadow divisions called wandales and a gate at Geddington West Field[1].

A map of 1715[2] shows Weekley Wood, and three fields of roughly equal size called Windmill, Wood and North Fields. The last two had avenues of trees set over them. Another map of 1719 shows more detail of the furlongs and their ownership, and has been redrawn and published[3].

Fieldbooks of *c.* 1730 summarise the field sizes[4]. The arable and ley total of 1715 was 619 acres, cow common 161 acres and another piece of 45 acres beyond Weekley Wood, 825 acres open in all. The wood was 171 acres with Raven Wood 7 acres, making 1003 acres in the township. There were 58 homesteads.

The fieldbook gives the name of each furlong, the number of each parcel in the furlong, the number of lands in each parcel, the tenants' name, and the acreage. There is no obvious tenurial order. Furlong names of interest are Walkot, Castle Hedges and Overgate. There appears to be no freehold and no open-field glebe. There were 20 tenanted holdings and totalling 640 acres of which five farmers held 79 percent of the open land.

Enclosed in 1807 with Geddington[5].

Boughton. Although Boughton had a park and crenellated mansion in 1473 there were still (open) fields in 1504[6]. A small part remained open and was farmed with Geddington (qv).

1 NRO Buccleuch 7–1, charter 20 Edw 3; 7–32 terrier 1580, both in X388.
2 NRO Map 2834.
3 Redrawn in RCHM *Archaeological Sites in Central Northamptonshire* (1979) p. 162.
4 NRO Buccleuch terriers, Map 5731/2.
5 Award, NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. M p. 33 (1810).
6 Bridges ii p. 349.

Welford

M 1980 F 1600

Welford had a block demesne called Halefield or Inland in 1525[1]. A field book made in 1600 shows there were 3 fields, with a fourth Hall Field, then enclosed[2]. The Hall Field was assessed at 15 yardlands and there were 53 yardlands in all.

The fields in 1673 were called: Abbey Field, 19 roods (12 parcels); Middle Field 21 roods (13 parcels); and Hemplow Field 14 roods (8 parcels[3]); 1 yardland was 21.6 acres. The neighbours were numerous, indicating dispersion of any regular order.

Enclosed in 1777[4].

1 PRO SC6 Hen VIII 2784 m.33d.
2 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Gough MS 18109 (copy).
3 NRO SAS 152.
4 Act NRO ZB 268/1; Award, ZB 268/2.

Wellingborough

In 1320 there were 4 fields run on a three-course tilth. Crowland Abbey demesne was equally divided between the South and Opfields, the West Field, and the East Field[1].

Three fields occurred in 1431, a terrier describing; East Field 33 roods and 10 'todels'; Up Field 21 roods and 10 todels; West Field 32 roods and 4.5 todels[2]. In 1605 the fields had the same names as in 1320; West, East, Upper and South Fields, the last two being grouped together[3]. During the 18th century, a fifth field occurs, Hamm Field, which seems to be part of West Field, the glebe of 1705 was East Field 11.25 acres; South and Upper Field 9.5 acres, West and Hamm Fields 8 acres, with 13 percent ley.

Wellingborough lands were subdivided into hides as at Ecton; in 1689 'first rendalls hide' is referred to[4].

Crowland abbey records. Wellingborough belonged to Crowland Abbey, Lincolnshire, from which account rolls of the 13th and 14th century survive. Yields of corn and other produce can be studied from two sets of consecutive years for Addington and Elmington (taken from the original rolls[5]), and for Wellingborough (from the published version[6]).

In the table below, quantities are in bushels. For each crop the yield from a given year is found by looking at the lower figure for the next year. It is expressed as a ratio on the third line, spaced between the consecutive years.

Place	*Reference and year*				
	Ed2 1280–1		*Dd17* 1281		*Cd5* 1281–2
Addington					
Wheat sown	12.5		12		11.5
yield			41.5		50
		3.32		4.17	
Barley	10.5		11.5		12.75
			39.5		45
		3.76		3.91	
Peas	0.75		0.25		3.5
			6.5		5
		8.67		20	
Totals of crops			*87.5*		*100*
Elmington					
Wheat	12.5		10		8
			30		18
		2.4		1.80	
Barley	10.5		11.5		13.25
			16.5		43.5
		1.57		3.78	
Peas	0.75		3.5		1.5
			12.75		2.5??
		17		??	
Oats	?		17		13.5
			24.5		27.75
				1.63	
Totals of crops			*83.75*		*91.75*
Wellingborough					
NRS page	p23		p28		p32
Wheat	40.5		33.25		43
			140.5		96
		3.46		2.89	
Barley	27.875		21.5		36
			93		135
		3.59		4.58	
Oats	107				86
			296		121
		2.77			

The earliest roll has been published in full[7].

Wellingborough was enclosed in 1765[8].

1 F.M. Page NRS viii 1935, *Wellingborough Manorial Accounts 1258–1323*, p.xxiv.
2 Gray p. 484 from BL Cott. Vesp. xvii f. 309b.
3 NRO BSL 1509/9.
4 NRO BSL 1509/4.
5 Cambridge University Library, Queen's College Records, Boxes 1–2.
6 Page *Wellingborough*.
7 F. M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey* (1934); Roll Dd16; called Dd15 in the book.
8 Act NRO BSL 61; Award, ML 381.

Welton

M 1979

A two-field system was in operation in *c.* 1210, with 3 acres in each field[1]; and in *c.* 1240 when '2.5 acres in one part of the fields and 2.5 acres in the other' are described[2].

Later in the 13th century (before 1279) they are named as East and West Fields when 80 acres of arable lay as 40 acres in each field[3]. In 1341 they are again named as East and West[4]. A South Field and West are recorded in 1311[5], and East and West in 1332[6].

By 1594 three fields had been created called Mickwell Side, Windmill Side and Hobrell Side[7]. In 1618 land was distributed between the fields; Hobrell Field 11 parcels equivalent to 18 roods; Crockoe Field 14 parcels of 18 roods, and Mickelewell 11 parcels of 18 roods[8].

The arable was very evenly distributed and there were 7 leys entered separately and not related to a field, making 22.3 acres. This was probably 0.75 yardland, from which 29.8 acres belonged to one yardland. There was a low number of neighbours suggesting a regular order. A terrier of 1607[9] had 10 people holding 37 neighbour positions of which 3 held 78 percent. The same fields were used in the 18th century until enclosure[10].

Enclosed in 1754[11].

1 Terrier in M. J. Franklin, *Cartulary of Daventry Priory* NRS 35, no. 498.
2 *Id.* no. 544.
3 *Ancient Deeds* iv, A13119; A11985 is a small grant in the same fields.
4 *Ancient Deeds* ii, A 3065.
5 *Ancient Deeds* iv A 6422.
6 *Ancient Deeds* ii A 3005.
7 NRO deed of J. Newporte in X5439.
8 NRO ASL 1053.
9 NRO deed in X5439.
10 NRO ASL 1084.
11 Act NRO ZA 1243.

Whiston

M 1976

In 1633 the glebe was 14 acres in Coomes Field and 2 acres in Scotland Slade Field. This seems to be incomplete information. The rector received tithe in kind from coppices called Whiston Pike and Shortgrove in the parish of Denton[1].

In *c.* 1270 there were 230 acres of arable and 33 acres of meadow in demesne. Each yardland contained 20.75 acres of arable and 3.25 acres of meadow. Work service and its value in *c.* 1270 are listed. The tenants worked in August and September on Monday and Tuesday of each week, ploughing on the Thurdays after Christmas and Whitsun. They hoed 1 day, mowed 3 days, made hay for 2 days, and carried for 1 day. They gave carriage in each week of Lent to Bythorn, Hunts., and to places around Whiston for 12 leagues[2].

Whiston was still open in 1684 when Castle Ashby glebe refers to Whiston *field*[3]. It was probably enclosed following articles of agreement made in 1700[4].

1 NRO glebe 1761, 1767.
2 Hart and Lyons *Cart. Ramsey* i pp. 55–9.
3 NRO Castle Ashby glebe terrers.
4 NRO YZ 990.

Whittlebury

Whittlebury had two fields in 1231–50[1] when 4.5 acres were split between the East and West Fields. Fourteen neighbours were mentioned, 2 people holding 57 percent, indicating a broken down order. A fieldbook of 1733 has 3 fields[2]. Whittlebury was enclosed in 1797[3].

1 C. R. Elvey *Luffield Priory Charters* NRS 22:276.
2 NRO M 219.
3 NRO M 36.

Wilby

M 1982

In 1764 there were 3 fields; East or Bearpole Field, Middle Field, and West Field, with an estate distributed in the ratio 87:64:112 acres[1]. The glebe East Field of 1758 had 9 neighbours, 3 people holding 68 percent, probably indicating a regular order[2].

There were 28.875 yardlands in all[3]. Turnips, potatoes and rape were grown in 1739[4]. Enclosed in 1801[5].

1 NRO X1657.
2 NRO Wilby glebe terriers.
3 Rental in NRO X1657.
4 NRO Wilby glebe terriers.
5 Act in NRO X3728; Map 601; Award (1803), Enclosure Enrolment Vol. N p. 102.

Winwick

M 1990

Winwick had a two-field system in the 13th century, with 28 acres to the yardland; a half yardland of demesne had 8 acres in the East Field butting to Elkington and 6 acres in the West Field butting to the same[1]. Yardlands were still used in 1537[2].

Leases of 1608[3] and a valuation of 1619[4] made after enclosure give some retrospective information. There were ancient closes called the Park (184 acres), Hill Field (248 acres) and Grotton (163 acres). These were likely to be demesne, especially since one of the leases refers to rights reserved in Hill Field by the lord. Nether Field and Windmill Field were also mentioned, so probably there had been a two-field system not long before.

The year of enclosure seems to be 1607 or immediately before. A lease of that year refers to closes totalling 63 acres, one next to Yelvertoft meer and another next to Crick meer[5]. In 1608 another lease of 5 different closes of more than 71 acres refers to one of them being 'newly inclosed and now divided and set forth', giving the names of the furlongs on which they laid[6]. There were already 595 acres of ancient enclosure, 29 percent of the parish.

1 NRO FH 146 ff.46–7 from BL Cott. Calig. A xii.
2 PRO SC6 Hen VIII 2784 m.57.
3 NRO YZ 3632.
4 NRO YZ 4693.
5 NRO ZA 3631.
6 NRO ZA 3632.

Wollaston

M 1961 P 1774 Q 1788 H

Wollaston has an open-field map of 1774[1], and a plan made before rediscovery of the map has been published[2]. The map has numbered parcels (individual lands are not always shown) but the field book relating to it is lost. Additional numbers written on the map relate to a Quality Book made by the enclosure commissioners in 1778. The Quality Book is preserved by the Wollaston Society[3]. A three-field system was in operation by 1370 until enclosure in 1788–9[4]. The names were Over Field (later Wood Field), Higham Way Field (later Windmill Field) and Nether Field. The furlong names of 1370, when related to their 1774 locations, show that all the area was opened up.

There were 2 manors, Bury and Hall manors, the last is fully recorded in a 15th century cartulary[5]. A long detailed terrier of the demesne in 1430 shows it was the block type, being the area still called the Inlands or Illins[6].

Field regulations are mentioned in 1583[7] and detailed lists exist from 1632–1730 in the Bridgwater muniments. There were about 84 yardlands in the fields, stinted in the 16th century at 5 great beasts and 30 sheep, reduced in 1614 to 4 beasts and 24 sheep. Sheep were further reduced to 20 in 1693[8].

Enclosed in 1788[9].

1 NRO Map 4447.
2 Hall 'Modern surveys of medieval fields', *Beds. Arch. J.* 7, (1972).
3 Wollaston Museum.
4 D. Hall *Wollaston* 1977, 137–65; 141.
5 Leicester Record Office ID50/xii/28.
6 Mapped by Hall 1982, in Roberts and Glasscock *Villages, Fields and Frontiers* BAR S185 (1983) 115–32.
7 *Wollaston* p. 194.
8 *Wollaston* p. 150.
9 Act NRO YZ 3999; Map 2843 (1789); Award (1789), Enclosure Enrolment Vol. I p. 1; original in parish records, NRO.

Woodford Halse

Within Woodford parish were West Farndon, Hinton and part of West Warden.

Woodford had 2 fields in the 15th century, 12 acres lying in one field and 12 in the other[1]. There were two fields in 1587 when orders about the setting of merestones refer to the North Field and South Field[2]. It seems unlikely that a third field existed since the matter was dealt with in three courts, 1584 and 1585 as well as 1587, which mention the same 2 fields only.

In 1621 there is reference that 'three fields shall hold but for 6 years if . . . any 3 or 4 of the inhabitants shall mislike', and if most of the inhabitants disapproved of the arrangement then three fields were to be abandoned after 3 years[3]. The order presumably refers to a recent change, from a two-field system. It was likely to be an improvement possibly initiated by the owners, the Egerton family, or more likely by their local agent, Thomas Cartwright of Aynho. He was much concerned with open-field regulations in all the Egerton (Bridgwater) estates as well as his own at Aynho.

Field orders. Woodford field orders are listed with those of Maidford in the Bridgewater court rolls[4]. They are similar to Wollaston but begin earlier. Enclosed in 1758[5].

1 BL Cott. Vesp. E XVII f.128b.
2 NRO EB 234 mm.2 and 10d.
3 NRO EB 236 m.21.
4 NRO EB 231–44.
5 Act NRO ZA 3732; Award (1764), Enclosure Enrolment Vol. A p. 17.

Woodford (Huxlow)

M 1972 P 1731 F *c.* 1730

A 'field book' of *c.* 1730, written in tabular form in columns on two large membranes, is arranged by field and furlong with information presented in four items, giving numbered parcels in each furlong, the number of lands, the name of the owner and the area of each plot in acres[1]. Gloucester Fee land is marked G (see Raunds), and the vill and closes are surveyed.

A map relating to the survey has been printed schematically[2]. The fields were:

Wold Field	24 furlongs with a few acres of Wold Closes and lot grass along slades 27 acres
Three Hills Field	38 furlongs
East Field	42 furlongs plus meadow

There were 6 major owners with the 'town', glebe, church land and 4 smaller owners. Francis Easton had lands 80 lands apart in some areas (Wold Field, furlong 20, Swallow Pit), corresponding well to the 82 yardlands stated to be in the parish (Letter 27 Dec 1730[3] noting that the total was 82 yardlands and abbot's manor was 12 yardlands). There may have been a regular tenurial cycle. In the middle of many furlongs Lord St John had 2 adjacent blocks of 4 lands (sometimes shared with Sanderson), these are probably a dispersed demesne. The 82 yardlands correspond to the 1124 Survey of 10 hides 1 virgate at 8 yardlands to each hide[4].

Enclosed in 1763[5]. A quality book survives[5].

1 NRO Buccleuch terriers.
2 Eric and Mary Humphries *Woodford juxta Thrapston* 1985 pp.34–46; a poor photograph is at NRO (Map 1385) and a good one is held in Woodford church.
3 NRO Buccleuch 21–30, in X881.
4 VCH i p. 388.
5 NRO ZB 71/2.

Wood Newton

A survey and field book of 1551 describes individual farms. There were 3 unequal fields[1]:

	Clement Gyles 132 lands	*A farm 127 lands*	*Field book total*	
North Feld	10.75 acres	10.25 acres	North Field	92 pages
East Feld	17.625	18.5	East Field	122
South Feld	7.5	7.75	South field	77

A survey of 1609 of Newton 'in the chase of Sulehay' gives 3 unequal fields with different names; Haile Field arable, leys, meadow 357 acres, East Field 462 acres, West Field 399 acres, the whole manor being 1304 acres[2].

In 1772 farms were distributed amongst 3 fields in similar proportions to an undated 18th-century survey giving the total field acreages[3]; Willowbrook Field 225 acres, Great Field 345 acres, and Little Field 254 acres; meadow 59 acres made the total of open land 922.5 acres.

Wood Newton was enclosed in 1777 with Apethorpe, Nassington and Yarwell[4].

1 NRO Westmorland 4 xvi 5.
2 NRO Westmorland 4 xviii 5.
3 NRO W(A) 7 xv.
4 Act NRO W(A) 4 xi 3; Map 2879–80 (1778); Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. F p. 1.

Wootton

M 1973

Wootton parish has a detached part, now in Courteenhall, that was probably once woodland[1]. In 1416 Courteenhall was said to be 'in the parish of Wootton'[2]. A plan of the fields with identified furlongs has been published[3].

In 1627 there were 3 fields, Preston Hedge Field, Long Field, and Blackmoor or West Field, which continued until enclosure[4]. The glebe was divided between these fields in the ratio 19.5: 16.75: and 15.5 acres in 1705, when there was 26 percent ley.

Enclosed in 1778[5].

1 NRO Map 2988 and T28.
2 NRO YZ 3641.
3 D. N. Hall 'Wootton Parish Survey 1973' *Northants Archaeology* 11 1976 153–8.
4 NRO Wootton glebe terriers.
5 Award, NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol. G p. 67.

Yardley Hastings

M 1982 P 1760

Yardley has an open-field map of 1760[1] showing that about half was arable and half woodland. A plan has been published[2].

There were five named fields in 1565, grouped for a three-course tilth[3]. Examples of the holding distribution are:

Osney Field and Mare Field	30	18	14 acres
New Hay Field and Nether Field	33	18	14
Round Hay Field	18	17	14

The demesne was 7.5 yardlands totalling 81 acres with the broad road in the Chase and 35 acres of meadow in the fields. The stint was 6 beasts and 30 sheep per yardland. The tenants' yardlands were 15–17 acres, stinted similarly. They also had a horse common at about 1 per yardland that seems to have been subtracted from the beast allowance. There were 146 acres of meadow in the Old, in Yardley Chase, for the demesne and tenants.

The same five fields are described in glebe terriers for 1631, then called Answay, March, Newey, Nether and Roundehey[4]. In 1702, the names were similar and the rector had 1 acre and 14 poles of wood out of each coppice, when felled, in lieu of tithe. He also had tithe of Yardley hay in (Earls) Barton meadow.

There was an agreement in 1730 for converting arable land to ley[5]. Tenants were ordered to 'lay down each part of their arable land now in tillage for improving the commons', being about 6 acres in each tilth per yardland. Each person was ordered to sow 4 bushels of grass seed, but this seems to have met with resistance, and was rescinded the next year.

Court orders. Eighteenth-century court orders are detailed in the rolls of 1728–54 preserved in the Markham Collection[6]. No comprehensive single list occurs, they are often repeated from year to year and are similar to those for Denton, Grendon and Holcot.

Yardley Park and Chase. In 1565[7] Yardley Park had an enclosed boundary 3 miles long and extended to 300 acres. There was pasturing for 100 deer and 40 beast and 20 horses. Part was well planted with trees and the other part was lightly planted. There were four coppices, Collyers 46 acres, Le Coppice near the gate of the Park 30 acres, Fern Hill coppice, 44 acres, and Rooty Pytt coppice 50 acres. Yardley Chase had a circuit of 7 miles and was moderately stocked with deer. The woodland was managed in 15 coppices totalling 603 acres. One coppice was felled annually, but occasionally a year was missed and a coppice was left longer for large timber to grow. There were coppices aged every year from 1 to 15 years except for years 2, 11, 13 and 15. These four 'missing' years are represented by four older coppices of 16, 26, 28 and 40 years of age, the last being 'well planted with great trees'.

Enclosed in 1776[8].

1 NRO Maps 4155–7.
2 D. N. Hall, 'Late Saxon Topography and early medieval estates' in D. Hooke (ed.) *Medieval Villages*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology (1985) pp.61–9.
3 NRO Compton Catalogue no 247.
4 NRO Yardley Hastings glebe terriers.
5 NRO Markham court rolls (an uncatalogued collection).
6 *Id.*
7 NRO Compton Catalogue 247.
8 NRO Award (1777), Enclosure Enrolment Vol. D p. 551.

Yarwell

A field book (so styled) of 1735 has the following field totals[1], which are compared with individual farms surveyed in 1772[2].

	1735		*1772*	
North Field		219 acres	26	59 acres
Lodge Field		232	29	72
South Field	186		24	69
Walden (belongs to South Field)	37	220		

This is a fairly well balanced three tilth system, judged on the 1735 totals, and slightly less regular for the 1772 farms.

The 1735 terrier gives each furlong, the number of lands of each parcel, the acreage and the name of the owner (and tenant if it belongs to the lord). Abuttals are very few and incidental; the acreages are totted up but not the numbers of lands. The terrier includes meadows and the village.

Most of the land belonged to the lord. The few freeholders and the glebe do not occur in any obvious regular way by inspection, the glebe being very unevenly spaced. Not many furlongs have single lands; probably much had been altered by purchase. A few groups of lands (5–9) were the lords held 'late Sharmon' and may be demesne.

There were 120 cow commons and each 20 acres of land had 2 horses, 4 cows or beast and 20 sheep. There might therefore be 30 yardlands (if the yardland was 20 acres and the cottage commons' cows were not included in the 120). The cottage commons were allowed 2 cows, 7 sheep and common in the cottagers close. A bull was kept by the lord (or his tenant) and by the prebend of Nassington or his tenant.

Yarwell was enclosed in 1777 with Apethorpe, Wood Newton and Nassington[3].

1 NRO W(A) Misc. Vol. 42.
2 *Id.* W(A) 7 xv.
3 Act W(A) 4.xi.3; Map 2879–80 (1778); Award, Enclosure Enrolment Vol. F p. 1.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

BL British Library

PNN *The Place-names of Northamptonshire*, Gover et al. 1933.

PRO Public Record Office.

NPP *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, published annually by the Northamptonshire Record Society.

NRO Northamptonshire Record Office, Wootton Hall, Northampton.

NRS Northamptonshire Record Society, Wootton Hall, Northampton.

VCH *Victoria County History*; Volume 1, Adkins et Serjeantson, 1902; Volume 4, Salzman, 1937.

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GLOSSARY

A, acre.
Acre, 0.4047 hectares.

B, bushel.
Balk, a narrow strip of grass between two arable lands.
Bolskifte, a regular arrangement of a group of lands.
Bushel, also called a strike, 8 gallons (36.4 litres).

Compotus, an account.

Demesne, the 'home farm', land belonging to a manor-house.

Extent, valuation and survey of manorial property.

Field, a group of furlongs.
Field book, a survey of every land, furlong and field in a township.
Furlong, a group of lands lying together.

Gelding, castrated animal, usually a horse.
Glebe, land belonging to a rectory or vicarage.
Gloucester Fee, medieval estate once the property of the earls of Gloucester.

Hain, land kept separate from cattle (pasture or arable).
Headland, the first land in a furlong lying at right angles to its neighbour.
Hide, a unit of taxation on arable land (before 1200).

Joint, boundary between two furlongs with lands lying in the same orientation.

Land, the smallest unit of arable cultivation, usually *c.* 220 yards in length and 0.25–0.5 acres in area.
Ley, a land set down to pasture.

Mast, forest fruit of beech, chestnut and hazel, eaten by swine.

Otherall rood, a land of area one third of an acre.

P, pole.
Parish, an area over which a church exercised rights and received tithes.
Ploughland, an assessment of arable land used at the Domesday Survey in 1086.
Pole, an area 5.5 by 5.5 yards, there being 160 to an acre.

Q, quarter.
Quality book, a valuation and survey of open-field holdings made prior to Parliamentary enclosure.
Quarter, measurement of volume used for grain, 8 bushels or 64 gallons being 290.9 litres; it holds 63 kg of oats, 73 of barley, 82 of wheat and 95 kg of beans.

R, rood.

Rickplace, small pasture area made in or inbetween furlongs to make temporary stacks or ricks.

Rood, quarter of an acre or 0.1012 hectares.

Several, severalty; separate.

Shock, arrangement of 6, 8 or 10 sheaves set up in pairs, rafter fashion, to dry.

Stint, allowance of sheep, cattle and other stock (for a yardland).

Solskifte, a regular arrangement of lands, with a neighbour described as 'lying towards the sun', ie always on the east or south.

Teg, a sheep in its second year.

Tenurial-cycle, regular arrangement of lands in the open fields.

Terrier, detailed description of a scattered holding naming the area, each field, furlong and the neighbours, or some of those items. The area and furlong name are almost always given.

Tilth, an area used for cultivation in a particular year.

Township, the smallest unit possessing a complete and independent field system.

Vill, a medieval settlement.

Yardland, the smallest farming unit; a series of scattered lands, commonly about 80, totalling *c.* 25 acres, but variable.

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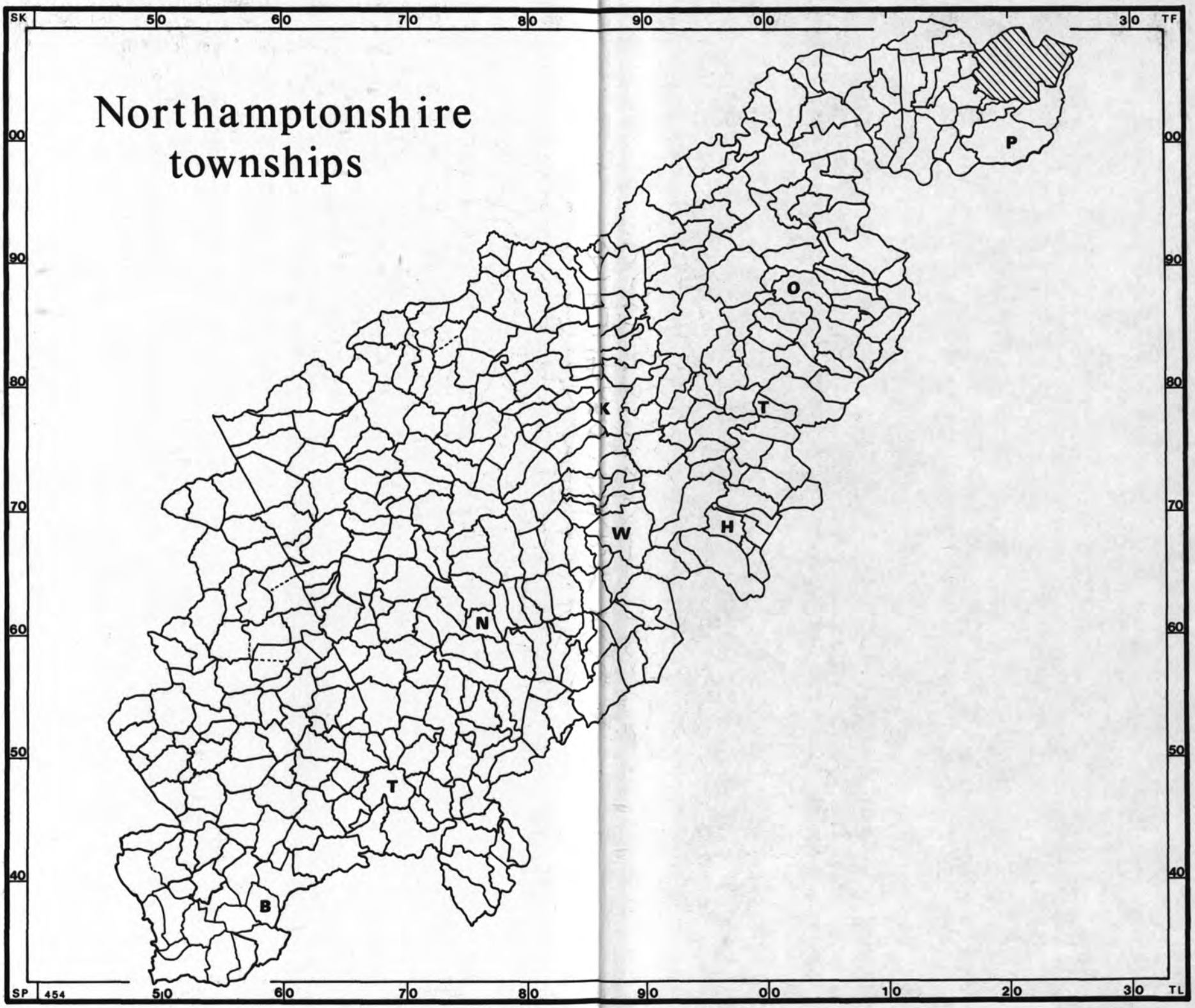
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